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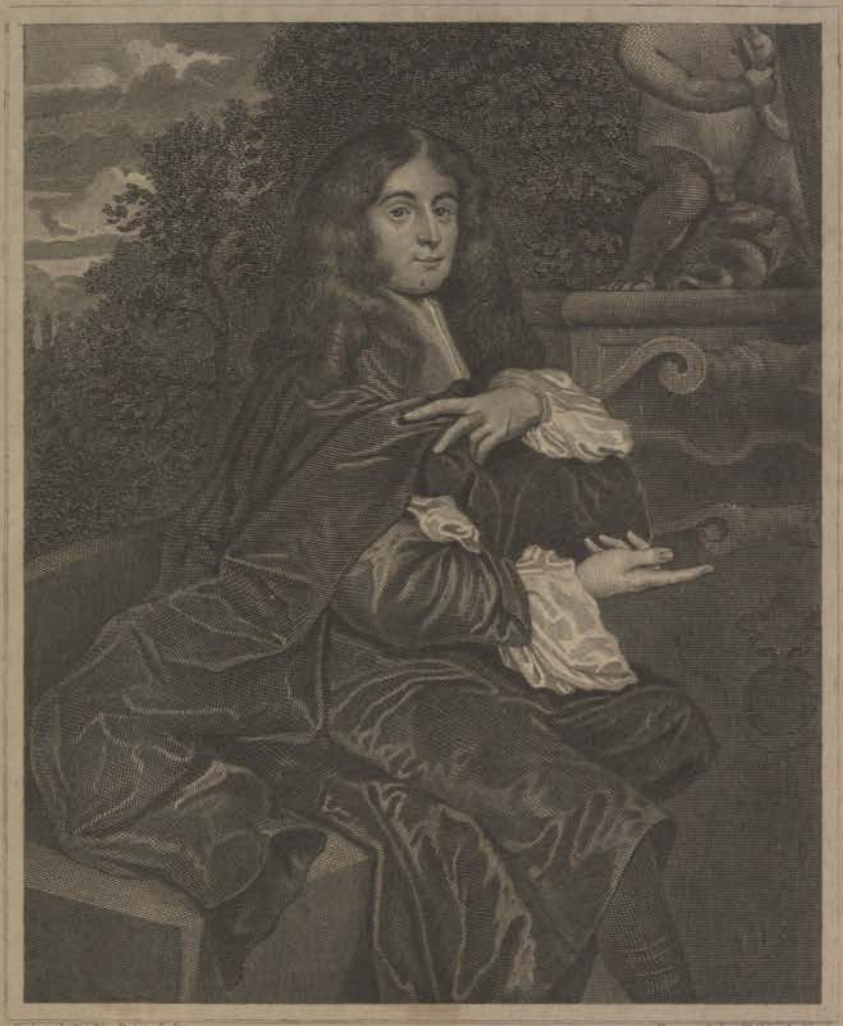

Painted by Sir Peter Lely. Engraved by Philip Audinet.

Dear S.r

Your most affectionate
humble Servant

Clarendon C.P.S

Dublin Castle xber 26.th 1686

Published by Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street, London, Oct. 1st 1847.

THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON

AND OF HIS BROTHER

LAURENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER;

WITH THE

DIARY OF LORD CLARENDON

FROM 1687 TO 1690,

CONTAINING MINUTE PARTICULARS OF THE EVENTS ATTENDING

THE REVOLUTION:

30947

AND THE

DIARY OF LORD ROCHESTER

DURING HIS EMBASSY TO POLAND IN 1676.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, WITH NOTES,

BY SAMUEL WELLER SINGER, F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1828.

LONDON
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PREFACE.

A COLLECTION of letters and papers, elucidating the train of circumstances which led to the Revolution of 1688, and affording a detail of particulars attending that glorious event, cannot but have high claims upon the attention of every true lover of his country and of historic truth. Such, then, are the contents of the volumes here offered to the perusal of those who may not be disposed to take upon trust the assertions of professed historians, or rest satisfied with the pedestrian and partial narrative of Echard, or the splendid fictions of Hume.

It has been justly observed, that without a clear and liberal comprehension of this period of our history, we can neither understand the excellence of our present Constitution, nor be fully instructed in the extent of our privileges, and in the means of defending and improving them. The time has now passed away, when the minds of men were agitated with fearful recollections of the past, and alarm for the future: when the great political events, which wrought the deliverance of Britain and laid the foundation of her future greatness and prosperity, could only be viewed through the medium of clouds of prejudice, by which every thing was distorted or disguised. Among the publications which are calculated to show them

in their true light, the following pages will, it is presumed, find a distinguished place.

The materials are derived from a large collection of the original papers of Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son of the illustrious author of the History of the Rebellion, which have been fortunately rescued from oblivious obscurity, and now form part of the very interesting collection of MSS. accumulated by the unwearied assiduity of Mr. William Upcott, of the London Institution; to whose interference the public upon more than one occasion has been indebted for publications of a similar nature. These papers were obtained by him from a lady who inherited them from persons very nearly connected with the noble family of Hyde.

A large proportion of the papers selected have the advantage of being hitherto unpublished, and comprise a very interesting series of letters from James Duke of York, William Prince of Orange, the Duke of Ormonde, Sir William Temple, and other illustrious persons, together with Lord Rochester's Diary of Occurrences during his Embassy to John Sobieski, King of Poland, in 1676; some highly important minutes of conversations with King James and with Barillon, on the subject of his attempted conversion to the Roman Catholic faith; meditations on the anniversary of his father's death, and on that of his daughter. Among the letters addressed to Lord Rochester, is one of the highest interest from the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth immediately after he was taken at Ringwood; with others of equal historical importance; it may be sufficient to mention those containing the particulars of the loss of the Gloucester, and of the defection of the fleet under Lord Dartmouth, an event which so essentially contributed to the Revolution.

Sixty-four years since, the late venerable Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Douglas, gave to the world a considerable portion of the Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon and his Diary, from materials then in the possession of Richard Powney, Esq. High Steward of Maidenhead, who had purchased them, with other valuable Clarendon Papers, from Mr. Richards,

of Wokingham, to whose father, Bryan Richards, (a nephew of Lady Clarendon's,) they had been given by the third Earl. This publication issued from the Clarendon press in two volumes, 4to., in 1763. The Diary was printed from Lord Clarendon's own autograph; with the exception of that portion relating to 1688, which was given from a copy collated with the original, which Mr. Richards could not recover from a person of the name of Carlton, to whom he had lent it. The letters were printed from *copies* preserved by Lord Clarendon himself, and the *originals* form part of the mass of Lord Rochester's Papers in Mr. Upcott's possession. At first it was the intention of the Editor to have only printed such parts of this Correspondence as were not to be found in Bishop Douglas's publication, but that work having long been among the number of scarce books, and seeming defective in many particulars, it was thought it would be no unacceptable service to the public, to blend its contents with the new matter he had to offer, and thus to render the publication more complete and give each portion more value than either would separately have. The copies from which Bishop Douglas printed were not always entire, and a collation of the whole series with the original papers has supplied many omissions of importance, and furnished very many new letters of considerable interest. To the others, also, have been affixed summaries of the contents, and occasional notes, which will, it is presumed, give even this portion of the work a new character, rendering it more intelligible to the reader, and more easy of reference. The Diary has been also illustrated with notes, and compared in a few instances with Lord Clarendon's original memoranda, by which some *lacunæ* have been supplied. Of the importance of this singularly valuable document there can be but one opinion:—A more authentic account of the circumstances attending one of the most interesting events in our history is no where to be found; and the reader, who may now for the first time become acquainted with it, will be grateful to the Editor for having placed it in his way.

The remarks of Bishop Douglas upon this subject, may with propriety find a place here.

"State business, transacted at a distance from Court, cannot be supposed to exist, unless a regular communication by letters be kept up between the subordinate agent and the ministers who guide the Cabinet. But when the several actors in the political drama have daily opportunities of meeting each other, their business of course will be carried on by conference, not by correspondence; and thus the greatest revolutions may be brought about, without the existence of any paper of consequence, which may give information to posterity. In such scenes of unwritten negotiation, the second Lord Clarendon acted no inconsiderable part; and it is fortunate for the public that he kept a *Diary* of every thing that happened during a most interesting period. This Diary succeeds his letters from Ireland, in the Second Volume, and I make no doubt will be found highly worthy of a place in the present work.

"It was sometime under deliberation, whether the whole manuscript of this Diary should be published, or only such extracts made from it as related to public affairs. But the publication of the whole was resolved upon for this single consideration, that whoever is admitted to see it in its original nakedness, must conclude that it was not written for the inspection of others, but only designed to refresh Lord Clarendon's own memory, and consequently that we may safely rely on the truth of what he relates. There may be some reason for reading with caution and diffidence the well-told tale of one who sits down with the professed intention of writing for the public, and to make himself the hero of his own performance: but there cannot be the least ground for suspecting imposition from the artless relations of a Diary never meant to extend beyond the closet. Perhaps I may be blamed by some for breaking in upon Lord Clarendon in his retirement; but he had treasured up too many valuable secrets, not to disclose them to those who may be benefited and instructed by them: and while we see him, from time to time, mixed with Ministers and Statesmen, and admitted to the closets both of King

James and of the Prince of Orange, during the progress of the Revolution, we shall be contented to go along with him in his visits to Sir Richard Belling, and Sir Thomas Clarges, and permit him to tell us every private occurrence during the day. The Diary of 1688, and part of 1689, abounds indeed with most important anecdotes; and these, it is to be imagined, will atone for the many trifling articles we shall meet with, particularly after his adherence to his allegiance to King James had banished him from public business, and confined him within the narrow circle of his Non-juring friends, and the occupations of his country retirement. They present us with a picture of the manners of the age in which he lived. We may learn, at least, from them that at the close of the 17th century, a man of the first quality made it his constant practice to go to church, and could spend the day in society with his family and friends, without shaking his arm at a gaming-table, associating with jockeys at Newmarket, or murdering time by a constant round of giddy dissipation, if not of criminal indulgence.

" Diaries were not uncommon in the last age. Part of Archbishop Laud's has been long ago printed. Lord Anglesey, who made so great a figure in the reign of Charles II. left one behind him.* One written by the late Duke of Shrewsbury, I am well assured, still exists; and I am confident,

* " Sir Peter Pett has given us one article from this Diary, viz. ' March 8th, 1685. Spent most at home on business and duty, (i. e. prayer.) In the evening was private with Lord Sunderland, my good friend; and then was with the King a full hour, at Mr. Chiffinch's, who was very kind, free, and open in discourse: said he would not be priest-ridden.' I have transcribed this passage, which is preserved in Pett's *Memoirs* (as he calls them,) of Arthur Earl of Anglesey; because from this specimen it will be seen that Lord Anglesey's Diary was kept much in the same manner as his friend Lord Clarendon kept his. The world would have been more obliged to Sir P. Pett for this Diary, than they now are for publishing a panegyric of Lord Anglesey's on a controversial book written by Sir Peter himself." It appears, from Archdeacon Coxe's late publication of the Shrewsbury Papers, that the Diary of the Duke, mentioned above, was kept during his continuance abroad, and is confined to the incidents of his private life and travels, at a time when he ceased to be of public consequence. When Dr. Douglas wrote his preface, he could hardly anticipate the treasures of anecdotical history in reserve for the world in the Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys.

that every lover of historical truth, will rejoice that so valuable a part of Lord Clarendon's has escaped the havoc of time."

The *par nobile fratrum*, whose literary remains are now here united, appear in one particular to have imitated their illustrious father, in the habit which each of them seems to have indulged of recording thoughts and noting occurrences for his own private satisfaction. The conspicuous figure which they both make in the political annals of those times, gives these secret records of opinion and feeling, and of passing events, a much higher degree of interest than any thing written with an express view to publication could have possessed; and they afford such complete pictures of their minds, that it is the less necessary here to dwell upon their characters; but in addition to the notices dispersed in various parts of the work, some brief account of each of them is due to the reader, as a proper introduction to the following pages.

Henry Hyde, the eldest son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, appears to have been born in the year 1638.* His mother, the second wife of the Chancellor, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Master of Requests to the King. He seems to have displayed in early youth a talent for public affairs, and even in 1655, when he was only in his seventeenth year, there is evidence of his assisting his father in his dispatches. Bishop Burnet says, "He was very early engaged in great secrets; for his father apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful secretaries, engaged him, when very young, to write all his letters to England in cypher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cypher or decyphering; and was so discreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him." His father continued to employ him in his most secret correspondence during the five years that preceded the Restoration, and innumerable proofs of his industry and talent exist among the vast body of Clarendon papers, now deposited in the Bodleian library.

In the year 1660, he married Theodosia, the daughter of Lord Capel, and

* We gather this from the Diary, where we read as follows, under the date of the 2d of June, 1688:—"I am now this day fifty years of age."

in 1667, (when, by the creation of his father to the Earldom of Clarendon, he became Lord Cornbury,) in the settlement of Queen Catherine's household, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty. "He was (says Burnet) much in the Queen's favour; and his father being so violently persecuted on account of her marriage, she thought herself bound to protect him in a particular manner: he was so provoked at the ill usage his father had met with that he struck violently in with the party that opposed the Court." This is confirmed by repeated instances in the debates of the period, where he makes no inconsiderable figure in the list of speakers in opposition to the Court; and in the year 1673 alone, Grey has preserved nearly twenty of his speeches.

On the death of his father in 1674, he became Earl of Clarendon; and in the next session of Parliament he continued his opposition in the House of Lords; even proceeding so far as to enter a protest against an address voted to the King on his speech. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that Charles II. should have entertained a distaste for him, and that he should never mention him but with sharpness and scorn. Indeed Lord Clarendon had brought on himself the vindictive hatred of a profligate Court, by going so far as to urge, in one of his speeches, as a reason for removing Buckingham from the King's councils, that *he had murdered the husband* (of Lady Shrewsbury), *and lived in perpetual adultery with that miserable woman.* Dr. Douglas observes, "That whatever scorn the King might express without doors, Mr. Secretary Coventry, the manager of the Court party, and the shameless advocates of the infamous cabal, had no reason to express such scorn within doors." The speeches of Lord Clarendon have not the appearance of coming from a man "whose judgment was not much to be depended upon, and who was led by false notions." While they teach us to respect him as an honest man, for daring to oppose supplies till grievances were redressed, though he wore the key of Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; they, at the same time, are as sensible as they are spirited; and particularly, in the debates on Lord Arlington, the reasons he urges for preferring an address to remove that Minister from the King, to an impeachment, are not unworthy of one trained

up under the great Clarendon, and animated with a considerable share of his abilities.

All this time he continued in the Queen's family, and at length the influence of James Duke of York, to whom he had manifested a strong attachment on all occasions, brought him into favour at Court, and he was made a Privy Counsellor in 1680. He, however, soon incurred the displeasure of the prevailing party in the House of Commons, who, unable to carry the Exclusion Bill, showed their resentment against those who were supposed to have advised Charles never to consent to it, by voting an address to the King to remove them from his councils.

On the accession of James, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and in December of the same year, 1684-5, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The letters which he wrote during his continuance in this important charge, will afford the best evidence of his conduct; and we have fortunately not only his public correspondence with the Government at home, but his private letters to his brother, in which he unbosoms all his secrets, indulges in complaints against the conduct of the King and his Prime Minister, Sunderland, and discloses, without reserve, the whole plan of the progressive attacks made upon the Protestant religion, and the liberty of the subject in Ireland. Lord Clarendon's near affinity to King James, and the high principles of loyalty and submission in which he had been educated, did not prevent him from representing the impropriety and danger of the courses proposed: but though he remonstrates against violent and open proceedings, and especially against the conduct of Tyrconnel; yet he expresses his readiness to effect the King's purposes in a manner less offensive and alarming, with a degree of pliancy not quite in character with the reputation given him, by contemporary historians, of entire attachment to the Protestant cause. The fact seems to have been, that the condition of his fortunes prevented him from pursuing a more independent course, and from openly expressing what his conscience dictated.

James having found him less flexible to his purposes than he expected, first made Tyrconnel Lieutenant-General of the army in Ireland, with power to make changes and regulations in it, independent of the Lord-Lieutenant; and at length, upon a pretended plea of maladministration, removed him from his post, in January, 1686-7, to make room for Lord Tyrconnel; and on the 11th of March following, deprived him of his office of Lord Privy Seal, in order to bestow it upon another Catholic, Lord Arundel of Wardour. It is to be regretted that we have only a very small portion of the Diary of Lord Clarendon for this year. The part he took in the events which quickly followed, will be found recorded in the Diary of the succeeding years: and we have only to add, that persisting in refusing to take the oaths to King William, he passed the rest of his life in a private manner in the country, and died on the 22nd of October, 1709.

Burnet has said of Lord Clarendon, that he was a friendly, good-natured man; that he was naturally sincere, and punctual to tediousness in all that he related. He also mentioned that he kept an exact Journal of all that passed. The Journal of such a man, at such a period, is just the kind of record which is desirable; and these qualifications, added to the opportunities he had from his situation of knowing the most secret transactions of the state, cannot fail to give the reader a reasonable expectation of being instructed and entertained by it.

Bishop Douglas has been very solicitous to vindicate the character of Lord Clarendon for talent, against the insinuations of Burnet; but, as regards its influence upon his writings, it is not a matter of the importance that he seemed to consider it; indeed his own subsequent judicious observations lead to the same conclusion. "The powers of genius and the ornaments of composition are necessary to stamp a value on the work of the professed historian;" but the letters of a statesman derive their principal utility from the situation of the writer, not from his capacity; from his having been employed in state secrets, however unequal to the trust; in a

word, from his opportunities of knowing the determination of the cabinet, however unqualified to direct and advise them. Whatever portion, therefore, of political sagacity belongs to Lord Clarendon, this publication must be able to support its own claim to attention, without borrowing any from his personal character. That he was trusted with the government of Ireland, is sufficient to make us desirous of reading an account of his proceedings in that kingdom in his letters to the ministry at London, as they lay open the whole plan of attacks made by King James on liberty and religion. A Diary for the year of the Revolution promises both entertainment and instruction, when we know already from history that the writer of it was of such consequence in the State, that he was one of the Protestant Lords summoned by the King, when it was too late, to repair the miscarriages of his Popish Counsellors, and that he had spirit enough to take the lead in that memorable assembly.

"The letters of Henry Earl of Clarendon are not merely materials for historians, but they are history. They contain a complete account of his government in Ireland, from the day he entered upon it, to the moment he embarked again for England, upon his being recalled; and the chain of the correspondence is never broken, by the absence of so much as one link."

This is more strictly true of the present work, in which some important papers have been supplied, highly necessary to the integrity and right understanding of the whole. From the nature of the correspondence, every part of the instructions he came vested with from King James, and every subsequent direction he had from him, is occasionally laid open to the reader. The letters, though unadorned by any remarkable elegance of composition, are in many instances very lively and dramatic; and though the son is not equal to the father in delineations of character, or in eloquent collocation of phrase, he has not those involved periods and that superfluity of diction, bordering on tediousness and tautology, which have been objected to the style of the immortal author of the History of the Rebellion.

"In the letters from Ireland, a scene is disclosed which unavoidably commands the attention of every one who would be glad to see the Revolution fully justified, by a most authentic account of the whole plan of the encroachments meditated by King James on the Protestant establishment in Ireland; a prelude to what his English subjects were to expect in due time. Transactions, unattended by circumstances that are striking in their own nature, may become more interesting and important when considered as the cause of great public revolutions that afterwards happened. In this view, therefore, the various particulars which occur in Lord Clarendon's dispatches; the odious prosecutions on account of words reflecting on the King, when Duke of York, which call to our minds the tyranny of a Tiberius, and the villanies of his *informers;* the encouragement given to the Popish bishops, unknown to the Protestant governor of Ireland, to hold public assemblies, and to wear their habits in Dublin; the keeping vacant the church preferments, that the revenues appropriated by law for the maintenance of a Protestant establishment, might furnish a fund for subsisting the Popish clergy; the orders repeatedly sent to make papists members of corporations, justices of the peace, sheriffs, privy counsellors, and *judges*, in defiance of law; the arbitrary reversals of outlawries; and (what was a principal object of the attention of the Court) the infamous remodelling of the army; by turning out, not only the Protestant officers, but also the private men of that persuasion, to put the sword into the hands of the native Irish, whose animosity against the English interest had been discovered by their former rebellions; and to guard against whose future insurrections, it had been thought necessary to continue an army in Ireland, when the Acts of Settlement were made at the Restoration;—these, and other similar transactions referred to, will command our attention, when we consider them as the provocations which at last obliged even the friends of passive obedience to confute their own slavish doctrines by their actions, and to co-operate with those who called in the Prince of Orange to save the constitution.

"All that we boast of as Englishmen, we owe to the Revolution. While we enjoy the invaluable blessings of civil and religious liberty, we shall read here with satisfaction the most authentic account of the strange attempts of James to establish lawless despotism, and to introduce odious superstition, which has yet appeared. And while we have the fullest view of the dangers escaped, it will be no small addition to the value of the present collection, that it confirms many important facts, which throw light on the conduct of those patriots, who had the honesty to resist a tyrant, and happily succeeded in their glorious attempt."

Laurence Hyde, Lord Chancellor Clarendon's second son, is represented by Burnet to have had superior talents, which were improved by the careful culture of a good education. His first entrance upon public life was in 1661, when he was chosen one of the members to represent the University of Oxford in Parliament. In October of that year, he accompanied Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkeley on their mission to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. On his return he was appointed Master of the Robes to King Charles II. having previously held an honourable office in the household of James Duke of York, with whom he seems to have been always a great favourite. Upon the impeachment of his noble father by the House of Commons, in 1667, he defended him from the charges brought against him with so much skill and with such modesty and resolution as to give a very advantageous opinion of his talent for public business. The reverse in his father's fortunes seems to have had no ill effect upon those of Laurence Hyde; he was now in high favour at Court, and in habits of friendship with most of the distinguished courtiers. In 1676, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to John Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Diary which he kept upon this occasion, we have now the pleasure of laying before the reader. The first eighty-five pages are wanting in the MS.; but there is still enough remaining of this interesting document to show the nature of the functions of an ambassador, and to afford a curious

picture of the diplomacy of the time. It was in this mission that Mr. Hyde was accompanied by the eminently witty and distinguished Doctor Robert South, who acted as Chaplain and Latin Secretary; the good Doctor appears sometimes to have lost his temper, and upon one occasion the Ambassador attributes his ill-humour to his having been left behind without that necessary appendage to comfort,—a cook!

Mr. Hyde is said to have mainly contributed to the peace with the Turks which ensued; and returning to Zolkien in Russia with Sobieski, he there took his leave, having instructions to proceed to the Imperial Court at Vienna, to condole with the Emperor Leopold on the death of his wife. The Imperial grief, however, had long passed away, and the Emperor was again married, so that the condoler did not venture upon his functions, but passed privately into Holland, where he was met by a commission, appointing him one of the mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen.

On his return home, he was, at the recommendation of Sir William Temple, sent on a mission to the Prince of Orange, the purport of which was to persuade that prince to negotiate a peace for the confederate powers. Of this mission Mr. Hyde also kept a Journal, a fragment of which only has escaped the ravages of time, and is now, for the first time, printed in the Appendix of the First Volume. It is much to be regretted that more of it has not been preserved. Mr. Hyde's services were soon in constant request: he had shown himself an able diplomatist; and though he was not always successful in the object of his missions, Charles was so well satisfied with his conduct, that in 1679 he made him one of the Lords of the Treasury, and he soon after, upon the resignation of Lord Essex, became First Lord. He had previously obtained a seat in the House of Commons, as Member for Wootton Basset, and was at length sworn of the Privy Council; taking, with Sidney Godolphin and Lord Sunderland, the chief management of the King's affairs.

He was now so well grounded in the King's favour, that in 1681 he

was created Baron of Wootton Basset, and Viscount Hyde, of Kenilworth, in Warwickshire; and, on the death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, in 1683, he was raised to that title. In 1684, he was made Lord President of the Council; and at the end of that year was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in room of the Duke of Ormonde; but the death of Charles intervening, James, at his accession, preferred keeping him about his person, and bestowed upon him the Staff of Lord Treasurer; at the same time he gave Lord Clarendon the office of Lord Privy Seal.

The correspondence of one who makes such a prominent figure in the history of his times, cannot fail to offer much that is interesting. The letters now first published are replete with curious matter; the correspondence with James, when Duke of York, serves more fully to develope his character and intentions; and that of the Prince of Orange elucidates some disputed historical points: but the reader's attention may be also called to the curious papers in which Lord Rochester has noted the particulars of his conference with King James, when he was pressed to become a convert to the Church of Rome; to his conversation with Barillon upon the same subject; and to the particulars of the discussion between him and the Bishop of Madaura, as establishing fully what were the ultimate designs of that infatuated monarch. He expressly tells Lord Rochester that he was determined to have no man at the head of his affairs that was not of his own opinion in religion; and after all fruitless endeavours to convert the favourite, he is displaced with a pension; and his brother removed from Ireland to make way for the thorough-going Tyrconnel.* It may here be

* "It may not be unentertaining, just to mention that Lord Clarendon the father, has transmitted to posterity an account of the steps by which this strange man rose to that greatness, which Lord Clarendon, the son, shows he supported so unworthily. He was one of the five brothers of the name of Talbot, whom the Chancellor found so troublesome in Flanders before the Restoration, by their intrigues in opposition to his administration. Dick Talbot, (as he was usually called,) the youngest of these Irish adventurers, recommended himself to the Duke of York, being that he was a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and was of a clear and ready courage. The Chancellor confirms this account of Dick Talbot's courage by two instances, his having

remarked, by the way, that among the additions to the series of Lord Clarendon's Papers, there is one well deserving attention, showing that the Catholic Association of modern times is no novelty; and that even the measure of a rent or subscription was then also instituted to enable them to achieve their purpose with more complete effect.

Though Lord Rochester now ceased to take any very active part in public affairs, he was subsequently sent into Holland to watch over James's interests there. During the interregnum, at the Revolution, he concurred with the Provisional Government in many acts; yet in the Convention Parliament he maintained strongly the doctrine of hereditary right, and was one of the most strenuous advocates for a Regency; but when the vote declaring the throne vacant was carried, he acquiesced in the new settlement, and does not seem to have participated in the correspondence his brother kept up with the exiled King. His previous conduct, however, and an unconquerable distaste William had conceived for him, stood in the way of his reception at Court, and he was under some apprehension that his pension would have been stopped: in this exigence he was driven to have recourse to the mediation of Bishop Burnet, though they had never been on good terms; and Burnet's son has published some letters which passed at this juncture, in which he expresses his gratitude for the Bishop's interference. He also, on another occasion, made use of his interest to obtain his brother's pardon. At length, in 1691-2, Lord Rochester was admitted of the Privy Council, but the King was not brought to have confidence in him until his prejudices were removed by Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, who interested himself in Rochester's favour, and through his means he was appointed

engaged to assassinate Cromwell, and his second attempt in that honourable way, against the Duke of Ormonde.—Such being the merit of the man, no wonder that he should be raised to the highest honours, and be looked upon as a fit instrument to execute the violent measures of King James in Ireland. Dick Talbot and Lord Tyrconnel are the same person. See the continuation of Lord Clarendon's life, where the characters of all the five brothers are drawn, p. 362-3-4."—*Bishop Douglas.*

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1700. Among the following papers will be found his correspondence with the Lords' Justices of that kingdom, during his absence from the seat of government, and with Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State during the period of his residence in Ireland, which was but short. At the accession of Queen Anne, upon being ordered to proceed to his post, he declined doing so, and was in consequence dismissed from all his employments. This threw him into opposition to the Court, and he was long considered the head of the High Church party: with him originated the proposal for bringing over the Princess Sophia in 1705, the opposition to the Regency bill, and the Union bill in 1707. But on the change of Ministry in 1710, Harley again used his influence to reconcile the Queen to him; he was then made Lord President of the Council; and it is said that she designed him for the office of Lord Treasurer, when death suddenly removed him, in May 1712. Lord Rochester married Henrietta, fifth daughter of Richard Earl of Burlington, by whom he had a son, (who succeeded to his titles,) and five daughters. We have already observed, that Burnet gives him credit for superior talent; he also observes, that though he was a good writer, he was an ungraceful speaker; that "he was thought the smoothest man in the Court; and during all the dispute concerning his father, he made his court so dexterously, that no resentments appeared on that head. When he came into business and rose to high posts, he grew violent, but was thought an uncorrupt man. He had high notions of government, and thought it must be maintained with great severity." The Bishop, though evidently not friendly to him, allows him a reputation for sincerity, and even observes, that "he seemed to have too much heat to be false." The only blemishes he attributes to his character are that he was wilful and imperious, and that he drank to excess. In Mackay's Characters, he is described as "easily wound up to a passion, so that he often lost himself in the debates of the House of Peers;* and the opposite party knew so well how to attack him as to make

* This is confirmed by what Lord Dartmouth says of him in a note on Burnet's History. "He was apt to give a positive assertion instead of an argument; and when any objection

his great stock of knowledge fail him." From the same authority we learn that he was "of a middle stature, well shaped, and of a brown complexion."

It may not be improper here to add the apology offered by Bishop Douglas for the long-continued attachment of the brothers to the Monarch who was insidiously attempting to subvert the religion and liberties of their country: "That they continued to act under King James, so long as they did, cannot perhaps be vindicated; but they did it *with a purpose of doing as much good as they were able, and of hindering as much evil as they possibly could, in that unfortunate juncture of affairs.*" This was Lord Rochester's own apology, according to Bishop Sprat. And we shall still more incline to be favourable to their characters, when we consider what personal obligations they had to the King their brother-in-law, and what notions they had imbibed of the guilt of resistance, from having seen the prevalence of rebellion, and felt the mischiefs of anarchy. Had they lived now, in happier times, when the bounds between Prince and people are fixed by the Revolution, and under a King as amiable in his private character as he is virtuous in the exercise of the rights vested in the Crown by the constitution; those justly exploded principles of unlimited submission which seem to have influenced the conduct of Lords Clarendon and Rochester under King James, would have been refined into that due subordination and constitutional attachment to the Crown, which are so far from being inconsistent with the liberties of the people, that they cannot be destroyed without introducing all the madness of mob administration, or reviving all the mischiefs of Oliverian despotism.

By the favour of the present Earl of Clarendon, we are enabled to ornament the work with "the lively presentment" of the two noble brothers, and of Sir Henry Capel, from pictures in his Lordship's collection. Those

was made to it, all the answer was that he could not help thinking so. And I never knew a man that was so soon put in a passion, that was so long before he could bring himself out of it, in which he would say things that were never forgot by any body but himself. He therefore had always more enemies than he thought; though he had as many professedly so, as any man of his time."

of Lord Clarendon and Sir H. Capel, have never heretofore been engraved. To Lord Churchill, who kindly interested himself about the work, the Editor's acknowledgments are due, for his permission to engrave the view of Cornbury; and he has to thank the Right Hon. Sir Henry Russell, Bart. for the same privilege, in regard to Swallowfield, formerly the seat of Henry Earl of Clarendon, where it is said his noble father wrote part of the History of the Rebellion. Of some of the more interesting autographs, fac-similes have been given, and the whole collection has been illustrated with such occasional notes and biographical notices as seemed necessary, so as to render it superfluous to enter into farther detail here.

The Appendix which accompanied Bishop Douglas's publication, and which contained some important illustrations of Lord Clarendon's Diary, will be found at the end of the Second Volume, in an augmented and improved state, and besides the synopsis of each letter, a copious Index has been constructed for the reader's convenience.

Royal Institution,
October 18, 1827.

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28. Sir Paul Rycaut, Secretary to Lord Clarendon when Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 112, *note*.
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35. Signature of Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, vol. ii. p. 144, *note**.
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37. John, 1st Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, p. 141.
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42. Frances Therese, 2nd Duchess of Charles, 6th Duke of Lenox, and 4th Duke of Richmond, and eldest daughter of Walter Stuart, third son of Walter, 1st Lord Blantyre; celebrated as the most beautiful woman of the Court of Charles II.
43. James Bertie, 1st Earl of Abingdon, vol. i. pp. 133, *note*, 136, 137.
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2. A Hooghtoete ce 6 d Octob: 1670.

3. Cornbury

Prince d'Orange.

4. Clarendon.

8. Berkeley

9. Galway

5. Rochester

Dublin Castle March 20th 1700/1

April Cy. 20th 1686.

6. Beaufort.

10. Clifforde

11. Ranelagh

August the 3:d 1697.

Badminton Sept. the 4th. 85

7. Beaufort

12. Kendall.

Barbados. March the 3d. 169 2/3.

Dunlue march 4e. 5th 1701

13. H E: Antrime

Engraved by J. Swaine

Published May 1st 1827. by Henry Colburn London.

Copied from the original Letters in the possession of W.m Upcott.

14.

~~Townshend~~

15. W de Nanau lt

A la Haye Le 22e 9bre 1685

16. J. Fagel

17. Worcester

Badminton 6 June 1683

18. Feb 3d 99 Shrewsbury

19. Danby

London. 8th Feb. 167 7/8

20.

Your Lordships most humble & obedient servt.

Jo. Oxon.

21. Nawrissus Dublin:

22. Wrogheda

23. Mouns Alexander

24.

Your Lo:p most humble
obedient servt
H Newcastle

Bolsover Sep: ye 8:th (85

Published May 1st 1827. by Henry Colburn London.

Engraved by S. Jacobs

Copied from the original Letters in the possession of Wm Upcott.

Winchester
Sept: the 11.

25. Sunderland

At Leige the 25th of Oct: 1702.

26.

Yr most faithfull humble servant

Hague July 29. S.N. 1698

27. W Temple

17th day of Decr 1686.

28. Paul Rycaut

Yr Ls most humble & faithfull
servant

Leister Feilds 18th June 85.

29.

My Lord Yr Excellencys most faithfull
and humble servt
Galway

30.

31. Londesburgh July 16 82

E Burlington

32. London March 13th 1684

Published May 1st 1827 by Henry Colburn, Lond.n

33.

from Ringwood the 7th of July 85

My lord

This wch I haue now sed, I hope will be Enofe to Excoradge your lordship, to shew me your fauour wch I doe Ernestly desire of you and hope that you haue so much generosity as not to refuse it; I hope my lord, and I make noe doubt of it, that you will not haue cause to repent hauing saued my life, wch I am sur you can doe a great deal in it, if you please, being it obliges me for Euer to be intierly yours wch I shall Euer be as long as I haue life.

Monmouth

Tangr: Jan 11th: 1683

34.

Yr most Obedyent and most humble servant

Dartmouth

35

Clarendon C.P.S.

Somerton Jully: 4th 85

36.

F. Clarendon

37.

Your Lordshipes humble servant

Churchill

38.

Dub 28 of Jan: 84/5

(my Lord)

39.

Your Hons most faith. full humble & obliged servant

R. South

Caveshan 29 Aug: 86

Published May 1. 1827. by Henry Colburn London.

Engraved by J. Swain

Signatures of the purchasers of Inheritance of part of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland, dated Dublin, Feb. 20. 1700.

40.

Hen: Ogle: Tho: Domvile: Jo: Dillon N: Donnelan
Sam: Dopping: John Kent
Wal: Delamere Edw: Regley Jo: Leigh
Peter: Partington: Wm Robinson Tho: Twig:
Wm Sotheby: T. Molyneux. Fred Trench
Nich: Westby
Jo Trench W Palmer
Ra: Campbell
Francis Burton Wm Conolly Will Trench
Jo: Grahame Hen: Westenra Abraham Dixon

41. Tho Erle

42. F Richmond & Lenox

43. Abingdon

My Lord

44. Yr Excys most obedient and most humble servant
Alan Brodrick

Oxon 25 June

Yr Lops Most faithfull & Humble Servant

Guilford

45.

46. My Lord Yo Excell Cys most faithfull & obedient Servant
Whitehall 9 Sept 1701.
Ja Vernon.

47.

de la Haye ce 10 d'avril 1705 J Bentinck

Published May 1st 1827 by Henry Colburn, London.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

EARLS OF CLARENDON AND ROCHESTER.

I.

SIR ALAN BRODERICK* TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Letter of News.

MY LORD, 27th October, 1676.

This day the Common Council at Guildhall have finished their Address to the King for guarding the seas, protecting trade from the depredations of the French, and making such an equalization, that a million and 300,000*l.* per annum, may not hereafter (as now it doth) go out of England to France, more than the product of our native commodities amount unto; for restraining the new abuse of passes, the insolence of the Algerines, &c. The like is framed at Bristol and other western ports, and will ere long in the northern

* Sir Alan Brodrick (ancestor of the present Earl of Middleton) was born at Garret, near Wandsworth, in Surrey, in 1623, and died there in 1680. He became successively Provost-Marshal of Munster, Surveyor-General of Ireland, and one of the Commissioners for settling the affairs of that kingdom. He was a man of wit and a poet, as well as a man of business; being entered of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, he took the degree of M. A. in that university, and was some time member for Dungarvon in the Parliament of Ireland.

and eastern, where the French pirates have taken all the Dogger boats, nets, tackle, and fish; even those set out by his Royal Highness and his new adventurers, one only vessel escaping. What answer will be returned, I know not; all his Royal Highness saith is, that it can be no more imputed to the King of France, than that he should be answerable for all the private robberies between Montrieul and Abbeville, or the King of England, between Sittingbourne and Gravesend. The King saith it always was so, and always will be so in time of war, wondering much at these unreasonable complaints. The merchants were bold to tell him, they must leave off trade: the King frankly replied, so they might. The Secretary saith it is no more than was practised by the English privateers in the Dutch War. Passing by these discourses, the matter of fact is this: since the year 1632, there hath been no new Treaty Marine between the Crowns; and then the general custom of Europe was, that an unfree ship did never affect free goods, provided they were not contraband, as arms, ammunition, victuals, and the like, carrying to places besieged. But about twelve years since, the Dutch, by treaty with the Crown of France, changed it; that a free ship should not be affected by unfree goods, provided as before. The consequence of the former is searching, and now lawfully used against us; for neither the King nor Monsieur Colbert do in any kind justify the abuse in seizing English goods as unfree. And the latter will be granted by the new project of a treaty, delivered by Mr. Montague; upon assurance of strict care at all English ports, and foreign factories, not to cover enemies' goods, and declining the former claim of free goods in unfree ships; the difference in truth being not great, if pursued with equal strictness. The first day of the Term an infamous libel was set on Westminster-hall gate, against the Treasurer's selling four judges' places, the revenues of England and Ireland, and his design of selling the very kingdoms. Another, abusive enough, against the Lord Chancellor's oratory, was fastened to the Rolls and four Inns of Court. Sir William Scroggs on Monday being admitted judge, made so excellent a speech, that my lord Northampton, then present, went from Westminster to Whitehall immediately, told the King he had, since his happy restoration, caused many hundred sermons to be printed, all which together taught not the people half so much loyalty; therefore, as a sermon, desired his command to have it printed and published in all the market towns of England. The others in nomination are Serjeant Bramton, Hards, and Barton; but my lady Pulteney assures her husband he shall

precede them. In the mean time Wild is recovered, Twisden refuses his writ of case without compensation; and they say, Atkins by special interest is made, as the lawyers phrase it, *rectus in Curiâ*. Since your Excellency went hence, old sir John Northcott, sir William Fenwick, colonel Richard Nevil, and yesterday sir John Bucknell, died, in all twenty-three; besides the vacancies by double returns, which are four. Of the twenty-three, we believe at Court, that sixteen will certainly be right; and the country gentlemen acknowledge, if not so many, yet the Court will have the majority. Your brother came hither on Saturday night, went this morning to Cornbury, returns the 9th of next month, and intends to leave his lady there;—yours is very well, and will be here very speedily. God Almighty preserve your Excellency, and send you a good journey homeward!

II.

HON. LAURENCE HYDE TO HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON.

His Opinion of Public Affairs, and Advice to his Brother how to act.

Hague, January the 4th-14th, 1677-8.

After Mr. Thynne had been gone from hence two days, the winds proved so high and contrary, that he returned hither again last night, being weary of lying at the Brill, and the captain of the yacht, to give him the better authority for it, came along with him, and says the wind hath been so very high, that though it should now come fair and calm, there can be no stirring in twenty-four hours after; and this will give me the opportunity of saying a word more to you, and making you some amends for the last letter I wrote you by him. You see your great friend my Lord Chancellor* and I agree in that, that there will be an opportunity now to make yourself well again with the King; but it may be he and I should not agree in the means. His lordship may speak what he thinks, and yet not speak very skilfully as to what would be necessary to set aside for the maintaining of the war; for how should he come to speak skilfully of it, and I see the other great officer, whose particular province it is to look into the money, differs with this in his estimate. I am afraid they will both be

* Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham.

out in their computations, if they expect the House of Commons should vote any certain yearly sum, as long as the war should last; that I take much against the nature of a House of Commons, who desire to be often called, and to renew their favours rather than grant them all at once. But this I should take to be natural, that if the King acquaint them he hath entered into an alliance with the States, for the preservation of Flanders, according to their desire at their last meeting, and thereupon asks their assistance for the support of that alliance, as it will be necessary he should have it, so I will not doubt but that, by the assistance of honest men, (and there you may come in to do your part—I mean by the influence you have over a great many of the House of Commons,) there may be a vote passed that they will support the King to maintain that alliance, and that I take to be a pretty good step. What afterwards will be offered by the Court as necessary to support it, if it be extravagant, may be abated and moderated; for every reasonable man will know what is necessary really to do it, at least for so long a time till they have a mind to meet again; and in this if I might advise, the King should not struggle with them, provided they proportion the supplies suitable to the time that they pretend them for; I mean, if they would sit again in six months, let them not give a supply that cannot reasonably be supposed to last something longer than that time. This, methinks, were fair on both sides to be consenting in; and if matters be carried calmly and fairly, and with an effectual inclination on both sides to have the work carried on, that there be no suspicion and jealousy one of another, I should hope this way of proceeding might be accepted, and I do verily believe it will, though it may be it will not be owned at first; and that greater matters may be demanded. And in good earnest, in such a case as this, (if you will forgive me for being too great a politician, and pretending like a great minister to direct affairs so far off,) I would be glad Sir Alan Brodrick would come off a little, and be as forward as he should be in such a compliance: it may be such a contrary step in him to what he hath of late practised, might be more imputed to you than any thing else of that kind would be. I do not wish you should be yourself, or endeavour to bring in any body else to be of a party; but when things are pretty well come to your wish, I would have you meet them, and by all means hinder them from going back again. I know not how far the King will think fit to communicate the particulars of the alliance; they are yet a secret here, and I find they are not all communicated to Monsieur Van Beugngen, though he hath orders

to own there is an alliance entered into; but, in short, I may tell you; that it is such a one as hath given satisfaction to those it hath been transacted with here, and doth not displease the Spanish Minister, who hath likewise had a great deal of it imparted to him; and when that is, methinks it might satisfy us in England.

We hope the wind is come fair, and so Mr. Thynne is going away again to the Brill, to try if he can have better luck than he had on Tuesday.

My humble service to my sister.

III.

THE EARL OF DANBY* TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE, AMBASSADOR IN HOLLAND.

Relating to the Negociation with that Country.

MY LORD, London, 8th February, 1677-8.

I will give you little more trouble than to thank you for the favour of your two letters, because Mr. Godolphin will entertain you fully with all the news of this place. For the business about which he is sent to the Prince, I confess I know not what to advise nor wish, because it would be taken very ill here if we should not undertake a war upon any terms; and yet, at the same time, any body that saw us act would swear that the Parliament were forced to it against their wills; insomuch that nobody can wonder that the King is under great discouragements to think how he shall be supported in a war, when he is voted into it by a small majority upon every division. I shall therefore take upon me in this case rather the office of a divine than a statesman, and pray that all your counsels may be for the best. Pray do me the favour to represent to me the sense of that country you are in as to their desire of peace or war; for I am satisfied the Spaniards would choose

* The conspicuous figure this nobleman makes in the history of these times, renders it the less necessary to introduce him to the notice of the reader. He was the eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, Bart., was made a Privy-counsellor in 1672; and in the following year became Lord High Treasurer. He was created Baron Kiveton and Viscount Latimer in 1673; Earl of Danby in 1674; and in 1677 received the honour of the Garter. He subsequently became Marquis of Caermarthen, 1689, and Duke of Leeds in 1694, and died in 1712.

the peace upon any terms rather than the continuance of the war. I beg of you also to do me the honour of presenting my humblest duty to her Highness; and I desire you to believe me most unfeignedly,

My Lord,
Your Excellency's most faithful,
Humble Servant,
DANBY.

IV.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY'S FIRST PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

[He was committed to the Tower as a delinquent, together with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, &c. &c. for raising a question about the legality of the prorogation of Parliament. Upon their committal they were much visited; so to check that, they were made close prisoners. They all lay in the Tower some months, when the others were set at liberty on petitioning the King. Burnet says, Lord Shaftesbury *would not petition,* but moved the Court of King's Bench, who would take no cognizance of what had been done by the House of Lords, as a superior court. The two following petitions show that Burnet was not correct. It is probable that Lord Shaftesbury stood out longer than his fellow-prisoners, in the hope of otherwise getting released, but that he was at length glad to submit. It is remarkable, that the first petition was presented by Lord Hallifax, who had been one of the principal movers of the committal of the lords, and who had been particularly severe against Shaftesbury for being so refractory in the business. These petitions have been printed in a scarce little volume entitled "Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, 1683," 8vo. but are here more correctly given.]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, sheweth,

That your Lordships having, the 16th of February, 1676-7, committed your Petitioner prisoner to the Tower of London, because he did not obey your Lordships' order, where he hath continued under a close confinement, to the great decay of his health and danger of his life, as well as prejudice of his estate and family: Your Petitioner, therefore, in obedience to your Lordships, doth humbly submit himself to your Lordships' pleasure, and is ready to make acknowledgment and submission according to your directions.

Wherefore your Petitioner humbly prayeth, that your Lordships will be pleased to order his discharge, and restore him to your Lordships' favour.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

SHAFTESBURY.

(Indorsed.)
"Earl of Shaftesbury's Petition to the Lords, delivered February 14th, 1677-8, by Lord Hallifax."

V.

LORD SHAFTESBURY'S SECOND PETITION.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, sheweth,

That your Petitioner takes notice of an order of this House, of the 20th instant, that the Record of the Court of King's Bench concerning the matter of the Habeas Corpus, alleged to be brought by your Petitioner, to be brought before the House; and he, in the mean time, continues still a prisoner, notwithstanding his most humble petition and submission to his Majesty and this House; takes himself to be greatly concerned, and to have a right to be present and heard, when any debate of any new matter against him shall be entered upon. Nevertheless, since he cannot pretend but he may have erred for want of precedent, or resolution, to guide him, and being deprived of that benefit of council by reason of his long and close confinement, which otherwise he might have had; and being resolved, as he declares in his last petition, not to do any thing willingly which might in the least offend his Majesty or your Lordships; he takes humbly this opportunity to give farther evidence thereof, by casting himself at your Lordships' feet; and as he hath humbly begged the pardon of his Majesty, so he begs also the pardon of this House for having offended them in any thing whatever, and humbly repeats his former prayer for his enlargement.*

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

SHAFTESBURY.

"Petition presented February 21, 1677-8, by Lord Holles."

* In consequence of this petition Lord Shaftesbury, after making a formal submission upon his knees, at the bar of the House of Lords, was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, on the 24th February, 1677-8.

VI.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO MR. LAURENCE HYDE.

Lord Shaftesbury's Petitions.—The King very well satisfied with Mr. Hyde.

St. James's, February 22, 1677-8.

I have several letters of yours to answer, but have been so very busy, what with being at the House, (where Lord Shaftesbury's petitions have made us eat late dinners this week), and our being to prepare for a war, that till now I have not had so much time to myself to answer any of them. As to the first of them, you know already that his Majesty is very well satisfied with you, and I am sure an older minister than yourself might easily have run into the same accident you did. As for yours, by Godolphin, he has not yet said any thing of it to me, so that I do not know what it is; but you may be sure I shall always be very glad to further any of your concerns, and let you see I shall always be very kind to you. For news, you will have it from others. By the next post you will hear what will become of the Earl of Shaftesbury, he being to be brought to the bar of our House on Monday next.

JAMES.

"For Mr. Hyde."

VII.

DR. WILLIAM LLOYD (DEAN OF BANGOR) TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Letter of Compliment and News.

[The writer is the very learned prelate, who was afterwards so distinguished as Bishop of St. Asaph. The letter appears to have been written from the Hague, where it seems that Dr. Lloyd officiated as chaplain to the British Embassy.]

MY LORD, February 18, 1678, (N. S.)

I have not heard from your lordship since the session of Parliament, and can scarce hope for a letter in a time of so much business; but I hope your lordship will cause the votes to be sent, together with a short account of any thing that you think worth the sending. For here all the people's eyes are that way; and to have nothing out of England in a time of so great expectation, is not for one's credit. It makes him look as if he had no

friends there. Of matters here I doubt not your lordship has a constant account, from one that can tell you a great deal more than is fit for me to know; but I can tell your lordship things below his observation, if they were worth sending; among which, I know your lordship's esteem of the persons will give some value to an account of the health of Dr. Moin, a hearty servant and honourer of your lordship, and of the sickness of Monsieur Spanheim, who I fear will scarce come abroad again. These and the other worthy men at Leyden and in this place, of whom there are more than I thought to have found, I see often, and live in very good accord with them. There are daily of the ministers of this country at our prayers, from which they seem to go very well satisfied, and not a few of them have told me they would be glad to have ours the liturgy of their church. They have also a great esteem of our Government, and own Ignatius's Epistles publickly in their schools at Leyden, for which they acknowledge they owe much to Bishop Pearson, whom they mention with great epithets, as well there as in my hearing. But this is a rifling of the discourse that I am to have in England when I come to wait upon your lordship, which I hope to do very shortly; though as yet I hear nothing from my Lord of London, nor from any one else, of Dr. Hooper's coming hither.

I am exceedingly glad to hear of the good effects of Dr. Needham's advice to my lady. Be pleased to present my most humble service to her ladyship, and continue your favour to,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most true servant,
W. Lloyd.

I hope my son comes in his coach to thank my lady for making him a young gentleman, till I come home to make him young William again.

VIII.

THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE, TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Relating to their brother, James Hyde, and occurrences in Holland.

Hague, Feb. 19, (March 1,) 1677-8.

Yours, of the 12th inst., I received on Friday night last; but after I had closed my letter that I sent you by Mr. Godolphin, and finding not anything

of very great importance in it, to be answered by a safer than the ordinary way, I thought I might defer the acknowledging of it till this day's post. For that which concerned my brother James,* I thank you for putting me in mind that I had something to have offered to you about him, that I may have the opportunity of telling you what my thoughts then were; I say were then, for of necessity they cannot now be the same. When you sent me the former letter from Mr. Pullen, which let you sufficiently know what you were to trust to concerning my brother's studying, I was thinking to have proposed to you that he might come over and live with me at Nimeguen, and you may remember at that time you had thoughts of coming over, which was the reason I writ nothing of this matter to you, but reserved it to discourse on if I had continued still in that place; I should have been of the same mind still, that he might have done very well with me, for it was a place of great order, and great gravity; there was no possibility of doing any thing ill but with great scandal, and the authority and dignity of my character, together with the formality of it, would have restrained and governed him well enough; and if he had ever a mind to have studied, for want of some other entertainment, Mr. Levitt would have assisted him; and it may be, when he was not compelled to it, he might have taken more kindly to it; but since I have been here I could never entertain such a thought, for my manner of living is quite different; a great deal of company is usually eating and playing, and sometimes drinking too in my house; there is but too much ill example, and the Court the very next door: I should have no government over him, nor would he perhaps do me much credit. I have told you plainly my thoughts upon both the conjectures of time; and I suppose you will be of my mind, it cannot be fit he should be in this place with me, though it may be, you would not have disliked the other. What is like to become of me hereafter, is so wholly in the clouds to me, that I am not capable of making another offer, what I would do if I return to Nimeguen, or what, if I do not, since I cannot at all guess whether I shall return thither or no; and if I should, how long I am to stay there. What, then, will be fit to do for him is the next question, and so hard that I know not really what to advise in it. You say, and I believe it is high time to remove him

* James Hyde, who was afterwards unfortunately lost at sea, in the Gloucester, in Yarmouth Roads. See a letter from him to his brother, dated May 3, 1682, just previous to his being cast away. Lord Chancellor Clarendon recommends his youngest son, James, and his daughter, Frances, to the care of their brothers, saying, he has nothing to leave them but his blessing.

from Oxford; and the Temple, for one that cannot, or will not study, is no doubt the worst place in England for a young man to come to. He is now eighteen years old, and will not long be governed by any body; but till he is twenty-one I suppose we may endeavour it; I should think it best you should for some time receive him into your house at London, and make him as much a companion as he will let you be, or will be to you; if I return again to Nimeguen to be settled there, he shall be very welcome to me if you approve of it. I write not to answer his letter, till I know what you say to what I write now to you, that you and I may always appear to him to be of a mind. I would propose his going abroad, but that it is too chargeable; it may be, keeping company with men will do him more good than that of boys at the University, but I mean still under the government of your family or mine. This is all I can think of for him. They talk as if the Prince of Orange would very speedily be going to the army; indeed, if a peace be not to be had, the season of the year advances apace, considering that last year by this time Valenchiennes was taken. I have no more to add but to pray for all manner of happiness to you, and assure you that I am ever,

Yours, &c.

My Lord of Ossory is arrived on this side the water, but not yet come to town.

Upon news just now arrived from Flanders, the Prince of Orange resolves to be gone this night to the army.

IX.

THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Occurrences in Holland.—Opinion on Public Affairs.

Hague, February 22, (March 4,) 1667-8.

Since I writ last to you, which was the 19th of February, about two hours after the post was gone, I received, 1st March, your's of the 15th instant, and the same night, as I sent you word then, the Prince of Orange went hence for the army. The Princess went with him as far as Rotterdam, where there was a very tender parting on both sides; the journey happened

to be a more than ordinary surprise to her Highness, for the Prince had been out of town a hunting, and came home just at dinner time. He had received letters upon the way that had made him take this sudden resolution, which the Princess knew nothing at all of; and the first notice she had of it was by one of the officers, who was to go away two hours before the Prince, coming to take his leave of her, and to make his compliments upon that occasion. I find now the general opinion here is, that the prince needed not have gone away in such haste; and that it is not yet certain that the King of France hath invested either of those places, Charlemont or Namur, (which was the occasion of his departure) or that he is upon the design of doing it immediately; and which is yet worse, if he should do it, he would certainly take them both, notwithstanding all the Prince of Orange could do; and therefore, those who are his servants and wish him well, are of opinion he had done better to have let Count Waldec have had the mortification of seeing them taken rather than be present at it himself. But his Highness is pretty sudden in his resolutions, and having once taken them is not easily persuaded to change them; which is a quality he is so very like some of his friends in, that you would swear they were not two, but one. I wrote this to you by the messenger Mr. Secretary Williamson sent last over to me, who I find never minds to let any of my friends know whenever he doth send anybody to me. It is abundance of business, or abundance of some other good qualities that makes him so very civil. But the man, returning in the packet-boat, I choose to charge him with my letters rather than the post. I do not see now but that my Lord Shaftesbury is in for his life, it may be; for since the House of Lords have rejected his petition,* I suppose your rules will not permit you to receive another upon the same subject, from the same person in the same session. I agree with you it is a grievous thing that men must not be left to follow their judgments in any thing; but it is, and hath always been so ordinary a thing, that the custom ought to take away the sense of the pain; for I remember the line in Latin that speaks of the contrary as of a wonder; I think it is in Tacitus: *Rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.*†

I believe easily there may be great jealousies concerning the war with France, and nobody here, either of the ministers or others, that pretend to think of the politics, do yet believe but that there will be a peace, and most

* See page 10 ante.

† Tac. Hist. lib. I. i.

of them do so extremely wish it, and particularly the Spaniards, that perhaps it may hinder it more than any thing. I know not what to think of it myself, but I believe we are farther in it than it may be was intended at first. When my Lord Cavendish, and those others you name with him, have regiments given them, then it will be no longer doubted of. I do not know what officers you can find for all these men, but everybody abroad are but too much persuaded that we have very few good ones amongst us.* I have just received yours of the 19th, which is very quick; but I have not time to say any more to you but just to acknowledge it, and to assure you that I am ever yours.

X.

THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Misrepresentations of his Mission to Poland, &c.

Hague, May 7, (17,) 1678.

On Saturday last I received yours of the 30th, and am very sorry to find by it you cannot be as good as your promise once, to come along with my wife; but I very readily believe that while the Parliament sits you could not dispense with your attendance there. I hope you and my sister both will make the journey when it is convenient to you, and I shall be as glad to wait on you at your leisure, as if you had made the compliment to come when you had it not. The Parliament man you mention concerning my Polish plot, may be a considerable man both in fortune and interest, and in every thing else but in intelligence; in that he is, I assure you, most extremely mistaken. It might be criminal enough, for ought I know, to have gone to make a new Catholic princess, and that I cannot justify; but of any further black designs in that journey I am wholly innocent, as you will see if that gentleman can produce you the copies of my true speech and credentials, at least if they differ no more from the original than the copies of the treaty made here did from the true one, of which now I hope one may speak a word in passing, since all that matter is submitted to the consideration of

* This was long a prevailing notion, and was often publicly urged up to the time of the late Peninsular war. It is to be hoped that the voice of calumny is at length silenced.

both Houses, and the word shall be only this, that I cannot for my part comprehend why it hath been concealed so long. I cannot answer you what the States will do if England and the other allies do not like the peace offered; they will stay, I suppose, to see what is finally resolved in England before they make a step further; and that we are impatiently enough expecting, though perhaps the next letters will not bring it us.

I thank you for the printed pamphlets and written reasons you sent me in your last. Your Amsterdam letter I cannot tell what to make on; it is the most extraordinary style I ever read, and the reasons for the Bill of Popery are drawn, I see, with a good will, but I cannot find the force of them. After having writ thus far, I received your long dispatch of the 3d instant, with the copy of my negotiation in Poland; of which matter you know yourself so much that, for your own satisfaction, I am sure I need say nothing upon it, and for that of others I would do any thing that were reasonable to preserve a fair opinion amongst all sober men, but this is so ridiculous, and so throughout false, without the least colour or shadow of truth in it; not a word, not a syllable, not a thought of mine in it, that I think it best totally to despise it. I have it more at large in the copy of a letter Mr. Thynne did me the favour to send me, pretended to be written from Cracow, in March was twelve month, and translated, as it is said, out of Low Dutch, but I look upon the whole to be a libel made in English and in England, wherein I have the least share of hurt intended me; but the design is to make the Government so much the more odious, if it could be insinuated, that even in so remote a country as Poland, and even under the colour of a Christning, we were managing the interest of the *most holy Catholic religion*, as that author calls it, and as I never did call it in my life; and this, if you think fit, you may in short say to Sir Thomas Clarges, Mr. Harbord, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Francis Rolles, or any others whom you may think needful to disabuse, that as God shall save my soul, there is not one tittle of truth in this pretended speech of mine to the King of Poland. I had instructions from the King, to move that King on the behalf of the Protestants of that country; accordingly, as soon as I arrived at Dantzic, I sent for one Hartman, as I think his name was, a divine, and the chief amongst them, who had a kind of superintendency over the rest, and to whose direction those of that religion seemed to submit very much, to be informed by him, which way I might best apply myself in the execution of my instructions concerning them. To make my offices the more beneficial to them, he came to me accordingly, made their grievances and his desires

known to me; after this, as I passed through Thorne, the merchants there of that religion, most of them Scotch, came in a body to desire of me, what service I could do them when I should come where the King of Poland was. I heard what they had to desire; told them what Mr. Hartman had said to me at Dantzic; they agreed with one another; after this, at Warsaw, one of this company departed from the rest, joined me again, and went with me the rest of the journey till I came where the King of Poland was: his name was Boyd, and there I did move that King, in the name of the King, my master, for the Protestants in general; and I mentioned the particulars afterwards, as I had been informed since I came into the country: that King referred me to the Palatine of Culme, with whom I spoke two several times upon the same subject. I had very good words and fair promises from him, and that King both; I stayed not, indeed, to see the performance of them: sure I am, that the merchants seemed well satisfied with my endeavours, at least, to serve them, and of all this, Dr. South,* who hath a better memory than I have, and was privy to all I did in it, can give you, or any man else a fuller confirmation. I think I have said but too much, and more than I intended, for my justification from this senseless, groundless, malicious, scandalous lie, and so I leave it; and as little as I can be concerned for this, I cannot be it less, for what concerns my own share in this offensive and defensive treaty, which I hear is to be damned by vote; it is no child of mine, and therefore, I say, for my own share of it, I cannot at all be concerned for its subsisting; but after all, I think a peace made upon those terms leaves as good a barrier,—I know it is not the same, but I say as useful a one,—as the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle did, which is so much celebrated; not but that I wish better with all my heart, and will honour those that can make it so.

The States are in expectation of what advice the Parliament will at last give the King, and so make no further steps as yet towards the peace; but if you cannot agree quickly about it, God knows what separate courses they may take. I thank you again for your very particular information of all things, and am ever, &c.

Though I hear not certainly when my wife will come out, I write no more to her; which if she should be still with you, you will be pleased to tell her.

* Dr. Robert South, the eminent divine, who attended the Earl of Rochester as Chaplain, when on this mission to Poland, of which we have a narrative written by him.

XI.

THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Proceedings of the Assembly of the States in Holland.

Hague, May the 10-20th, 1678.

I sent you word in my last, that I had given over writing to my wife, out of the expectation she was come away, and till I hear that she is not, or doth not intend it, I continue still in that lazy temper of saving myself the pains of another letter. We have no letters yet out of England, though the wind has been very fair, and very fine weather, which makes the resolutions of this country at a little stand, for they expect mightily to hear what the Parliament will do, and what advice they will give his Majesty; which, if they be sudden and unanimous in, it will certainly extremely influence all their consultations here. This hath been a day of great debate in the States of Holland concerning the prohibition of the French commodities, and two other points, which the King's commissioners at Whitehall pressed upon the States' ministers there; and after having sat till six o'clock in the evening, they rise for an hour, without coming to any resolution; and now they are sitting again upon the same matters. The Prince of Orange is with them, as it doth extremely concern him not to be absent but the least he can from all their debates; but now he expects every moment to be called away to the army, having already had several alarms, that all the French troops are gathering to the place of rendezvous, and that the pioneers in good numbers were assembled, which looks as if they would suddenly undertake some new place. God send they might once have a disappointment.

My humble service to my sister.

XII.

THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Observations at Large on the Position of Public Affairs. Advice to his Brother.

Hague, May the 14 (24th) ;

Since my last to you I have received three from you, two of the 7th, and one of the 10th instant: the first of them Miss delivered me, whom I met

upon the way between Delf and Maesland Sluys, on Saturday about noon: they were got into the Brill that morning as soon as it was day, so that it was not a very long passage, and the finest one, in all other respects, that could have been wished, the weather having been extremely calm, and no body sicker nor more sensible of the voyage than if they had been going from London to Twickenham. We have had since that time two or three days of terrible storms, so that it seems the journey was well timed. My wife tells me you did her the favour to see her on shipboard; I wish with all my heart you could have come further with her; but I acknowledge it was not a time for you to stir in, by all you write to me. I see we are in a sad temper to do any thing as we should do, and all things concur to make the French the masters of the world. I expect that person you name, that thought himself named, is out of all patience at it, and his rage and choler will carry things God knows whither; but I confess, too, it is an ill time to find fault in. I have seen the vote of the House of Commons, on the 4th of May, I think it is, wherein amongst other things they desire his Majesty to take all possible care to keep the States in the confederacy. Why there is no way under heaven to do that, but the Parliaments' agreeing in an advice to his Majesty, whether they would wish him to come into the war or no; if the King comes into it, or had at least done it any time since this last meeting of Parliament, this country, notwithstanding all their paces towards a peace, would have been restrained from it; but doth any body think there is any time to be lost in such a work as this is, now that the French are in the very heart of the country, ready on one hand to swallow all, and on the other hand, flattering this state with all the good words and artifices imaginable, that they, I mean the French, may avoid the only thing that can be hurtful to them, a perfect good understanding between us and the Dutch, to oppose their designs; and in such a time as this I should have thought it had been more prudent to have used all means to help to that good understanding, than to have found fault with any body, how deservedly soever. I send you here enclosed the copy of the French King's letter to the States-General, which on Saturday last was a great secret, though by this morning it is got into print. I sent an express with it into England on Sunday, and had not time to write one word by him to you; but I appointed him to wait upon you, to present my humble service to you. I know not as yet what resolution the States will take for answering it; they had appointed

this day for the debate of it, and they are accordingly assembled. I do not expect any thing else but that they should send deputies to the French King, according to his most gracious invitation, though they still pretend they will do nothing without their allies; so they did at the Treaty of Munster, but at last concluded a peace for themselves; though I think in my conscience, if the Parliament had been unanimous for the King's coming into the war, they would now have put their whole strength to have joined with us. Methinks I have written you a very politic letter; but since the King hath opened all to the two Houses, every body hath a right to be thoroughly informed, to reason, and to be reasoned with; and I tell you now very truly I am afraid whatever you can do will be too late to hinder the peace now; and God knows, when it is made here, if it be not broken the same instant with England; for it is evident the French have lost Sicily for our sakes, (I mean out of apprehension of the war with us,) and they will not easily forgive us that diminution of their glory.

I said nothing to you concerning my brother James, with a design of pressing you to more than is convenient for you to do, but only to recommend it to you as a thing you should design and have in your thoughts as soon as it was possible, and the rather because he is not likely to be governed or advised by us; the sooner he knows what he is to trust to, will be the most likely means to restrain him, and bring him to some government of himself, if any thing will have that effect upon him.

I am very sorry to hear you talk of parting with Blunsden; it was one main argument to me for buying Vasterne, because it was near you, and that we might make the more considerable interest together in a country from whence we are come, and where my father designed to plant his family; and now that I am come into it, for you to go out of any of it, is a very melancholy contemplation. You know I have desired you more than once to sell those shores of the water which you yourself recovered, which, I should think, my sister could not refuse to leave to your disposition: I say I should think she would not refuse it, because, if I am not mistaken, I have heard she did leave it to you. I know you told me that estate of the waters was so improveable, that you had no mind to part with it; that you thought it good husbandry not to dispose of it till it was risen higher; but I cannot help being of opinion, that it is better to part with any thing than your own paternal estate in your own country, where, if you are to signify any thing

in the world, it must have its ground and foundation first. In a word, I cannot be so great a stranger to your condition, but to know that this is an unpleasant subject to entertain you upon; I do it, you will bear me witness yourself, very seldom; I do it at any time, God knows, with great trouble, and that for your sake only, without any consideration of the other branches of the family who may come to be concerned in it; and I will have done now, with one earnest request to you, if it may have place and credit with you, that you would trust somebody with the true and naked state of your condition; the difficulties you are under are too great, and will overwhelm you, if you think to conduct them alone. Do not be afraid that any body will reproach you for them, that is the only thing that, in all such cases, makes men unwilling to own their condition; it is possible with help and advice you may be recovered out of them. Some people have had heads for the contrivement of good managery, that others of very good understanding in other things cannot attain to. In one word, for God's sake trust somebody, and take advice, and do not be ashamed to lay the whole state of your affairs before that body, whosoever he be. If I might recommend to you, it should be Sir Alan Brodricke, or Sir Stephen Fox, or both of them; let Sir Alan manage it for you to Sir Stephen, if you may be out of countenance to tell it to the last. If I might be trusted by you, I promise you I would not use you as the Parliament doth the King; I would only look forwards; I would not say a word of what is past; and again I say to you, for God's sake, and for the memory of my father, and the good of your son, take advice, take some help, you will be undone else, and utterly ruined, to the joy of all our enemies,* and to the unspeakable grief of your friends and servants. To answer your question about my Lord of Ossory, he is ever following the Prince; he is now at the Hague: when the Prince was at Breda, he was there; when he was at Boom, he was there; when at Antwerp, there. His regiments are nowhere together; he hath nothing else to do at the present, and till that body of men come to be joined, but to attend his Highness. From all the addresses against the counsellors,

* We have the authority of his niece, the Princess Anne, to prove, that Lord Clarendon was careless in pecuniary matters. In a letter to the Princess of Orange, her sister, dated in January 1687-8, she says: "Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being sorry for on my mother's account; for, as for himself, he has not behaved himself so well to me as I think he had reason, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary."— *Dalrymple, Appendix,* p. 298.

and some men's being already forbid the court upon that account, and from Monsieur De Ruvigny's frequent journeys and returns, I expect to hear the Parliament is dismissed again, and a peace, such as can be had, agreed on. I shall be glad for the present of any thing that will put an end to my employment, which I foresee cannot be long maintained with the dignity I wish to support all the King's interest as long as I have the honour to serve him; and therefore I shall be extremely pleased to hide myself before the storm falls. Pray present my humble service to my sister.

I am ever yours, &c.

I thank you for the box for papers you have sent me.

XIII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Relating to his Wife's Dower.

MONSIEUR, A la Haye, ce 5 de Juil, 1678.

* J'ay esté fort aise d'apprendre vostre heureuse arrivée en Angleterre, et vous suis extremement obligé de la peine que vous avez pris de parler au Roy sur le payment du dot de ma femme, esperant que j'aurois bientost l'effet de la promesse de sa Majeste. Quoyqu'il en arrive je vous aurez tousjours beaucoup d'obligation de toute les marques d'amitie que vous m'avez temoigné tout le temps que vous avez esté icy, je vous prie de me continuer, et d'estre assuré qu'il n'y a personne qui vous honore et aime plus

* TRANSLATION.

SIR,

I was very glad to hear of your happy arrival in England, and am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, to speak to the King about the payment of my wife's dower; hoping that I may soon have the effect of the King's promise. Whatever may come of it, I shall ever be under much obligation to you; all the marks of friendship that you manifested for me during the whole time you were here, I entreat you to continue. And be assured that there is no one who honours and esteems you more than I do, and I should wish to have opportunities of showing how truly

I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

que moy, et que souhaiterois d'avoir les occasions de vous temoigner combien veritablement je suis,*

Monsieur,
Vostre tres affectionné Serviteur,
G. PRINCE d'ORANGE.

(Indorsed by the Earl of Clarendon.)
The Prince of Orange, the 5th July, 1678.

XIV.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Letter of Compliment—News—and Enquiry.

MY LORD, Hague, July 29th, (S. N.) 1678.

I heard by your servants here, that you were grown to be so ill at Court, as to be gone down into the country to a scurvy piece of land you had bought there; and I, like a true courtier, upon this news, would not take the pains to write to a man whose affairs went so ill, but for fear my intelligence should prove as ill as what Monsieur D'Estrades had received of late from Amsterdam, and that you should not be well at Court still, but the land you went to see should prove to be one of the best manors of England. I could no longer omit the assuring your Excellency of my humble services, and of the joy wherewith I shall either obey your commands here, or receive your protection at Nimeguen, as His Majesty's orders shall either keep me in this place, or call us both thither, of which I have yet no certain prospect. Now I have made you my scurvy compliments, if you please we will leave them all off, and in the common style of friends I will first tell you, I have had the good luck to end the business with which His Majesty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of Orange's satisfaction, and as much to that of the States, excepting some few, who, by showing their discontent at it, have discovered themselves too plainly and too deeply in the French interest to be looked upon any longer as fair dealers. Now I would be glad to know from you, as a friend, and not as a Minister, what is said or thought of

* It may be as well to remark here, once for all, that the French Letters of the Prince of Orange are given literally from the originals, with all the errors in grammar and orthography incident to the hasty effusions of a foreigner writing a language with which he was imperfectly acquainted.

it at Court, and whether they continue in the mind I left them in, or what points the wind may have tacked about since; and what my Lord Sunderland's business at present is in France, which is the great subject of talk and reflections here. I would be glad likewise to know your conjectures there, whether France will come to the peace or no, without refusing any longer to evacuate the towns, which is the present wager current at Amsterdam; and my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, according to the lights of Nimeguen, was absolutely of opinion they would.

There never was so desolate a place as the Hague at this time, and yet I was content the Prince should go, because I never saw any body leave in so good a humour, as both he and all about him, upon the conclusion made here the night before, by which his friends take him to make a greater figure than ever he did since he came to the government. This will depend, in some measure too, upon the figure he will make in Flanders, where I have no very good opinion of the relief of Mons upon the joining of the Maréschals Humières and Schomberg with the Duke of Sulzanburgh, of all which you will sooner receive an account from Flanders than from hence, where we have had since Monday last a perfect vacation of all affairs; so that you shall have no further trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever and truly

Your most faithful, humble Servant,

W. TEMPLE.

I give Mr. Meredith order to wait upon you from me, and to give you any account you desired of all that had passed here.

The Lord Ambassador, &c. &c.

(Indorsed by Lord Clarendon.)

" Lord Ambassador Temple, July the 29th, (N. S.) 1678.

XV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Dower of the Princess.

A Hoogh Roere, ce 6 d'Octobre, 1678.

Je vous ay bien de l'obligation de la bonté que vous avez eu de parler a Mr. le Tresorier pour le payement du dot de ma femme: j'espere que les

promesses qu'il vous a fait, seront suivis des effets. Je vous ranvoye le plein pouvoir pour Mr. de Godolphin affin que vous luy le puissiez donner quandt sa juste douleur sera un peu passé; c'est aussi la raison pourquoy je ne luy escris point, croiant mieux de vous donner cette peine que d'aller troubler une personne qui est tant sujet d'estre affligé. Vous vous acquittez si bien des prières que l'on vous fait que je crains que vous serez souvent tourmenté de mes commissions, si ce n'est que vous nous faites si heureux de revenir bientost au Pays, ce que je souhaite aussi passionement que je suis entierement a vous,

G. PRINCE d'ORANGE.

Je vous escris sans ceremonie, esperant que vous faites de mesme, de quoy je vous conjure.* G.

(Indorsed.)
"The Prince of Orange, Oct. 6, 1678."

XVI.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

[Upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Nimeguen, Mr. Hyde, accompanied by Lord Ossory, quitted the Hague on the 22nd of September, 1678; leaving behind his colleague, Sir William Temple, to enter into guarantees with the States, for what remained of Flanders; and to use endeavours for a general peace, so as to check the progress of the aggressions of the French, and stay their incursions upon the territory of the Rhine. The following letters are a valuable supplement to those already before the world, connected with this negociation, in the works of this distinguished statesman.]

Present state of the Negociation. His opinion on the course to be pursued.

Hague, Oct. 9, (Sep.) 1678.

I should be loath to have so much obligation to any other man than you, as to find three letters, as I do now of yours, in my hands, since my

* TRANSLATION.

I am under much obligation to you for your goodness in speaking to the Treasurer about the payment of my wife's dower. I hope the promises he has made you will be followed by deeds. I send you the full power for Mr. Godolphin, in order that you may be able to give it him when his grief shall be somewhat assuaged. This is also the reason why I do not write to him, believing it better to give you this trouble, than to think of disturbing a person who has so much cause to be afflicted. You acquit yourself so well of the requests that are made to you, that I fear you will be often tormented with my commissions, if you should not confer on us the happiness of returning soon to this country, which I wish as earnestly, as I am entirely yours.

I write to you without ceremony, hoping that you will do likewise, to which I entreat you.

last to you, of the 17th, 20th, and 24th past, and all with so much kindness and confidence, and notices so useful, not to say so necessary, to me here, that I know no other way to acknowledge it all, but by assuring you that I shall endeavour to deserve it by any sort of returns that can be made you from hence, or any other place where I may at any time be cast; for let it be where it will, I shall always reckon upon your favour and friendship in the same degree and manner which our last conversation here, had for me the good fortune to establish it. For this week past, I have been a vagabond going first to Amsterdam, and from thence to the Prince at Hooghroere, and returning from thence but yesterday, where I left the Prince in the best health and humour that could be, but much the more so upon the constant advices from the Hague, of the Princess's perfect recovery from an illness, which you know how much every body here was like to be concerned in. The Prince was very glad to see the general touches you gave me upon the dispositions there, being the same you left them in your first letter, which was all I had then received; and I will assure you to have had more light by your next of the 20th, and I think more usefully so, for the King's service in my station here, than I ever received by all Mr. Secretary's despatches; because when I once know the King's scope in general, I can direct in a great measure all my motions here by that compass; whereas, only particular orders upon what arises either there or here, can direct me only to particular paces, and others I never yet received from Mr. Secretary Wn.* with whose instructions to you and Mr. Godolphin and me, the Prince was very bold, but very pleasant, when I was now last with him.

For my part, all considered, and especially the foundation of the Marquess de Grana's† application here having failed, in not being pursued at Nimeguen according to his calculation, I think the King has reason in entering no further into that affair, and contenting himself to follow the measures of this State, and not to lead them, as well as in apprehending to find himself in a war which the state should be out of. And for that end, the Prince his scheme seems to me well enough, which is for us to live fairly with France, but to enter into no new measures with them; to preserve our credit with the empire and Spain; so that if any thing should happen between us and France, we might reckon upon them, as well as this State falling into our interests. And he is still of opinion, France will not begin with us, while

* Williamson. † Principal Minister of the Emperor Leopold the First.

Flanders and this country is safe; though he says, he hears from several hands they are spited to the death at the paces His Majesty has lately made, at his hindering their conquest of Flanders, and at his pretending to be arbiter of peace and war in Christendom. But if any thing should grow out of this sore, I think it were good to manage it so, as by making them the agressors, to leave no excuse for this State of entering into the quarrel upon our defensive league. I think what may possibly ensue upon the proposition you carried over from Monsieur Muller, may go a great way in the common safety; and having this day received the orders you before advised me, which end in kind expressions to those Dukes, and invitations to send their ministers over, I shall give Monsieur Muller part of it to-morrow, and whenever he goes, with your leave, address him particularly to you, who made the first advance of this affair.

For the point of the guarantee, I can add nothing to what I writ, and you take notice of in mine of the 27th past, but that I have found by my journey to Amsterdam, that we may hope for that town's concurrence in it, which was absolutely necessary to be known before it should be proposed in the States.

I know not what measures will be taken about the way of introducing it here; I shall not certainly know till I have spoken with the Pensioner, who has been above a week out of town, and perhaps he will be with the Prince upon his return next week.

The Swedes are looked upon here as beaten out of Germany by this late action in Rugen. The States have this day deputed Messrs. Werkendom, and Van Serve, to Monsieur d'Avaux, to demand formally the delivery of Mastricht, to represent their desires of a general peace, and their particular concernment in the quiet of their neighbourhood, especially of Cleves, Marke, and Ravensteyn. Monsieur Beverning gives some hopes of the suspensions succeeding; it seems the French forces in the empire are much weakened by sickness and want of provisions. I have had so much upon my hands to day, that I am quite tired, yet that must not excuse me from assuring you of my resolutions to be ever and truly, your most faithful and most humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

For God's sake, say one word to me what you think, (for I ask not what any body else says), of the Duke of Buckingham's return to Court, and so

much countenance, if not favour upon his late return from France, which people are here mighty apt to reflect on, and think some mystery in it.

(Indorsed by Lord Clarendon.)
" Lord Ambassador Temple, July 29th, (N. S.) 1678."

XVII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Desires Information respecting the Popish Plot.

A la Haye, ce 21 d'Octobre, 1678.

Je vous ay bien de l'obligations de la peine que vous avez pris de m'escrire et m'informer de ce qui se passe chez vous. J'espere que Mr. de Godolphin sera bientost de retour, pour pouvoir recevoir une partie de l'argent qu'on me doit. Mr. le Tresorier m'ayant escrit qu'il y aurait de prest deux cent mille livres en peu de temps, je vous prie quandt vous le trouverez apropos de l'en faire souvenir. J'ay bien de l'impatience de savoir le fons de cette conspiration, ce que je croi pourtant sera fort difficile de decouvrir, quoyqu'il en soit. Je vous prie de m'informer ce que vous en apprenderez, et aussi des mesures que l'on à intension de prendre pour l'avenir, tant pour les affaires de dehors que de dedans. C'est vous donne bien de la peine, mais estant tant de mes amis que vous l'estes, j'espere que vous ne le trouverez pas estrange; surtout n'y ayant personne que vous estime et honore plus que moy, estant tendièrement a vous.

G. PRINCE d'ORANGE.*

" The Prince of Orange, the 21st of October, 1678."

* TRANSLATION.

I am under many obligations to you for the trouble you have taken in writing to inform me of what is passing among you. I hope that Mr. Godolphin will soon return, that I may receive a part of the money which is due to me. The Treasurer having written to me, that there will be 200,000 livres ready in a little while. I beg that when you find it apropos, you will remind him of it. I am extremely impatient to know the bottom of this plot, which I believe, nevertheless, will be very difficult to discover. Let this be as it may, I entreat you to inform me of all that you learn; and of the measures that are to be taken in future, as well in home as in foreign affairs. This is giving you a great deal of trouble, but being so much my friend as you are, I trust that you will not think it strange I should do so. Especially as there is no one who esteems and honours you more than I do, being entirely yours.

XVIII.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Proceedings since the Publication of Peace. Requests information about the Popish Plot.

Hague, October 25th, (S. N.) 78.

Since my last I have neither had any of yours nor much here to bear me out in giving you any new trouble. Since the publication of the peace, the delays used by Monsieur d'Avaux in the evacuation of Maestricht, have given the States some reflections: they continue to press it, and he to defer it, as impossible before the 10th, or at soonest the 6th of next month, which will be about two months after the time fixed by the treaty. In the mean time, he presses them upon evacuating Huis Hasselt, and all other places they hold in Liege, though not at all touched in any articles or agreements between them; but such as possessed by the French, will in a manner block up Maestricht, and with the help of Aix, they have already seized, give the French an inlet upon these countries, and those of the Lower Rhine as much and conveniently, in a manner, as Maestricht would have done. All this, and their difficulting the suspension of arms at Nimeguen, upon the Swedish pretensions, refusing to admit the Duke of Nieuburgh into the peace, though demanding it as an Ally of this State, and they for him in pursuit of the 19th article of the treaty, threatening Juliers, Colen, and Cleves, all put together, make them see plainly here the great design still goes on; but is reserved here and in Flanders for another time, that is, after they shall be masters of the Lower Rhine, and consequently of the keys of these countries; and that in consequence of the peace, England shall disarm, and the States do the same in a great degree, which is the point will be first pushed at by that party here, with whom Monsieur d'Avaux pursues his measures. This he does with great diligence, and taking as little notice of the Prince in any thing of business, as if he had no part in the State, nor so much as bringing him, upon his first audience in ceremony, any letter or compliment from the King his master, which had never been omitted by any foreign minister since the first constitution of this State, nor by that Crown to this Prince, by Monsieur d'Estrades, and Pomponne, though coming at times when His Highness had not the least part in the Government here.

Monsieur Valkener continues his credit in Amsterdam, and to employ it as he did, seems to be in particular *liaison* with the French, is thought to be so by the other towns, who are in a manner all so unsatisfied with his conduct, and jealous of that towns *empieting** upon the rest of the provinces, that, I believe, it will break out upon the first occasion. I give you this short landscape of the scene here, because my letters of late to Court, while they were out of town, may not possibly have fallen in your way, and I would not have you lose the thoughts you carried over with you, for want of refreshing them, sometimes from hence.

The Dutchess went away on Monday morning, with very fair weather and a reasonable good wind, but I doubt may have had but a loitering passage, as it has proved since. She was so resolved upon the incognito here, and in that design so afraid of an ambassador, that my part was chiefly not to trouble her, or interrupt that design. Her Highness's coming removed both your family and mine at a very short warning, and I got into the next house I could find, which was Monsieur Armanvillier's, which I find the only warm house I ever yet met with in Holland, and so return no more to the wide old court. I know not what your servants intend.

I asked you a question in the postscript of my last, which I doubt you do not care for answering, and to make you amends will ask you another, which is, what in general you think of the plot, not what the town talks, or court, or one side or other in it, but what, upon the whole, you think of it at bottom; at least whether anything or nothing, little or much, or a thing likely to be improved or lessened by personal circumstances or dispositions? By Mr. Secretary's letters I am as well informed of it, and know as much what to think as the man in the moon. You will excuse my recourse to you upon such occasions, and put all upon the confidence in which we parted, and are, I doubt not, like to meet whenever that will be.

My letter this day to Court is a large one, on account of a conference demanded yesterday by the States, wherein, of themselves, they gave me account of all that had passed between them and Monsieur d'Avaux since his arrival here, which they said they did as a mark of that confidence they intended

* *Empietant*, i. e. *encroaching*. It is well for our language, that all the exotic words with which, from our foreign relations at this time, our best writers interlarded their speech, have not been made denizens. This phrase is a fair example.

always to live in with his Majesty, and in acknowledgement of what they owed him for the part he had lately taken in the affairs of this State.

I am ever and very truly, as well as affectionately,

Your most faithful humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

Monsieur Muller has received orders to go over into England, in pursuit of that answer given by Mr. Secretary Williamson, to what you carried over from the Duke, his masters.

XVIII.

G. J. TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Committal of Five Popish Lords to the Tower.

MY LORD, October 28, 1678.

Though I have received none from you by this post, yet I am to thank you for your two former since your being here. I have it in several letters by this day's post that five lords are committed for high treason, of which my Lord Bellasis is one, as being named to be general of a Popish army here in England, which, though it should prove to be true, yet he might not know of it, and much less be consenting to it. I wish it may prove to be so; but when I consider what the Popish religion may not only dispose, but oblige the best natured man in the world to be, notwithstanding any inclination or obligations he may have to the contrary, I cannot tell what to think of it, but conclude it to be safest for any man that is not of their persuasion not to trust any of them. I have writ to the Bishop of London, and perhaps he may speak to you concerning what I writ to him; or if he does not, yet I verily believe I shall know what he thinks of it by his answer to my letter, and then you shall hear further from

Your Lordship's

Very affectionate friend,

And humble servant,

GEOR. JO.

XIX.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Observations upon the Political Aspect of Affairs.—Popish Plot.—Mr. Godolphin.

Hague, November 11, (S. N.) 1678.

I am to acknowledge your kindness to me in two of your letters of the 18th and 22d past, since my last, and the very useful lights you give me in your last, in a matter which, whatever it proves, will not, in my opinion, fail of having some great consequences; but whether good or bad, God of heaven knows. If the thing be true, and the proofs beyond doubt, it might possibly have one great effect, but yet I doubt too great for our stars to bring about; and yet I should be apt to think somebody would take the occasion of attempting it. Do you remember three books I recommended to you for one of your friends to read, and which I thought made it plain that matter would not bear the weight that was laid upon it? Monsieur Muller expects a yacht that is ordered to stand over for him, and with your leave shall carry an address to you. I do not see but that the project he goes upon may be drawn up to some head, either in particular, or at the worst, in general, if a guaranty come to be concluded here, into which other Princes may be admitted, which is now believed the only way left of making any stand against this mighty power that is like to be kept up in the world, while all others are bent upon the thoughts of peace and disarming. The French forces that were in Flanders seem resolved to winter in the lands of Juliers and Liege, if they attempt nothing upon Cleves before the spring, which this State now begins very sensibly to apprehend, especially if the Emperor makes his peace, which I do not take to be so near as talk and Gazettes here will have it; for though all in a manner be agreed between the Imperialists and French, yet the condition demanded by the last of assisting their allies, and liberty of passage to that purpose, is a difficulty in which I see no expedient, the Imperialists offering either both to be free, or both bound: neither of which I suppose can agree with the French purposes. For the Spanish ratifications we are now made believe they will come in four or five days, but I know not with what certainty.

The Assembly of the States of Holland being now begun, it is expected some of the towns should press much a second and greater reduction of

forces; but the chief of this council are, I think, resolved at least to consider and reason of the whole matter, and the circumstances of time as well as proportions, in particular with the Prince before they bring it in to the States, which, I think, is not an ill method, and both seem willing to fall into it. I am sure you will be glad to know the Marquis de Grana is like to recover, after having wholly been given over for some time. I am obliged to you for the account of the Houses' proceedings in the short time they had sat. I had indeed the King's and Chancellor's speeches, as you imagine; but nothing more of the votes, nor one word for at least ten or twelve packets last past that had any thing in it that signified more than good-morrow. The lady's intelligence, says our friend Mr. Godolphin, will be easily comforted; I should be glad to know it for his own sake, and for mine too, who was in pain for him out of a contrary belief.

Monsieur d'Avaux and I are mighty well whenever we meet, which is only in regular visits, that pass commonly without one word of business or public affairs, which he seems industriously to avoid, and for the rest they say here he is invisible in all other places but at Madame Vandermile's, which is a choice, I believe, you will not disapprove.

I am ever and very truly
Your most obedient humble servant
W. TEMPLE.

XX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Present State of Affairs on the Continent.—Fearful Anticipations for England.

A la Haye, ce 11 de Novembre, 1678.

La dernière lete que j'ay receu de vous est du 22 v. st. du mois passé. Nous n'avons point eu depuis des lettres d'Angleterre, le vent contraire en est cause. Je suis en grande impatience d'apprendre ce qui sera passe au Parlement dans les affaires qui y estoient en deliberation. Nous avons icy aussi l'Assemblé d'Hollande qui nous donnera de la besogne. Jusques a present il ne s'y est rien passe d'importance. La ville de Maestright a esté evacué le 6 du courant. Il n'y a encore guere d'apparance d'une paix gene-

rale, les François reculant tous les jours de leur premiers offres. Je ne voi pas aussi que de vostre costé on la presse fort, ainsi qu'il seroit a souhaitte la jugeant tres necessaire pour le bien des deux Nations dans cette conjuncture. Je crains fort vos desordres au dedans, si ce n'est que Dieu fasse la grace d'illuminer celluy que je crains fort qui patira dans tout cecy. Je ne scay si ceux qui sont tant attaché a luy, comme vous et autres, ne luy pouroit parler en cette rancontre. Je croi que vous m'entendez, ainsi il ne sera pas besoin que je vous en dise d'avantage, si non que je suis et serez tousjours entierement a vous.*

G. PRINCE d'ORANGE.

"The Prince of Orange,
Nov. the 1–11th, 1678."

XXI.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Troubled State of England.—Things go on smoothly in Holland.

A la Haye ce 15 de Novemb. 1678.

Quoy que je n'ay receu aucune de vos lettres par trois Couriers qui sont arrivé icy depuis Vendredi dernier, j'ay cru vous devoir escrire, pour entretenir nostre commerce. Vous n'attenderez pas a present apparament des nouvelles d'icy; tous ceux que nous avons viennent de chez vous. Je croi que par le premier ordinaire nous vairons un peu plus clairement dans vos affaires

* TRANSLATION.

The last letter I received from you is of the 22d, Old Style, of the past month. We have had no letters from England since, the contrary winds being the cause. I am greatly impatient to learn what passed in Parliament concerning the affairs which were in deliberation. We have also here the Assembly of the States of Holland, which will give us plenty of trouble; up to the present time nothing has passed of importance. The city of Maestricht was evacuated the 6th of this month. There is as yet no prospect of a general peace, the French receding every day from their first offers. Neither do I see that on your side they are so strongly pressed as could be wished, judging it very necessary for the welfare of both nations in the present crisis. I have strong apprehensions of your internal disturbances, if God does not of his mercy enlighten *him* who, I sadly fear, will suffer in all this. I know not whether those who are so much attached to him, like you and others, might not speak to him in this conjuncture? I believe you understand me, therefore it will not be necessary for me to say more, unless that I am and shall be always entirely yours.

lesquelles me paroissent fort embroullies. Dieu les veuille debrouillie pour le bien du Roy, Royaume, et toutte la Nation. Icy les affaires s'accommoderont mieux que je n'avois cru au commencement. Je voudrois que ceux de Nimmegen fissent de mesme, a quoy je vois pourtant guere d'apparance, si de chez vous l'on ne presse pas d'avantage les Suedois. Voila toutte les nouvelles que je vous puis dire d'icy, et une tres [veridique] qui est que je serai toutte ma vie entierement a vous.*

G.

"The Prince of Orange.
Nov. the 5-15th, 1678."

XXII.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Introductory for M. Muller.—Purpose of his Mission.

Hague, November 17th, 1678.

Upon Monsieur Muller's journey into England, I could not do him or his business any greater service, as I thought, than by giving him this address, and second thereby the entrance he first made with you upon that subject. The short of it is, I believe those Princes think it necessary for them, in the present conjunctures, to seek some sound appuy, and will make their first trial in England, and the offers of their whole House upon a firm and particular alliance with His Majesty. If that fails, I suppose they must take it with France, as their Ministers say they may upon their own terms; and to that purpose Madame de Chastillar, having

* TRANSLATION.

Although I have not received any letter from you by three couriers which have arrived here since Friday last, I have thought I ought to write to you to keep up our correspondence. You do not expect, apparently, news from hence at present, all that we have comes from England. I believe, by the first ordinary, we shall see a little more clearly into your affairs, which appear to me to be in a very troubled state. May God disembarrass them for the good of the King, the Kingdom, and the whole Nation. Here, affairs will be arranged better than I thought at the commencement. I could wish that those of Nimeguen could likewise be so, of which, nevertheless, I see no prospect, unless the Swedes are more pressed on your part. These are all the news that I can tell you from hence, besides one very certain, which is, that I shall be all my life, Yours.

been with the Duke of Osnaburg, is now with that of Cell. I suppose one difficulty may arise in it, which is, His Majesty not thinking fit to enter into any measures on this side, but in conjunction with this State. If all other points should be agreed, this must be remitted hither, and may possibly find some expedient. In so busy a time, and to you that understand all these matters so fully, I will say no more, but that I am ever and truly,

Your most faithful, humble Servant,

Lord Treasurer Hyde. W. TEMPLE.

XXIII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Thanks for Intelligence.—But one Remedy for present Evils.

A la Haye ce 22 de Novembre, 1678.

Je vous suis bien obligé des nouvelles que vous m'éscrive, par vostre derniere du 13, mais je suis bien marri qu'elles ne sont pas mellieures, et je crains fort que cela ne demeurera pas la, et je ne voi qu'un seul remede que je vous ay escrit par une de mes precedentes, que Dieu veuille donnez. Il n'y a rien icy a present que l'on puisse vous mande, ainsi il faut que je finisse sans finir jamais d'estre absolument a vous sans auqu'une reserve,*

G.

" The Prince of Orange,
Nov. 12-22, 1678."

XXIV.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Reflections upon the Troubled State of England.—Political State of Affairs on the Continent.

Hague, December 9th, N. S. 1678.

I am sure I had very little reason to expect so much favour as I received from you lately, in a long letter of the 15th past, which left you at a time

* TRANSLATION.

I am much obliged by the news that you write me by your last of the 13th; but I am much concerned that they are not better, and I very much fear that things will not stop there. I see but one remedy, which I pointed out in one of my former letters: may God grant it! There is nothing here at present to tell you, therefore I must finish without ever ceasing to be absolutely yours without any reserve.

wherein you had so much to think of at home, as to be very lawfully excused from troubling yourself unnecessarily about any thing abroad; but, by the same accident, the more I have to acknowledge, the less I have to return; for both the Prince and I are of opinion, that you will not read on that side any thing that comes from this, at least not esteem it worth the least reflection, and I am sure I have reason to think so by all I receive from court, which has not been, I think, of more consequence than the date of the letters ever since you left me.

If you were all so much taken up, and with any good prospects before you, either for yourselves or your friends abroad, I mean by the hopes of working out any thing good or safe towards our own public interests or those of Christendom, I should not at all be troubled to find you and other of my friends engaged in so busy a scene (how undisposed soever I am to act such a part); but in earnest, considering how few presages I yet meet with amongst you of any sudden or any happy end of this great adventure, though I wish you all your parts in the honour of achieving it well, yet I cannot but a great deal apprehend it, and in the mean time have no small compassion for the certain trouble you have in the midst of so uncertain events, for hitherto I cannot make any sort of conjecture where all this will end; and not receiving from you any touch to give me the least hopes of what I suppose is the great general wish, I hardly know how to form another to myself, and must take up with *Fata viam invenient.* In the mean time, you cannot imagine the ill influence all this amongst you must needs have upon those affairs abroad, wherein sooner or later we shall be concerned whether we will or no.

The Imperialists and French are still fencing at Nimeguen; and though they seem to make twenty closes, yet they part again, and are, methinks, still where they were about two months ago. The Emperor being straitened between the hard terms imposed by France, both of exposing his allies and by them the Empire to the French arms, upon pretence of assisting Sweden, and of leaving the Duke of Lorrain without more than the name of a Dutchy; and, on the other side, the harder terms, perhaps, of carrying on a war without any assistances from this State or Spain; and though France have given them but this current month to resolve in, yet what party they will choose I cannot at all conjecture.

The Swedes will abate nothing of the Munster peace, believing the Emperor forced to make his, and that the French invasion of the Duke of Branden-

burgh on this side, will soon reduce him to a necessity of restoring all on that. In the mean time that Elector pretends he cares not at all what becomes of Cleves; that if this State will not defend it he will absolutely abandon it, and trust to what he believes the French will not venture to invade, which is two or three days' journey north of the Rhine. The States have not been so perplexed since the peace, as what resolutions to take upon these desperate ones of Brandenburgh, and never had more need of advice and support from England, nor less hopes of receiving either.

The Spaniards delay their exchange of the ratifications at Nimeguen, upon hopes the Emperor's peace may be concluded before the time elapses, which is the 15th of this month, and whether, if that fail, in time they will proceed to the exchange, I cannot tell; Monsier de Lira seeming rather positive that it ought to be done, than that it will. In the meantime France presses this State to closer measures with them, upon the old project of securing their frontiers in Flanders; and some here begin to suspect private negotiations between the two crowns about some exchange of Flanders, and ground it upon their dissatisfaction with this State, upon the late precipitate peace, and their despair from England, considering the conjunctures we are fallen into. In the midst of these ill circumstances all the good I can tell you is, that the Prince's credit increases here every day; that by his compliances with the States, his eating and conversing so frequently with the deputies of all the towns, his conduct is what you and I have always desired, and with such effect that both his friends and his enemies seem equally satisfied with it; and I do not see any thing like to shake him, unless it be a mighty growth of France on one side, or an extreme weakness of England on the other; but for these neither you nor I will answer. I am sure this is too much from hence and at this time, yet, perhaps, you will not find fault, and perhaps too, you have no reason, considering the little pleasure I have in writing, and the good intention with which this is done, which is to keep all these matters in your head, the more because I find them so much out of other people's. I am ever, with very true passion and concernment,

Your most faithful humble servant,

"Lord Ambassador Hyde." W. TEMPLE.

XXV.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

News and Political Intelligence.

Hague, December 27, (N. S.) 1678.

Though I know very well how full your hands are of affairs in Parliament, and your heads of domestic concernments, so as to leave no room for matters abroad, or consideration of them when they are represented, yet I cannot forbear calling them sometimes into your memory, and preserving the thread of them entire in your thoughts, by some account of any new periods or accidents that arrive upon this scene. Since I writ last to you we have had nothing but what Gazettes would tell you as well as I; the exchanging the Spanish ratifications after long delays, and common conjectures at the peace of the empire, which I was never wise enough yet to foresee any sudden conclusion of; and now give over any thoughts upon it, neither imagining of one side how projects so distant as they yet seem, can meet in a small time, or how France can let slip so great an occasion, nor on the other side how the Emperor can hope to carry on the war alone.

The last week came an alarm hither from the French general in Liege or Aix, which being a matter of moment, and having occasioned extraordinary consultations, wherein I take the Prince to have showed very much of his natural good sense and prudence, and yet with greatness and authority too, I had a mind you should know the course of that whole affair more particularly than I have now leisure to write it; and because I know not whether Sir J. Williamson may not be as free in the communication of my letters to you, as he was of yours to me when I was in England and you here, and that it is very possible you may care as little to ask for them now as I did then. I have sent you a copy of mine, this night, to him, and should be glad to know from you what the King and the Duke think of the accident, but more particularly what they think of the Prince's conduct in that, and in general with the States. You may assure both his Majesty and Royal Highness from me, upon occasion, if you think fit, that nothing can be more changed than his manner of living is here since the peace, before which time he could not fall into a new *plis*. He is in perpetual consultation with the most popular of them here (and that were

thought his enemies) upon all matters before they are brought into the States, or sent to the towns; and during the assembly of the States of Holland, dines every day with the deputies of one town or other, all which, joined to the sense they have what a rascally peace they have made, and how true advices from the Prince they refused, has very sensibly increased his authority here, and will do so still, unless accidents from France and their greatness increasing, or from our growing wholly out of all consideration in foreign affairs, should change his fortunes without his faults.

I ask your pardon for this interruption, and your belief of my being ever, with the same passion and truth,

Your most faithful humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

Is there no possibility of disposing the House to keep up the forces in Flanders, till the Spaniards are in possession of their towns, and have put them in some condition of being defended? The first will be seen in a month, and the last done in another, to reckon with the longest; and two months pay and patience for the safety of Flanders, (which you know I put weight upon, as upon our own provinces) is, methinks, a very small matter.

XXVI.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

[*Copy inclosed in the last.*]

Occurrences, and State of the Negotiation.

SIR, Hague, December 27, N. S. 1677.

Since my last, of this day seven-night, I have none from you to acknowledge, nor had I anything worth your trouble by the last Friday's post, till the mail was gone; with which disappointment I was the better satisfied, by knowing that what the States had received of moment that evening, had been written that night to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, with particular order to give account of it to His Majesty, and to demand an audience for that purpose; and for delivering at the same time, a letter of compliment from the States, upon the conclusion of the Spanish peace, as well as their own.

If the want of a packet boat at the Briell may not have kept back the letters of last ordinary, you will have heard already from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, that Monsieur Calvo had written to the Governors of Maestricht and Hasselt, to withdraw their forces out of Hasselt, Maestricht, and the other towns, or *plat pais* of Liege, where they were in quarter, threatening if they did not quit them, he would make them do it. The General assembled that evening, being last Friday, out of course upon this occasion; they were in great surprise, and no less trouble what to resolve. Some proposed to assemble the States of Holland immediately upon it; but all resolved, in the first place, to desire the Prince of Orange, his advice. His Highness at first excused himself from declaring his opinion, till the towns were first acquainted with the thing, and had at least formed their deliberations upon it; after which he would, as in course, first declare his advice. But the States pressing him to deliver his opinion before they sent the matter into the province, as being a thing that seemed to require haste, His Highness told them that he would not tell them what his opinion would be, if he were asked it at a time when it was like to be received by them with as great consideration and authority, as that of his ancestors used to be upon such occasions as these; the consequences whereof could not be well judged of, perhaps, by any, as by the General. But, considering how wrong interpretation, and how ill use had been made of his advices in the late conjunctures, he was resolved, (since they would needs have his opinion,) to advise them to nothing but what he thought they would do of themselves without it, if he were not among them; and, therefore, his advice was to send immediately to Monsieur D'Avaux, and desire him to write to Monsieur Calvo, and persuade him to desist from any executions, till he received further orders from Court, after the express he should dispatch thither. Then to send away immediately an express to their Ambassador at Paris, to represent the consequence of this matter to the Court there, and endeavour to have orders accordingly sent to Monsieur Calvo; and, in short, endeavour, by all fair means they could, to prevent this accident, which would prove, one way or other, of so great importance to the State, as either endangering their peace, or laying open their frontiers, and cutting off Maestricht from the rest of their territories. As to what some proposed of assembling extraordinarily the States of Holland to deliberate upon it, His Highness gave his opinion against it, and rather advised that the States should depute some persons of the Council of State,

to go away to the several great towns, and acquaint them with the matter, and desire their opinions upon it, and that they might be sent up hither by to-morrow.

The Prince told me that his reason for the last advice was, because he thought that if the States of Holland should assemble upon it, and take any weak or mean resolution, it would be worse than if they did it without assembling; but if they should take a good one, it would be as well as if it had been done more solemnly, and in the assembly called for that purpose. I mention these particulars, because by them, more will be known to you of the true *plis* of affairs here, than, perhaps, by the things themselves; and because I may not have observed more good sense in the conduct of any sudden matter than, methinks, the Prince has expressed in this, nor carried with more authority, reproaching the States with their late ill conduct; at the same time, that he chose rather to give way to what he thought would be their opinion, then to insist upon his own; and though they begin already to grow very sensible how ill measures they have run into, and how good they have refused from His Highness, which they now find to have been always grounded upon the true interests of the country; yet I find the Prince so persuaded of a good union being so absolutely necessary between him and the State, for the preservation of both; that since he has not been able to bring them to his opinions in the great matters lately transacted here, he is resolved in the rest rather to fall in with theirs, than let in a dissension between them, which he foresees plainly would be the ruin of both, in the present posture of their neighbours' affairs.

When the Deputies of the States went to Monsieur D'Avaux, (in pursuance of the Prince's advice, which was followed in all points,) he seemed extremely surprised with the thing; promised to write to Monsieur Calvo by an express of his own, and to his Court by that of the States to their Ambassadors at Paris; but seemed to speak doubtfully of Monsieur Calvo's desisting to execute any orders he might receive from Court, upon any advices from him. The States ordered the same night, that part of all this should be given to me by the Deputies, and to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, by letters that night. The next morning, the States General resolved upon the dispatch of Deputies intended to the several towns; and that they should endeavour to persuade them, that reform, resolved upon last session in the army here, should be deferred till the 15th next month, which will be five days after next assembly of the States of Holland; and in which time they might hope

to have certain light in what the resolutions of France are like to determine, and consequently, judge what measures will be necessary here.

On the same Saturday afternoon the Pensioner came to me, and acquainted me with what had been done that morning; the great alarm the States were in upon it; the credit this matter had given to the Prince's late advises; how unsafe a peace they were making; the treatment *de haut en bas* they were to expect from France; the unreasonableness of the French demands in this particular, especially after Monsieur d'Avaux had told them his Master desisted from his pretence to Hasselt, and the other towns this State had secured and garrisoned in the time of the war, (as you may remember in the account I formerly gave you.) The Pensioner further discoursing the consequence of this demand, which not only cut off Maestricht, before it was provided of cannon or magazines necessary for its defence, but laid open all the lands of this State as far as the Waall, which had been, in a great measure, covered from the garrison of Maestricht, by that of Hasselt, as a great part of the Spanish Brabant had likewise been. He seemed very much to doubt what the designs of France might be still in respect of the Spanish Netherlands, upon occasion of our unhappy posture at this time in England, which they would not fail to take advantage of; and said all his hopes were, that his Majesty's forces would not be recalled out of Flanders, at least till the Spaniards were in possession of the towns to be restored, and had put them in a posture to be defended. He added, that the States were but too sensible how much France pursued their interests better than their treaties, by their intimations given them from thence, that they were content the Swedes should be *poussé au bout* in the present negotiations, provided they could find their account in their affairs with other Princes of the Empire.

I hear the two first towns of the province, Dort and Haerlem, are like to be of opinion for deferring the reduction of the troops till the day proposed by the States, which is all that is aimed at here at present, till the assembly of the States of Holland, and the certainty of an answer they expect from France. I cannot yet guess what is like to come from Leyden and Amsterdam, where both the Prince and the country have had a great loss, of late, by the death of Monsieur Hoft.*

* Sir William Temple says in his Memoirs, "For the time I staid at Amsterdam, I was every day in conversation with M. Hoeft, who, besides much learning, worth, sincereness, and credit in his town, was a man of pleasant and natural humour." He then proceeds to relate the following cir-

XXVII.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Hague, April 25th, [1679.]

I have received yours by Mr. Morley, and cannot make you such a return of news as was in it, for these parts afford but little now; but if M. de Calvo marches over the Rhine the 1st of May, it may give us some matter to fill our letters. My daughter's* ague continues still, and her eleventh fit is now upon her; but the cold fit was not so long as usual, so that I hope it is a going off. I am to go to-morrow morning to Amsterdam, and to be back again on Friday, and next week intend to return back to Brussels, where I have taken the house his Majesty lay in when he was there last. I am called

cumstances, illustrative of the proverbial cleanliness and uxoriousness of the Dutch, which may for a moment beguile the reader from more serious matter:—" Dining one day at M. Hoeft's, and having a great cold, I observed, every time I spit, a tight, handsome wench (that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean; somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said the most trouble it gave me, was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it. M. Hoeft told me 'twas well I escaped so; and that if his wife had been at home, though I were an Ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for fouling her house; and, laughing at that humour, said, there were two rooms of his house that he never durst come into, and believed they were never open but twice a year to make them clean." Upon Sir William observing that he was a good patriot in all things, and even conformed to the custom of his town, where it was an established thing for the wife to govern, M. Hoeft replied that it was so, and could not be otherwise, for whoever attempted to break the custom would not only have all the women in the town banded against him, but all those men, too, who were governed by their wives. Upon this occasion the following story was related by the Secretary of Amsterdam: " One of our magistrates going to visit the mistress of a house, and knocking at the door, a strapping North-Holland lass came and opened it; he asked whether her mistress was at home? She said, Yes; and with that he offered to go in: but the wench marking his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, carried him across two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, pulled off his shoes, put him on a pair of slippers that stood there, and all this without saying a word; but when she had done, told him he might go up to her mistress, who was in her chamber." Sir William adds, " I was glad to have a little diverted, with such pleasantries as these, the thoughts of that busy scene in which I was so deeply engaged."

* His daughter, Mary Princess of Orange. In a letter to the Prince, of the 8th of May (*Dalrymple, Appendix,* p. 216), he says, " I am exceedingly glad that my daughter has missed her ague: I hope she will have no more now the warm weather is come." And in another of the 29th, he says, " I am very glad to find that the journey to Dering has quite cured my daughter." But it seems to have returned, for on June 8th and 15th, James again mentions its continuance.

away to supper, so that I can say no more, but that you shall always find me as much your friend as ever.

"For Mr. Hyde."

XXVIII.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Surprise at the Change of Ministry.

[The Popish Plot, the agitation of the Exclusion Bill, and the discoveries incident upon the Impeachment of Lord Danby, had thrown the nation into such a ferment, that the most serious apprehensions were entertained, lest the flames of civil war might again be lighted up in the kingdom. Charles being now abandoned by the French King, was unwillingly driven to conciliate his subjects by disbanding his newly raised soldiers, by assembling a new Parliament, and by sending away the Duke of York, who had resisted all attempts to move him to adopt the measure of conforming, even in appearance, to the Established Church. He was expatriated much against his inclination, and would have preferred France to Flanders as a temporary retreat; but Louis would not permit him to take shelter there. The Duke of York received his brother's mandate for his residence abroad with great displeasure; and to obviate or shorten its duration, he sought to reconcile himself to Louis, by humbly supplicating his protection, by mean apologies for having seemed to oppose his measures, and by falsely throwing the blame upon the King his brother. Dalrymple has printed a series of letters from James to the Prince of Orange at this juncture, where similar sentiments are reiterated with those dwelt upon in the following letters to Mr. Hyde. They cannot but be considered as very curious documents, developing more fully the character and views of this infatuated Prince, and the extraordinary events upon which his conduct had so much influence. The King of France was moved by his submission, paid him all due attention during his stay at Brussels, and at length obtained his recall in October of this year. [1679.] James was highly sensible of the obligation, and manifested his gratitude, not only in words, but in his future conduct; he seems from this time to have conceived that it was better to govern England by foreign subsidies, by arbitrary measures, and even by the aid of foreign force, than by conciliatory means. Under this conviction, he moved in trammels; he missed the opportunity of becoming a popular monarch, and eventually justly forfeited the allegiance of the nation he attempted to enslave.]

Hague, May 2, 1679.

I have received yours of the 13th, and shall endeavour to have as much patience as I can, in expectation of what will become of me; and I do acknowledge, that I am clearly convinced, that till the Lords are tried, my name ought not to be mentioned, and then you on the place are best judges when and how to go about my affair, and look on your advice as to my own behaviour as very good. The Earl of Danby's coming in has surprised us

here very much, and fear it will do his Majesty's affairs little good, whatsoever effect it may have to himself.* I have not time to say more, it being so very late, but that I am to set out tomorrow morning early for Brussels, and design to be there on Friday, and to take Breda in our way.

"For Mr. Hyde."

XXIX.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

On the Exclusion Bill.

Brussels, May 28, 1679.

I send you here inclosed, the two letters my friends advised I should write, and have made some alterations in them, and, therefore, have sent them with flying seals, that you may see whether they are fit to be delivered as they are now; and you upon the place are the only judges when and at what time will be proper to deliver them. I shall also write a private letter to His Majesty, as you advise; and pray thank the Earl of Oxford, from me, for his being so good a friend to me. You cannot imagine how great a consolation it is to me to hear from all hands, how kind His Majesty continues to me: I cannot have more duty for him than I had, but this great goodness of his makes me support my misfortunes more cheerfully than I could have done otherwise; and, by what you say to me I have some hope left, that by what His Majesty does, and the endeavours of my friends, that bill† may die in the House of Commons, and then there will be no need of giving the two

* In a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated May the 8th, James says, 'What could prevail with His Majesty to lay aside so many of his truest servants, and put all his affairs into the hands of those, who for so many years have obstructed and opposed all his affairs; for my part, I dread the consequences of it. I have been informed, that all this great alteration was resolved on at Lord Sunderland's, none attending His Majesty there but the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Shaftesbury. The Dutchess is said to brag she helped to persuade His Majesty to do it." *Dalrymple, Appendix,* p. 216.

† The Bill for excluding him from the succession to the throne. In a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated June 1, the Duke says, "You will have seen by your last letters from England how violently they proceed against me; and that the bill for depriving me of the succession had had one reading, and was to be read again on Monday last; so that except his Majesty begins to behave himself as a King ought to do, not only I, but himself and our whole family are gone."

letters. And now, I cannot thank you enough for the pains you take in my concerns; I assure you, I am as sensible of it as you can desire, as you shall see if ever in my power.

If these inclosed letters are to be delivered, it were well to let Lord Peterborough know of it, that he may not take it ill.

XXX.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Will never change his Religion.—Observations on Public Affairs.

Brussels, July 24, 1679.

I received on Monday last yours of the 4th, and did not expect a better answer than I had, since it was so long a coming; for if my reasons could not prevail at first, I believed those in power would press with more vigour than ever to hinder my being sent for; and then the going to Windsor was but a very ill sign for me. I see both by yours and the other letters I have had, I must have a great stock of patience, since nothing that can happen, can contribute my being sent for by His Majesty, so long as he follows the counsels of those who are now at the head of his affairs; and I assure you, I will never try that way you mentioned in yours to Churchill,* and which also has been hinted to me by several of my best friends, though I were sure it would restore me into the good opinion and esteem of the nation which I once had; and, therefore, I desire that neither you nor none of my friends will ever mention it to me, or flatter themselves that I can ever be brought to it: what I did was never done hastily, and I have expected many years, and been prepared for what has happened to me, and for the worst that can yet befal me.† As for what is proposed, that I might have leave to go into

* This way was to embrace the Protestant religion, advice which had frequently been given to the Duke by his sincere well-wishers, and which he had always steadily rejected. A long letter had been addressed to him by an old Cavalier, under the signature of *Philanax Verus*, pointing out the mischiefs and miseries his adherence to the Roman Catholic religion must eventually produce. This letter was printed in 1688, with other papers relating to the events of the time in a collection supposed to have been made by Bishop Burnet.

† James, with all his faults, had at least the merit of being constant to his purpose, and sincere in his profession; nor can it be doubted that many of the errors and misfortunes of his life, arose from this unrelenting determination: he was unhappy in the adoption of a mode of faith at issue with the best interests of the nation he was destined to govern, if it may not be said, that it was opposed to the best interests of mankind.

England, and not be with His Majesty, I do by no means approve of it; for I should make so strange a figure any where else but with him, and should be liable to so many affronts and other accidents without being able to do myself any good; and besides, how can I expect any good so long as my enemies do absolutely govern and are at the head of affairs; and without I were with His Majesty, how could I ever hope to prevail with him, or get the better of my enemies, who you say will turn every thing against me; so that except I can be with His Majesty, and be assured of his sticking by me, I shall not desire to be in England, and must have patience till a more favourable conjuncture. As I had written thus far, I was interrupted by the Earl of Peterborough, who is just come. I have yet had little discourse with him, but shall not now seal up my letter till to-morrow, that the English letters will come.

July 25.—I had last night the news of the dissolution of the present Parliament, and a new one being to be called, to meet in October, which I am very glad of. I am sure there cannot be a worse, and hope His Majesty will use this so, if they do not behave themselves as they should when they meet. But I see no change is like to bring me home, having had no hopes of any such thing by the letter I received this post; but I can have patience when I hear His Majesty does any thing like a king, and I think is for his good, as certainly this was. I need not recommend to you the being watchful in my concerns, since you have already taken so much pains in them, of which, I assure you, I am as sensible as you can desire, and which you shall see if ever in my power.

XXXI.

FROM JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO THE SAME.

On Calling a Parliament in Ireland.

September 25th, [1679.]

This bearer, Mr. Sheridan, tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has or will propose, the calling of a Parliament in Ireland now before Christmas; and though I was against it the last year, I am now clearly convinced by my own reason, that it is now very proper, and will be of advantage to His Majesty's service, being persuaded the Duke of Ormond would not be so much for it, were not he almost sure of having good success in it. I shall not

mention to you all the arguments I have for it, they being so very obvious, and besides if you can speak with this bearer he will tell you them. But there is one which I shall mention, which is, that sooner or later it will be fit to call a Parliament in Ireland, and I cannot see that any body can govern it, nor have so much influence over it, as the Duke of Ormond; and I think it ought not to be delayed, considering how old he is. There is another thing which, in my mind, no time should be lost in getting it done, which is, to have both the council and army of that kingdom purged,* it being generally said there are but too many disaffected persons in them; I shall not name any of them to you, because I know so very few of them, only know that ought to be done both there and in England; if you ask this bearer, he can name some of them to you, for I find he knows that country, and the Duke of Ormond has confidence in him.

XXXII.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE.

Observations on Public Occurrences.—Change of Ministry Proposed.—Lord Stafford's Trial.

December 14th, [1680.]

[James remained in England till the Parliament met (October 28th, 1680), when the King, irritated at his uncomplying spirit, had serious thoughts of abandoning him to the Parliament. Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth favoured Monmouth; and at length James was compelled, by threats of an impeachment, to embark for Scotland, much against his inclination. Enraged at being driven to this extremity, he told Barillon just before he embarked, that if he saw himself likely to be ruined by his enemies, he would find means to make them repent it, and revenge himself by exciting troubles in Scotland and Ireland. Upon this, Barillon was ordered to assure him of secret supplies, if he found means to carry his threats into execution; but he found himself too unpopular in Scotland to attempt to excite a revolt, though exasperated to the highest pitch at the favour shown to Monmouth. Let us hope that his own notions (afterwards carried to extremity) of the divine right of kings had at least some share in preventing him from rebelling against his sovereign and his brother.]

I received on Monday yours of the 8th, and do absolutely agree with you that the Dutchess of Portsmouth is never to be trusted, after what she has

* James had persuaded his brother to adopt this favourite project, and it was about to have been carried into execution when the King was suddenly snatched away. It will be seen in the sequel, that it was only a pretext for introducing his own Catholic adherents into power, and displacing the Protestants.

done.* But do not think that if there should be any thing to do with France, that of necessity it must fall into her hands; for not only we, but all others, do now know her so well, as not to care to trust or make use of her, so as if that were the only reason to hinder a negotiation with them: I think that ought not to hinder it. I am very glad to find His Majesty continues still to be so ill pleased with Lord Sunderland and Lord Essex; I think he is much in the right, and I know not why there should be any time lost in the putting them both out of their places. And there is a third you have not named; I mean Mr. Godolphin: I think he should keep them company. I see His Majesty has taken the paper sent him over by Mr. Sidney† as he ought to do, and am glad he has sent a reprimand to him about it; and methinks it would be requisite to remove him from that employment, and to have somebody there His Majesty could trust, which he cannot do him; besides that, it must be very prejudicial to His Majesty's affairs to have such a one as he there, who is so related, and has such dependance on his nephew, I mean Lord Sunderland. I am very glad to hear His Majesty intends to bring into the council Lord Chesterfield and Lord Aylesbury; I wish also he would think of bringing in Lord Peterborough and Lord Craven, for he might very well make room for them all, and do himself no harm; and really, for my sake, Lord Peterborough should be countenanced.

As to the Secretary's place, I am of your mind; I ought not to mention any thing of it of myself, but to tell you my mind in it. If you could

* See Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 487-8.—Lord Dartmouth observes in a note: "Many of the Duke's letters testify, that he was upon very ill terms with her (the Dutchess of Portsmouth) at that time, and looked upon her and her cabal as the most dangerous enemies he had, and that he thought nothing would be well till Godolphin and all the rotten sheep at the end of the gallery are turned out." Burnet remarks, "That which reconciled the Duke to the Dutchess of Portsmouth was, that the King assured him she did all by his order, that so she might have credit with the party, and see into their designs; upon which the Duke saw that it was necessary to believe this, or at least to *seem to believe it*."

† Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and son to the Earl of Leicester. The nature of the paper mentioned will be gathered from the Memoires of James.—"Mr. Sidney, the King's Envoy at the Hague, had been prevailed upon to write what terror the States were in at the news of the Bill of Exclusion being cast out; he said, they came running to him in the greatest consternation imaginable, declaring they had rejected all other offers for their good, resolving to depend wholly upon England, and that now they saw no reason to hope for either support or assistance from thence; the people (he said) were in the last confusion, and Van Beningham almost out of his wits."—Vol. i. p. 641. Mr. Sidney was in fact soon after recalled, and Skelton sent in his stead.

be spared from the Treasury, I think nobody could be fitter for it (till it were fit to have a Lord Treasurer) than yourself; but I do not know how you could be spared there, therefore why should not Lord Clarendon be Secretary? he being as well qualified for it as any body, and serves the King boldly as well as honestly, and none can except against him. And why should not Mr. Finch be brought into the Treasury in Godolphin's place? and then Sir John Chichly into the Admiralty, which might facilitate G. Legge's being Master of the Ordinance, for I believe Sir Christopher Musgrave would be well content to be Lieutenant of it, as Legge is now, and a compensation might be found to satisfy Sir William Hickman. It is what you have said to me in your letter has put all these thoughts of these removes into my head; and not only his Majesty, but nobody else shall know what I have now proposed to you as to them, till you think it proper, and I cannot think of any fitter men than these I have named to you; but what will all these projects signify, if his Majesty lets this Parliament sit any longer: if he does, it will not be in his power, not so much as to preserve himself, much less any of his servants; and, in my mind, they have already done more than he ought to bear; and I fear his delay may be as fatal to him as it was to the King, his father. What can he more expect they should do? they have already done enough to justify him both to God and man, if he break them; and let what will happen upon it, he will have done but what is fit for him to do, and will be commended by all the world; but should he let them continue together any longer, his ruin is inevitable, and the world would blame him; for nothing but his laying down his crown at their feet will satisfy them.* And pray let us not mind Flanders so much as to hazard the certain mine of the monarchy: let his Majesty first secure himself at home, and then, and not till then, can he think of preserving others; and I hope that consideration will not hinder him from parting with this Parliament; when that is once done, one may have time to think, but not before, and that will encourage honest men, and nothing else; for who dare speak so long as they sit? I do not at

* In the Memoires of King James, this argument is enlarged upon in the same strain, and concludes by saying, "Wherefore he ceased not conjuring the King to pursue the method he now was in, and not to imagine those men's good nature would be wrought upon by compliance, which was the fatal rock on which his father miserably split, and which, by that means, was so visible to him, that if he shunned it not, his fall would be unlamented." Which representations, he says, led the King to bolder measures than his counsellors and favourites durst venture to inspire him with. Vol. i. p. 554.

all wonder at the Spanish and Dutch Ambassadors pressing so hard as they do, his Majesty complying, in every thing, with his Parliament; the first would be glad to see a Republic settled in England, the other do not care how little authority there is left to a King, so there be but one that has the empty name of a King. This is now so visible that it cannot be denied, and, I hope, will hinder them from being able to prevail with his Majesty to defer any longer the serving of himself; and pray do but consider in what a condition his Majesty should be in if they should engage him in a war, for then he would be the absolute slave of his Parliament, and they would appoint such officers, both for sea and land, and so settle all things, as it would be actually impossible ever for his Majesty to recover his power, and a commonwealth would infallibly be brought in; and, besides this, do but consider what the Dutch have done heretofore, and see whether they can be relied on, and whether it is not likely, if once they had engaged us in a war, that they may leave us in the lurch, as they have done already to both French and Spaniard, as all the world knows; and then in what a condition should we be! I am almost tired with writing, and yet must say one word concerning the unfortunate Lord Stafford, who, by what has past, has had, I cannot help thinking, very hard measure. I am sure the King's enemies have gained a great point by his being condemned; and, besides the other advantages, have brought a hard thing upon his Majesty; for I know there would be clamours should he not be executed; on the other hand, I think it a terrible thing to sign a warrant for the putting a man to death, upon the testimony of such perjured villains as those that deposed against him; and I hope his Majesty will have considered the trouble it was ever after, to the King his father, the having signed the warrant for the executing of the Lord Strafford; and if it be not too late, why should not you put him in mind of it, it being a terrible thing, the shedding the blood of an innocent man, as I am most confident Lord Stafford is,* as to the horrid crime he has been condemned for, and to any thing of a plot; and pray do not wonder if I can never be brought to

* Lord Dartmouth has given a passage from another letter of the Duke, expressing similar sentiments in almost the same words. The Duke's opinion of Lord Stafford's innocence was confirmed by the general voice, when the ebullitions of party violence subsided. He was the last victim to the infamous machinations of the contrivers of the Popish plot. It is said that King Charles was extremely concerned at Lord Stafford's condemnation, but he dared not use the royal prerogative to save him; and the conduct of the factious leaders in Parliament, when he ventured to remit the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, shows that their fury knew no bounds.

what you and other of my friends do so press me in, concerning my religion, since I could not do it without deserving a severer and more terrible sentence from the great Judge of all the world, which is all I shall say now upon that affair.*

Since I had written this, and was ready to seal up my letter, a thought came into my head concerning Churchill; it is whether, if Mr. Sidney be removed, as in my mind he ought, Churchill were not a fit man to be sent in his place, or into France, if Savil have a mind to come home. You may remember this was once thought on, and let me know what your opinion is of it now; but this is only in case I should be with his Majesty again, for so long as I am from him I would not willingly have Churchill from me; and believe me, if I be not sent for soon after the Parliament is sent home, or broken, I shall have but little hopes left of ever seeing London again, so that I hope all my friends will do their parts to have me there, and that soon.

THE DEPOSITION OF TITUS OATES, IMPLICATING THE QUEEN IN THE POPISH PLOT.

[Of this impudent attempt to implicate the Queen, Burnet's account, which is as follows, differs in some particulars:—

"An accident fell in, before I went to him, which took off much from Oates's credit. When he was examined by the House of Lords, and had made the same narrative to them that he had offered to the Commons, they asked him, if he had now named all the persons whom he knew to be involved in the plot? He said, there might be some inferior persons whom he had perhaps forgot, but he had named all the persons of note. Yet, it seems, afterwards he bethought himself; and Mrs. Elliot, wife to Elliot of the bed-chamber, came to the King, and told him, Oates had somewhat to swear against the Queen, if he would give way to it. The King was willing to give Oates line

* The subject is thus noticed in the Memoires of King James:—"But these were not all the difficulties his Royal Highness was to fence against; his friends relapsed again into their fears, which was more grievous to him than all the rest, and had the boldness to press him to change his religion, as the only resource he had left, and that without it, both himself, the King, and monarchy too, would infallibly be lost. These menaces would have staggered a prince of less Christian resolution; but no earthly motive could shake his resolution, when justice or truth was concerned; so he replied, with something more asperity than ordinary, 'That he wondered those to whom he was known, could fancy him capable of so much levity in a business of that high nature, as either to have changed his religion at first, without full conviction; or to relinquish it now for temporal ends; but what he had done was upon full deliberation, and that he was resolved, let the consequence be what it will, to persevere in the truth he had already embraced.'" Vol. i. page 560.

enough, as he expressed it to me, and seemed to give way to it. So he came out with a new story, that the Queen had sent for some Jesuits to Somerset-house: and that he went along with them, but staid at the door, when they went in; where he heard one, in a woman's voice, expressing her resentments of the usage she had met with, and assuring them she would assist them in taking off the King. Upon that he was brought in, and presented to her; and there was then no other woman in the room but she. When he was bid describe the room, it proved to be one of the public rooms of that Court, which are so great, that the Queen, who was a woman of a low voice, could not be heard over it, unless she had strained for it. Oates, to excuse his saying that he could not lay any thing to the charge of any besides those he had already named, pretended, that he thought then it was not lawful to accuse the Queen. But this did not satisfy people. Bedlow to support this, swore, that being once at chapel at Somerset-house, he saw the Queen, the Duke, and some others very earnest in discourse in the closet above; and that one came down with much joy, and said, the Queen had yielded at last; and that one explained this to him beyond sea, and said it was to kill the King. And, besides Bedlow's oath that he saw Godfrey's body in Somerset-house, it was remembered, that, at that time, the Queen was for some days in so close a retirement, that no person was admitted. Prince Rupert came then to wait on her, but was denied access. This raised a strange suspicion of her. But the King would not suffer that matter to go any farther."—*History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 435.

In the Memoires of King James mention is made of another attempt to bring the Queen into suspicion; "Upon the accusation of one Buss, the Duke of Monmouth's cook, who informed the secret committee, that being at Windsor in September last, he heard one Hankinson, who had belonged to the Queen's chapel, desire Antonio, the Queen's confessor's servant, to have a care of the four Irishmen he had brought along with him, who, he said, would do the business for them. The committee had slighted it, but it being again sworn before the Recorder, Antonio was examined, and though he denied any such words, was committed for high treason. The King seemed highly sensible of so injurious an aspersion on so virtuous a Princess; however nothing was done to vindicate her, in such awe did his Majesty stand of that popular rage." Vol. i. p. 561.—The good-natured speech of Charles upon this occasion deserves to be recorded: "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused."]

Mr. Oates doth inform that in the month of July he saw a letter from Sir George Wakeman, in which Sir George did assure Richard Thimbleby, to whom it was directed, that the Queen would assist him to poison his sacred Majesty: and in the latter end of July did wait on John Keines, Bazill Langworth, Harcourt and Fenwicke, to Somerset-house, where the Queen then was; and in an out chamber did hear the Queen say she would not take these affronts any longer that had been done unto her, but would revenge the violation of her bed. Now the deponent being present before her Majesty, saw no living soul there but her Majesty and those fathers, with whom he went to Somerset-house: and the deponent did hear the Queen say, that she would assist them in the propagation of the Catholic religion; and hath, by Corker the Benedictine, given several

sums of money to pervert his Majesty's subjects; as Mr. Oates doth verily believe several sums of money hath been so used by the Jesuits in her Majesty's name, and 5000*l.* hath been paid to the Jesuits, in order to destroy the person of his Majesty, and subvert religion and government, as appears by several instructions from the Queen or to the Jesuits, as the Jesuits themselves have confessed to Mr. Oates.

This information was given to me upon oath.

H. COVENTRY.

Mr. Oates appeared before his Majesty in council,* and being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, saith, that in the month of July last he saw a letter from Sir George Wakeman to Richard Ashby alias Thimbleby, advising him for his health sake, being then troubled with the gout, to take a pint of milk every morning, and a pint at night, as also two strokes at the pump while he continued at the Bath; and in the same letter Sir George Wakeman did declare his liking of the proposals of poisoning the King, provided good terms might be had, and added, that the Queen would give her assistance in the work. And in the same month of July, there came a messenger to have some of the fathers attend at Somerset House, who were Keines, Harcourt, Bazill Langworth, and Fenwicke. The messenger was one Sir Richard or Sir Robert, he knows not which, being a man of a middle stature, about forty-four or forty-five years; the men went all into an out chamber, and he himself, and some

* The account of this transaction in the Memoires of King James is worth mentioning: "On the 25th November therefore, he (Oates) repented before the Council, what he had said the night before to his Majesty, that the Queen was privy to the whole design, and none more forward to carry it on than herself; that he had heard her Majesty say, in Somerset-house, she was resolved to poison the King for the injuries he had done her; they doubted not but the King's inclinations to liberty would favour this project. So they had sent one Mrs. Elliot, as from Oates, beforehand, to acquaint him with this information; which when the King seemed to discredit, and urged the impossibility of it, she told him she thought he would have been glad to have parted with the Queen on any terms. But this, instead of proving a temptation, made no other impression on the King, than to give him a greater horror than ever of those infamous practices; for when my Lord Ossory and Bridgewater were sent with Oates to Somerset-house, to show the place where he pretended to have heard the Queen say those words he accused her of, he directed them first to the guard-room, then to the privy chamber, out of which, he said, he went up a pair of back-stairs into a great room; but unfortunately for him, there were neither any such stairs thereabout, nor any large room in that story. But this inexhaustible fountain of impudence, as well as invention, was not dejected nor out of countenance at all these disappointments; nor would discover (though earnestly pressed to it) who put him upon this detestable project." Vol. i. p. 529

others whom he remembers not, went into a room without; but being desirous to know what passed within, and the door not being quite shut, he listened, and did hear a woman's voice, though he saw not who it was, to say, she would no longer endure those affronts, but would revenge the violation of her bed, and would assist in the taking away of the King's life, and the propagation of the Catholic religion. And at the door he desired one of the fathers that he might see the Queen, and being admitted, he doth, upon his salvation declare, that he saw nobody but the Queen, and those fathers with whom he went to Somerset-House. Mr. Oates being afterwards asked if the Queen saw him when he was presented, he said she did, and took as much notice of him as one of her rank usually doth upon such a one as he was, being then in another habit than at present he be: he thought she gave him a gracious smile: that the Queen, under the notion of charity, hath given Mr. Corker several sums of money to pervert his Majesty's subjects in their religion; and that if Mr. Ireland's papers be again examined, it will appear that there was a distribution made of this charity, and some so small as two or three shillings, whereof he himself had some share. This, as a circumstance to introduce belief that the Queen was concerned in this matter, he said he saw a letter which Mitho had prepared to the general of the Jesuits, wherein mention was made of 5000*l.* given by her Majesty, 4000*l.* at one time, and 1000*l.* at another, which he cannot swear was for this end, but verily believes it was; and being asked how he came to see that letter, he said, that Mitho, the secretary of their order, consulted with him about a Latin phrase, and he desired him to put a word into the dative case, as being better Latin: that as to the question why he concealed this important matter so long, he answered, he had a distrust within himself and his judgment about discovering of it, and owns he intended to have discovered it, upon Sir George Wakeman's business at this Board, but was willing his Majesty should have the first in private. And further upon this account, and the objection that Pickering was employed to kill the King with a pistol and several bullets, and that he had been disciplined with twenty strokes for having failed, (which was before the Consult in April last, as near as he remembers,) it appears the business was committed to other hands to be executed: he answered hereunto, that matter had been designed in the year 1670; and he knew her Majesty (let her virtues be what they will) had correspondence with the Bishop of Rome and the general of the Jesuits by the hands of the Jesuits here. She was not to act till they judged things to be ripe; and further said that endeavours

were made that the Queen should not be concerned in this business till all other means failed: he further added to the question of his being so long silent in a matter of that dangerous consequence, he was unwilling to communicate any thing of the Queen to any public court, but only to the King himself in private, she being the wife of his bosom; he says he cannot remember the precise day when these words were spoken, but that it was on a week day, and not on a Sunday, and a day of some solemnity, just before mass; and as to the place where it was spoken, he says he never was there before nor since; he thinks he should remember the place again if he see it. Being put in mind that he declared at the bar of the House of Lords, that he had no more to say against any person of quality, he answered, his meaning was that he had no more to say against any of the House where he was, and prays their Lordships to remember that he then desired he might not be further pressed to say any more, to the end his evidence might not be suppressed. And being further questioned how it came about that he could not give an account of the precise day when these words were spoken, having in other things referred himself to his papers, he declared he had not committed this thing to writing, not daring to trust more with it than his own soul; yet he hopes he may recollect something to the very time, and would examine his papers, but that they were in the custody of Mr. Thomas Howard. Being asked if he knew Bedlowe before, he answered, that likely he had seen him, but not by that name; but that if he had seen him it was in Spain, and as going by the name of Williams, but that he never knew him as concerned in this business. Being further demanded why he omitted so material a thing against Sir George Wakeman as that dangerous letter written to him by Thimbleby afore-mentioned, as nothing appears of it at the Council Board against Sir George Wakeman, he answered he was at that time faint and weak, and had been up two nights together, nor could he have said he saw a letter signed George Wakeman, in Thimbleby's chamber. And further remembered the Lords, that he did declare when the Consult was held by the Benedictines, when Sir George Wakeman was contracted with, that he was sick of the stone and not there. But that he afterwards found the contents of their proceedings in the entry-book, touching which it told he had indeed made mention of such an entry: but at the bar of the House of Commons, but not mentioned at the Board, to which he replied, that it was an omission caused by his weakness all that time.

Mr. Oates hearing this information read, doth further declare, that it was upon St. James's Day, or a day before or after, that he heard the words before herein-mentioned,

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XXXIV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

The Present State of Affairs in England fraught with Ruin to Holland.

A Deeren ce 14 Avril, 1681.

Je vous suis tres obligé que vous m'avez informé au long des raisons qui ont obligé le Roy a dissoudre le Parlement. C'est asseurement le plus grand malheur qui nous peut arriver au monde que la constitution presente de vos affaires en Angleterre, et sans un miracle nous sommes tous perdue, et quelle bonne intention que sa Majeste aye il ne poura point nous sauver dans l'estat ou sont ces affaires. Et quoy que l'on se flatte que le temps pouroit produire quelque chose de bon, je croi que cela ira tousjours de mal en pis; et asseurement il nous en restera pas de songer a nous. Je me fairois un eternel reproche si je ne vous escrivois si franchement affin que vous puissiez representer au Roy en quel extreme danger nous sommes. Ce n'est pas par auqu'une veu particuliere, n'y une fausse apprehension, qui me fait parler, mais c'est que je voi clairement nostre ruine, et peutestre vous le ferez plustost que vous, ne vous l'imagines. Pour moi je ne voi auqu'un remede c'est de vous que cela nous doit venir, et il ne nous reste autre chose a faire que de remestre le tout a la Providence Divine.*

* TRANSLATION.

I am very much obliged to you for having informed me at length of the reasons which have obliged the King to dissolve the Parliament. The present position of affairs in England is assuredly the greatest misfortune which could have happened to us in the world, and without a miracle we are all lost. Whatever good intention His Majesty may have, he cannot save us in the present posture of his affairs; and although we flatter ourselves that time may produce some change for the better, I believe that it will only grow from bad to worse; and assuredly we shall not neglect to take care of ourselves. I should eternally reproach myself if I did not write thus openly to you, in order that you may represent to the King in what extreme danger we are. It is not from any particular view, nor a false apprehension which makes me speak, but that I see clearly our ruin, and perhaps you will effect it sooner than you imagine. For me I can see no remedy, it is from England that it ought to come; and nothing remains for us to do, but to trust all to Divine Providence.

XXXV.

LORD HALIFAX* TO LORD HYDE.

In Favour of Sir R. Knight's Claim upon the Treasury.

Rufford, May 4th, 81.

I do very willingly comply with Sir Ralph Knight's desires; I would recommend him to your Lordship. His case is so just, that if the Exchequer is in a condition to hear reason, he cannot fail of succeeding in that he pretendeth to; and, indeed, if any exceptions are to be admitted to the strict rules you have made, perhaps there is hardly any body that deserveth more to be distinguished. The short of his business, as he representeth it to me, is, that he lost in employments and land 900*l.* per annum. When the King came in, for a compensation to him there was given him 600*l.* a-year for ever. Some years since he sold this to the King for 8000*l.*, which was all paid excepting 600*l.*, for which he taketh a tally, and sendeth it to the Exchequer; the breaking of the bankers involveth him amongst the rest. Now, considering how much he did towards bringing in the King, and how well he is disposed to keep him in, which he expresseth fully upon all occasions, if something might be done for him without any consequence to others, I should think it would not be ill bestowed; he is not pressing for the time, but if he may by any means be secured to have what is due for him, he is willing to wait as long as your Lordship shall judge to be reasonable. I know that offices of this kind are not generally very welcome to you; but I do not only hope you will forgive, but, upon second thoughts, thank me for putting you in mind of doing a piece of justice, where it will be so well applied. I am ever yours,

HALIFAX.

* Sir George Savile of Rufford, Notts; created Lord Savile and Viscount Halifax, 1668, Earl of Halifax, 1679, and Marquis of Halifax, 1682. The important part he played in the events of these times, makes it unnecessary to say more respecting him; his name must be familiar to every reader of English history. He figures especially in the Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, who enjoyed his patronage.

XXXVI.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

Observations on Public Affairs.—The Conference of Courtray, &c.

A Honslaerdyck ce 6 de Juin, 1681.

J'ay attendu mon retour en ce Paiis a vous repondre a celle qu'il vous a pleu de m'escrire du 20 du Mois passe. J'espere que la chaleur avec laquelle le Roy a parle a l'Ambas: de France produira quelque bon effet, mais cependant les François continuent en leurs pretensions tant en Almagne qu'en Paiis Bas et se mestent en possession des Paiis qu'ils disent estre des dependances. Et asseurement la conference de Cortray se terminera en rien, estant impossible aux Espagnols de ceder tout ce que la France pretend sans ruiner, et rendre entierement inutile le reste des Paiis Bas. Il faut que je vous dise ingenuement que l'on s'etonne fort icy que sa Majesté ne temoigne pas plus d'empressement a prevenir de si grands maux qui nous menacent. C'est pourquoy aussi Mes: les Estats ont ordonné a leurs Ambas: de demander les sentiments du Roy de quelle maniere il croi que l'on doit faire pour empescher s'il est possible la maniere extraordinaire que la France agit presentement; et sont d'intension de se conformer a ce que sa Majesté resoudera. Nostre situation et la conjuncture du temps ne permettent pas que nous soyons les premiers a parler ou faire, quoy que ce soit, mais suivre l'Angleterre en ce quelle voudra faire, ce que ça sera je n'en scai rien, mais bien que si l'on laisse prendre a la France toutte les dependances qu'elle pretend au Paiis Bas, que le reste tombera de soymesme entre ces mains, et cela entre peu de temps je ne scai pas pourquoy le Roy ne pourroit envoier quelqu'un pour estre present aux conferences de Cortrai comme estant guarandeur de la Paix de Nimeguen, et en ayent esté le Mediateur. Enfin c'est de chez vous que toutte l'Europe doit esté sauvée sans quoy elle sera bientost subjugué: ainsi je n'espere pas qu'il est vrai le bruit qui courre icy que chez vous l'on commence d'estre en meilleure intelligence avec la France que l'on n'a esté depuis quelque temps, si cela est, nos affaires sont en fort mechant estat. Je vous escrit si franchement affin que vous voïez de la maniere que j'agis avec vous, en quoy je continuerez si vous le souhaitez, et tacherai a vous temoigner en tous occasions que je suis entierement a vous.

Il seroit bon que M. Sylvius fut bientost expedié, et que le Roy

eut un Ministre a la Cour de l'Empereur, puisque cela a fait grand bruit en Almagne que My Lord Middleton est rapellé sans qu'il aye eu un successeur.*

XXXVII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

Pressing for the Interference of England to prevent the Aggressions of France.

A Honslaerdyck ce 17 de Juin, 1681.

Je ne puis m'empesché de vous dire de nouveau que l'on est fort surpris icy que le Roy n'avoit pas plus s'interessé en ce qui se passe au Paiis Bas,

* TRANSLATION.

I have waited until my return to this country to reply to that which you were pleased to write to me the 20th of last month. I hope that the warmth with which the King has spoken to the French Ambassador will produce some good effect; but, notwithstanding, the French continue their pretensions, as well in Germany as the Low Countries, and take possession of the countries which they say are its dependencies. And assuredly the conference of Courtray will end in nothing, it being impossible for the Spaniards to cede all that the French have pretensions to, without ruining and rendering useless the rest of the Low Countries. It is necessary that I should tell you ingenuously that they are much astonished here, that His Majesty does not manifest more promptitude to prevent such great evils which menace us. This also is why Messieurs the States have given orders to their Ambassador, to request the opinion of the King as to what manner he thinks they ought to act, to prevent, if possible, the extraordinary mode in which France at present proceeds; and it is their intention to conform to what His Majesty shall resolve. Our situation, and the present conjuncture of time, does not permit that we should be the first to speak or act, whatever it may be, but to follow England in that which she will do. What that will be I know not; but I well know, that if France is permitted to take all the dependencies to which she pretends in the Low Countries, that the rest will fall of itself into their hands, and that in a very short time. I know not why the King might not send some one to be present at the Conference of Courtray, as being Guarantee of the Peace of Nimeguen, and as having been the Mediator. In short, it is by your aid that all Europe ought to be saved; without it, she will very soon be subjugated. Therefore I hope the report is not true which is current here, that you begin to be upon better terms with France than you have been for a long time. If it is so, our affairs are in a bad state. I write to you so frankly, in order that you may see, by the manner in which I deal with you, how I will continue if you wish it, and will endeavour to show you, on all occasions, that I am entirely yours.

It would be well if M. Sylvius were quickly despatched, and that the King had a Minister at the Court of the Emperor, since it has made much noise in Germany that My Lord Middleton is recalled, without any one being appointed to succeed him.

et que sur la nouvelle plainte que Don Pr. Ronquillio a fait de ce que les François demandent de nouveau la Conté de Chinay, Sa Majesté n'a fait autre reponse qu'il ordonneroit a Mr. Savel, (Saville) de presser son retour pour s'en plaindre conjointement avec nostre Ambas: a Paris. Je vous ay dit par ma precedente que si l'on vouloit sauver les Paiis Bas, qu'il falloit que vous autres comme les plus eloigné du peril parlassent les plus hauts; et que tout ce que l'on pouvoit attendre de nous c'est que nous vous suivions apres que vous eussiez fait les premieres demarches. Asseurement si l'on ne temoigne plus d'empressement a sauver ce Paiis, elle se perdera avant que l'on ne peut se l'imaginer. Il n'est pas besoin que je vous dise combien vous y estres interessé, mais j'espere que vous emploierez tout vostre credit, affin que l'on songe bien serieusement aux remedes, quoy que tres difficiles, pour prevenir une si grande perte.* G.

XXXVIII.

† LORD BURLINGTON TO LORD HYDE.

Thanks for his Attention to the Gentlemen of the West Riding of Yorkshire and their Address.

MY LORD, July, 1681.

I do return you my most hearty acknowledgments, for the favours you were pleased to show those gentlemen who waited upon His Majesty with

* TRANSLATION.

I cannot help repeating to you, that they are much surprised here that the King has not interested himself more in what is passing in the Low Countries, and that upon the new remonstrance which Don P. Ronquillio has made upon the new demand set up by the French to the Province of Chinay, his Majesty made no other answer, but that he would direct Mr. Saville to hasten his return, to complain in conjunction with our Ambassador at Paris. I have told you in my former, that if you would save the Low Countries, it was necessary that England, as the farthest from danger, should speak the loudest; and that all that could be expected from us would be, that we should follow after you had taken the preliminary steps. Assuredly if you do not show more forwardness to save this country, it will be lost before you could have imagined it. There is no necessity for me to say how much you are interested; but I hope you will employ all your credit in order that remedies may be seriously thought of, although difficult to provide, in order to prevent so great a loss.

† Richard Boyle, second Earl of Cork, and first Earl of Burlington, which last title was conferred on him by Charles II., for the share he took in his Restoration. He had married in 1653, Elizabeth,

our address, who likewise desire me to make theirs to your Lordship, for the kind reception you gave them at Windsor. I am very confident there is not in England, a body of gentry more thoroughly devoted to the King's service, than that which is in the West Riding, and so are the people there in general. Sir Ralph Wharton is much satisfied with those expressions that were made by you upon his account, which I assure you were not ill-placed, since a more considerable man, both for courage and conduct, I scarce know in this kingdom; and a more loyal one, I am sure, is not to be found in this nation. I am very confident, the gentleman I wrote of has real affection to the King's service, and will, I hope, in a little time, be brought to a good temper again, which is his brother's and my endeavour; but the regiment you may be sure he will keep right, as being a real Cavalier in the military profession. I am much obliged unto your Lordship for the thoughts you have of Captain Clifford's condition, and do hope the favour you confer upon him, will be placed upon a person that will always acknowledge it, and I am sure faithfully serve you, if he has the opportunity, and so will,

My Lord,
Your most faithful,
Humble servant, and affectionate Father,
BURLINGTON.

"Launs: 9th July, 1681.
For the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Hyde.
At his house at St. James's, London."

sole daughter and heir of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. In 1666, he was constituted Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, of the city and county of York, and in 1679, Custos Rotulorum of the same. He died in 1697-8. Lord Rochester had married his youngest daughter, the Lady Henrietta Boyle.

XXXIX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

About to embark for England.

[Upon the dissolution of King Charles's last Parliament, and his appeal to the people, which were considered total breaches between him and Parliament, the Prince of Orange came over to England, having previously sent Mr. Sidney to ask the advice of Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin about his coming. The visit gave an alarm to the Duke of York in Scotland, who suspected it might have created a reconciliation between the King and the Prince.—Charles thought it necessary to apologize to the French Ambassador for consenting to the visit; adding, that it should make no difference upon the measures he had taken. Indeed, the Prince's visit could not fail to be unsuccessful, not only on account of Charles's connexions with France, but on account of the private pique between the King and the Prince. One of the views of the Prince of Orange's journey, was to bring the King to join in an association with the Dutch, the Emperor, Spain, and many German Princes, to stop the further encroachments of France. Barillon, in his dispatches, says that the Prince of Orange had pressed the King for a Parliament, and that the King and him were on bad terms. That the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him that the Prince had pressed her to assist in procuring the exclusion of the Duke of York.—*Dalrymple.*]

A la Haye, ce 29 de Juillet 1681.

Je ne receu que Vendredi dernier la lettre que le Roy ma fait l'honneur de m'escrire par le jaght. Je suis parti hier de Dieren, et arrivé le soir icy. Je serois parti plustost si le vent avoit esté bon; et si elle est tant soit peu favorable, je faits estats de m'embarquer apres demain, en cas que Mes: les Estats approuvent mon voyage, de quoy je ne doute pourtant point. Demain je dois leurs en demander leur approbation. Ainsi j'espere d'avoir en peu de jours la satisfaction de vous embrasser. Et vous asseurer de bouche que l'on ne sauroit estre plus entierement a vous que je le suis.

* TRANSLATION.

I did not receive till Friday last, the letter which the King has done me the honour to write to me by the yacht. I left Dieren yesterday, and arrived here in the evening. I should have quitted sooner had the wind been fair; and if it should prove ever so little favourable, I make account of embarking the day after to-morrow, should Messieurs the States approve my voyage, of which however, I doubt not. To-morrow I am to ask their approbation. Thus I hope in a few days to have the satisfaction of embracing you, and of assuring you in person, that no one can be more entirely yours than I am.

XL.

LORD HALIFAX TO LORD HYDE.

Complaints of the Spanish Ambassador.—Present from the East India Company to the King.

London, Sept. 27, 1681.

I had so great a mind to follow you, that, as it usually happeneth, I am disappointed in it; my distemper, though somewhat abated, yet still continuing so much that I do not know how to venture upon a journey; but to supply my place you will have the Spanish ambassador, who goeth full of complaints, for which you are to prepare yourself. He is resolved to try again about Portugal, a business so rooted in his head, that neither Strasbourgh, Card, nor Luxembourgh, can put it out of his head. I think, if you could persuade the King to speak plainly to the French ambassador concerning what is passed at Courtray, it might perhaps have more effect than any other means that could be used, besides that his doing it in a right manner, would be of good relish both here and abroad.* I have not seen either of our East India men since you went, but I am told by one who had it from them, that they intend, upon Wednesday next, to have it moved that the Company shall give a yearly present to the King of 10,000*l.*† and leave it to his pleasure whether he will accept it or no; seeming to be very positive in their resolutions not to exceed it. It will be well you should know the King's mind fully in it before you return, and to take care beforehand to engage him, that whatever is given may be fixed to a public use without being diverted. Mr. Secretary will write to you, so that if there is any thing worth knowing, you will have it from him. Your lordship will be so kind

* The tortuous politics of Charles and his secret money-treaty with France, had driven him and Lord Hyde to a cruel dilemma: the Spaniards pressing them on one side for that aid which had been stipulated for in the late treaty, and the French holding out a threat, that if it was conceded they would withhold the money. Lord Hyde was the only minister privy to this shameful compact with France, and the shifts to which they were driven for excuses to put off the clamorous appeals on one side, and the fruitless remonstrances of the engagement in the verbal treaty having been infringed by the French aggressions in the Low Countries, appear in the despatches of Barillon, and other correspondence published by Dalrymple.

† King William is said to have received this annual sum but once; and in 1695 a discovery was made that secret presents, to a very large amount, were annually made to those in power. See Burnet, ii. p. 145.

as to make my excuse to the King, which is all I have to add, but that I am for ever yours, HALIFAX.

" For the Lord Viscount Hyde, at Newmarket."

XLI.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

Joint remonstrance about Luxemburgh, or calling a Parliament the best mode of proceeding.

A la Haye, ce 16 de Decemb. 1681.

La resolution que l'on a pris de parler conjointement au Roy de France, touchant la blocade de Luxembourg,* et en cas de refus qu'un Parlement seroit convoqué, me paroit la mellieure que l'on auroit peu prendre ;† mais j'espere que tous delais ou reponses ambigues seront pris pour des refus. Le principal selon mon advis, c'est le temps, que l'on doit menager, puis qu'il est impossible que cette place demeure longtemps en l'assiette ou elle est. Je crois aussi que si l'on parle fortement, et qu'en France l'on soit bien persuade qu'en Angleterre l'on la veut sauver tout de bon, que l'on ne poussera point la chose a bout. Ce qu' un Parlement faira quand il s'assembleront Dieu le scait, mais il est impossible, selon mon sens, d'eviter a essayer si il n'y auroit pas moyens d'accommoder les affaires. Et voyant les dangers evidents du dehors il faut esperer qu'ils y feront plus de reflections qu'ils n'ont fait cy devant. Je vous suis tres obligé de vous concerner en ce qui me touche, aux bruits qui avoient couru : jusques a present l'on n'a pas decouvrir qu'ils ont eu autre dessin que d'enlever un nomme Sardan, quoy qu'il y a beaucoup de circomstances qui fairoient croire autre chose. Le temps peut estre nous en appren-

* The French had resolved to add Luxemburgh, the key to Germany and the Low Countries, to their other usurpations, and Charles had promised his consent for a bribe. In order to effect this purpose it was proposed that Charles should be arbiter in the affair; but the Spaniards saw through the device, and refused his arbitrement. The refusal gave a pretence to the King to leave Luxemburgh to its fate, and afforded a pretext to the French for making more encroachments on the Spanish Netherlands; they even persuaded Charles to interpose his authority with the Prince of Orange to prevail with the Dutch to persuade Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxemburgh.

† Charles, however, as a subterfuge, had promised to call a Parliament. Barillon, in a despatch of the 22d December, says, that Charles, in talking of his promise to the Spaniards, said, " I have no intention to call a Parliament ; these are devils who intend my ruin."

dera la verité. Et a vous qu'il est impossible d'estre plus entierement a vous que je le suis.*

XLII.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD HYDE.

Observations on the Prorogation and Meeting of Parliament.

Edinburgh, Jan. 30th, [1681-2.]

The express made good haste with yours of the 26th, for he gave it me last night before eleven o'clock; and I was surprised to hear so soon of the prorogation, but not at all at the shortness of it, seeing by his Majesty's speech, and letter to me, that he is not at all altered in the main, and that you assure it me too; and when things can do no harm, and may do good, I am not against trying them: and the other consideration you mention, concerning my being with you when there is a prospect of a Parliament, is a very good one. The yachts are not yet come, but the wind is fair, though it be great, so that they may very well be here some time to-morrow; and when once they are arrived, I shall not lose any time in getting on board, and making the best of my way, and shall be impatient till I am with you; and then shall let you see how sensible I am of the pains you take in all my concerns. I have so much business upon my hands that I cannot say more.

"For Mr. Hyde."

* TRANSLATION.

The resolution that was taken to speak conjointly to the King of France concerning the blockade of Luxemburgh, and in case of refusal that a Parliament should be convoked, appears to me the best that could have been taken; but I hope that all delays or ambiguous answers will be taken as refusals. The principal thing, in my opinion, is time, which should be husbanded, because it is impossible that this place can remain long in its present state. I believe, also, that if you speak forcibly, and that they are well persuaded in France that England in reality wishes to save it, the thing will not be carried to extremities. What a Parliament will do when it meets, God knows; but it is impossible, according to my notion, to avoid trying it, if there are no means to accommodate matters; and seeing the evident dangers of foreign affairs, it is to be hoped that they will reflect more than they have hitherto done. I am very much obliged to you for the concern you take in what regards me respecting the reports which have been current; so far it has only been discovered, that they had no other design than to carry off a person named Sardan, although there are many circumstances which would lead one to think otherwise. Time, perhaps, will show us the truth; and to you, that it is impossible to be more entirely yours than I am.

XLIII.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE* TO THE LORD TREASURER (HYDE.)

Letter of Thanks for Attentions received.

MY LORD,

I am so exceedingly sensible of your Lordship's most kind obliging letter of the 17th, I cannot delay my most humble many thanks to your Lordship for it, and I acknowledge particularly your Lordship's favour to me in being pleased to order Mr. Millington my 100*l.* fee. Your Lordship doth me a very great honour by being pleased to let me know so obligingly that I am in his Royal Highness's favour, which is a great contentment to me; and truly I may say, without vanity, what I did speak in the House to serve him, was more for the succession than any person mentioned, and I shall always be ready to serve his Highness. As I remember what I writ to your Lordship, I presumed to say to his Highness at Newark, was with all respect to his Highness, but it shewed I had not been able to do Mr. Millington any service at Court; the courtesy I have received from Mr. Millington is the making Sir Edward Deering a Parliament-man, which my Lord Arlington told me the King did desire. I would have got Mr. Millington to be a Master of the Chancery, but I could not do it. I think what he wishes now, is to be the Duke's servant; but I am the loathest in the world to trouble your Lordship or his Royal Highness. I pray your Lordship to believe you have not a more faithful servant than my poor self, and whatever lies in my power to serve you, you may command it, being entirely,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
faithful, obedient Servant,
H. NEWCASTLE.

Wellbeck, February the 20th, 1682.

* Henry Cavendish, second Duke of Newcastle.

XLIV.

LIEUTENANT THE HON. JAMES HYDE TO HIS BROTHER LORD HYDE.

Account of the fitting out and sailing of the Gloucester Frigate.

Downs, May 3, 1682.

After a very tedious and bad journey, we came to Portsmouth on Thursday morning, about eleven o'clock. We found the Gloucester in a pretty good forwardness, but, for all that, stood in need of Sir John Berryes' presence, who did three times more to her after he came, than was done before; I am sure the officers of the yard may say there was never ship of her bigness fitted out so soon. On Monday, at six o'clock in the afternoon, we sailed from Spithead, and at the same time there was an express sent to the Duke to let him know of it; by which means, as soon as we were moored in the Downs, we received an order to sail for Margate Road, which we shall do this evening, if it be possible. I write this to you, because you were not certain of coming with the Duke; but if you do, I hope this will not come to your hand; for I can give you a better account of Sir John Berryes' extreme diligence by word of mouth, who has desired me to present his most humble service to you. I have no more at present, but that I am

Your most humble Servant,
And ever much obliged Brother,
J. HYDE.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Hyde,
at his Lodgings in St. James's-street, near St. James's, London."

XLV.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD TREASURER (HYDE.)

Loss of the Gloucester.—Meeting of the Council at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh, May 9, 1682.

I had not time yesterday to write to you by the flying packet myself, to have told you of the unfortunate loss of the Gloucester, but charged Churchill to do it; so that I shall say no more of it, but to assure you myself, that I am really troubled for the loss of your brother James. Really he would have made a very good man; for besides other good quali-

ties, he was as unconcerned as any man I ever saw, and all they who got off after me say the same thing. I have now had an account of the loss of the ship's company, and find there were about a hundred and ten lost, besides those who belonged to me, and those who came with me; how many they were I do not yet know.* I was yesterday at Council, where I acquainted

* Burnet has reflected with severity and injustice upon the Duke and Colonel Legge on this occasion, saying that the Duke got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken from that earnest care of his to be his priests; the long boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality; but the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to Legge's charge. Lord Dartmouth, in a letter referred to in a subsequent note, written in 1723, thus vindicates his father. "After the ship had struck, he several times pressed the Duke to get into the boat, who refused to do it, telling him that if he were gone, nobody would take care of the ship, which he had hopes might be saved, if she were not abandoned. But my father, finding she was ready to sink, told him if he staid any longer they should be obliged to force him out; upon which the Duke ordered a strong box to be lifted into the boat; which, besides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father, with some warmth, asked him if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke answered that there were things of so great consequence, both to the King and himself, that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost. Before he went off he inquired for Lord Roxburgh, and Lord O'Brian, but the confusion and hurry were so great that they could not be found. When the Duke, and as many as she would hold, were in the boat, my father stood with his sword drawn to hinder the crowd from oversetting of her, which was what, I suppose, the Bishop esteemed a fault. I believe his reflection upon the Duke, for the care of his dogs, to be as ill-founded; for I remember a story (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a struggle that happened for a plank, between Sir Charles Scarborough and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me that the dogs were left to take care of themselves, (as he did,) if there were any more on board." The Duke's own account, in his Memoirs, is that the Gloucester, through the unskilfulness or treachery of Captain Ayres, the pilot, (who was tried and condemned afterwards,) was lost, and the Duke himself in great danger of being so too. Captain Ayres his intention was, it seems, to follow the Collier's road, betwixt the coast and the sand-banks; but the commanders being against it, ordered him to go out to sea, thinking to clear them all: but he still pressed to the tack, fancying he had time enough to go within the banks: and at last he had leave given him, when the commanders thought themselves far enough out at sea to go beyond them all; but it seems both were deceived, for a little while after the ship struck upon the Lem . [and] Oare in Yarmouth Road, where she stuck for some time; and as soon as she came into deep water, immediately sunk, and at least one hundred persons in her: but his Royal Highness, as soon as they despaired of saving her, got into his shallop, and from thence went aboard the yacht; on which occasion, such was the modesty and respect of those who attended him, many whereof were persons of quality, as the Earls of Perth, Middleton, &c., that no one whatever offered to go into it, but whom his Highness pleased to call himself, which was only Mr. Churchill, and one or two more; but other boats coming to their rescue, most of the persons of quality, and of his Royal High-

them with the choice his Majesty had made of his great officers, and gave those that were present their warrants, which I took out of my strong box when the ship struck, and put them in my pocket,* and so they escaped being wet. Before I went to Council, I told Lord Athol what was his Majesty's pleasure, who received it with that submission as became a loyal subject, for he did not appear at all displeased; and I really believe he sees it is better for him not to have been Chancellor, so that that affair is very well over; and I have something to propose to his Majesty in his favour, when I come to Windsor, which will cost his Majesty nothing, and be a kindness to him. As for the affair of the disorder which happened in this town before I came, it will, I believe, be settled on Thursday next, at Council, for his Majesty's advantage, and the further securing the town from any such accident for the time to come; and by Sunday next I hope to have dispatched all the affairs which require my stay here, so that by Monday I may have all things ready to go on ship board; the rest of the frigates which had lost company came in this day into Leith Road.† I long to hear whether any thing has been done in the affair Sir Robert Holmes proposed, though I cannot expect it till I see you.

ness's servants, got off also, and many more might have been saved, had not the timorousness of the boatmen hindered their coming near the ship, when they thought her about to sink, for fear of sinking with her; those therefore, who were abandoned, (though ready to be swallowed up,) gave a great huzza as soon as they saw his Royal Highness in safety."

* It must indeed be confessed, that there is something very like a want of feeling in the conduct of James upon this occasion, and his anxiety to save his strong box and the papers unwetted, when the lives of so many of his fellow-beings were at stake. The tone of this letter too, which passes on with so much unconcern to public affairs, is not altogether in the best taste.

† Mr. Pepys, in his account of this calamity, says "Captain Wyborne, in the Happy Return, was the only frigate near us, and she, indeed, in no less danger than the Gloucester; but, taking quick notice of the other's mishap, dropped presently her anchor, and is, this morning, (May 8,) with the Kitchin yacht, come safe in harbour; and by her we know that very many are lost; I judge about two hundred men—but particulars are not yet fully known, only my Lord Roxbrough and Lord Hopton are certainly gone, and our young English Lord O'Brian.—Our fortune was and the rest of the yachts, to be near the Gloucester when she struck; between which and her final sinking, there passed not, I believe, a full hour; the Duke and all about him being in bed, and, to shew his security, the pilot himself, till waking by her knocks."—*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 59.

XLVI.

SIR JOHN BERRY TO THE LORD TREASURER (HYDE.)

Loss of the Gloucester.

MY LORD, Edinburgh, May 11, 1682.

Ill news may come to your Lordship without my pen, still I cannot but in duty let your Lordship know the great grief and sorrow I have for the loss of my Lieutenant and your Lordship's brother, who, I believe, would have been the best officer in his Majesty's Navy, if he had lived. His Royal Highness did observe his care and diligence, and in the midst of all our sinking condition, behaved himself with great steadiness and resolution, and when the ship was just going to sink, I was preserved in Captain Wyborne's boat (who was in her in person) by a rope over the stern. I endeavoured to find out your brother, but amidst that disorder missed him, and so I was forced to save myself as the rest of the common men did. Before this, I sent away His Royal Highness, and as many of the Scotch Lords as my boat could carry; the rest ran the same fortune with me. The narrative of which I have here sent your Lordship, which I beg may be received from

Your Lordship's
Most humble and most obedient Servant,
JOHN BERRY.*

" For His Majesty's Service.
To ye Right Honourable My Lord Hyde,
Lord High Treasurer of England,
att Whitehall, These"

* Sir John Berry, whose conduct throughout the whole of this calamitous affair seems to have been prudent and courageous, very narrowly escaped by swimming to a rope that was thrown over the stern of Captain Wyburn's ship.

XLVII.

NARRATIVE FROM SIR JOHN BERRY, KNIGHT, LATE COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP GLOUCESTER, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE WINDS AND WEATHER WE HAD FROM THE FOURTH TO THE SIXTH DAY OF MAY, 1682, BEING THE DAY THE SAID SHIP WAS CAST AWAY ON THE WEST END OF THE LEMON.*

Thursday, May 4th, 1682. His Royal Highness, with several of His Majesty's yachts, and many of the nobility and gentry, attended His Royal Highness to Margate Road, where His Majesty's ships Gloucester, Happy Return, Ruby, Pearl, and Dartmouth, attended to receive His Royal Highness. At nine o'clock in the morning, His Royal Highness came on board the Gloucester, being saluted by all His Majesty's ships with all dutiful obedience. We lay by driving off till eleven o'clock, to dispose of His Royal Highness's retinue and goods; then made sail with the aforesaid ships and yachts, the wind at South. We steered away N. N. E.: at noon the North Foreland bore S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W: at two o'clock in the afternoon the wind shifted from the S. to the W. with much rain, and from the W. to the N. N. W. with thick foggy weather. We lay N. N. E. and N. E. off, and then tacked and made a short board to the N. W., wind at N. N. E.: being come into fifteen fathom water, tacked again and stood into twenty fathom, and came to anchor at half an hour past eight o'clock, the Naze Land bearing W. by N. nine leagues off.

Friday, 5th.—This morning, by eight o'clock, we weighed and came to sail, the wind at E. N. E.: we made a small trip to the S. E., and at nine o'clock

* This narrative was imperfectly given in a small volume published in 1683, entitled, "Some Historical Memoires of the Duke of York to the year 1682." It is now printed from the original sent by Captain Berry to Lord Hyde. There are two letters printed in the Appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain, pp. 68-71, giving an account of some circumstances attending the loss of the vessel. One was written by Sir John Dick, who was on board at the time; the other is the vindication of his father, by the second Earl of Dartmouth, from a reflection upon him in Burnet's account of this calamitous event, already quoted. There is also an account of the wreck of the Gloucester, in a letter from Mr. Pepys to Mr. Hewer, in the second volume of the very curious work lately published by Lord Braybrooke, (Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq., vol. 2, p. 57.) Mr. Pepys very narrowly escaped being on board the Gloucester, the Duke pressing him to go on board, but he preferred the accommodation of his own yacht; in which were saved from the wreck, Colonel Legge, and Sir Charles Scarborough, mentioned in a former note: the latter almost dead and spent with struggling in the water and cold.

tacked, having twenty-five fathom water, and stood away N. and N. by E.; at half an hour past one o'clock in the afternoon, we made the steeples of Dunnage, bearing W. by N. three leagues off: we lay up N. by E., the tide and flood against us, and at eight o'clock in the evening, Lowestoft bore W. N. W. two leagues off, the wind at East, a fresh gale. The yachts being ahead and to windward, bore up to us. His Royal Highness called Captain Gunman and Captain Sanders, and asked their opinion, whether this course, without tacking to the southward, would carry us to windward of the New-wark and the sands without Yarmouth. Captain Gunman and Captain Sanders answered, we could not weather the sands, but must stand off; upon which the pilot, whose name was Captain Ayres, a person esteemed to be one of the best and ablest men to the northward, said we could weather the New-wark and all other sands, and was much dissatisfied that they should mistrust his judgment. His Royal Highness said it would be a secure way to tack, and stand off till ten or twelve o'clock at night, and then we should have room enough to weather all the sands; upon which the pilot (though confident of his skill) agreed, and we tacked and stood away S. E., a windward tide under us. At half an hour past nine o'clock, the pilot being urgent, desired to tack again. His Royal Highness was still of the opinion to stand off longer, and asked his opinion: the pilot answered and said, he would engage his life, that if we tacked presently, we should, without hazard, weather all the sands. Notwithstanding all his arguments, (too long to enumerate), his Royal Highness commanded the pilot to stand a glass longer for more security. At ten o'clock we tacked and stood close hauled N. by E. and N. N. E., which course weathered the New-wark, the wind very strong at east, we continued our course.

Saturday, 6th.—All last night we steered N.N.E. till two o'clock this morning, the wind at E.; then we steered away N., and at four o'clock, N.N.W. the pilot, presuming and confident, affirmed that this course would carry the ships out of all danger, and that we were past the Lemon and Oare: but to our great misfortune it proved otherwise; for at half an hour past five o'clock this morning we run ashore upon the W. part of the Lemon, having just before sounded and had twenty fathom water: she beat along the sand, not sitting fast. Whilst our rudder held, we bore away West, and upon every lift of the sea went off; at last a terrible blow struck off the rudder, and, as I apprehend, struck out a plank nigh the post, which made eight feet water in a moment. I humbly desired his

Royal Highness to have his barge hoisted out, to preserve his Royal person. His Highness being unwilling to have any boat hoisted out, considering the condition we were in, hoping (as I did) the ship might be saved; but the water increasing, although we employed all our pumps and materials for baling, and no manner of hope left but that the ship must be lost, I did again request his Royal Highness to go away in his boat to the yacht, to which his Royal Highness was pleased to condescend. The barge was hoisted out, and his Highness took as many persons of quality with him in the boat as she could carry. The government of the ship being lost, and every one crying for help, yet amidst all this disorder and confusion, I could not but observe the great duty the poor seamen had for the preservation of his Royal Highness's person: when the barge was hoisting out, and lowered down into the water, not one man so much as proffered to run into her; but in the midst of all their affliction and dying condition, did rejoice and thank God his Royal Highness was preserved. His Highness being got into Captain Gunman's yacht, ordered all the yachts to anchor, sending all their boats; so did the Happy Return, who came also to anchor; the ship beating still on the sand, her head being cast about to the S. W. by W. and the water increasing as high as the gun-deck. However, the lifting of the sea forced her off the sand, and she went into fifteen fathom water, before we could let go one anchor, which proved the loss of many poor men's lives. We anchored and brought her up almost head to windward, we still working with our pumps, and baling, but to no purpose: the water increased so fast, that it was three feet above the gun-deck before we endeavoured to save ourselves. She sunk so fast, that before the boats could take off the men, (though there was great diligence used,) the ship sunk, and several of our men perished with her, myself hardly escaping by a rope over the poop, into Captain Wyborne's boat. All the persons of quality are saved, except those named in the margin.* The pilot was taken up and carried on board Captain Sanders's yacht. Captain Sanders hath orders to secure him till he can be brought to trial for his misdemeanor.

Dated on board the Mary Yacht, the 8th of May, 1682, in Leith Road.

* Earl of Roxburgh, Lord O'Brian, —— Hopton, Sir Jos. Douglas, Lieut. Hyde, Hollis, the Duke's equerry.

XLVIII.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD HYDE.

State of Affairs in Scotland.

Edinburgh, May 13, 1682.

I have now almost finished all I have to do here; one hour on Monday morning will do it, and that afternoon I intend to embark. We have made good use of the tumult which happened in this town some days before I came: the magistrates are very sensible of the danger their estates and charter would run, should they not of themselves repress at any time any such disorder, without the help of the King's troops; and that they may be able to do it, are content to raise and pay a company of a hundred and eight soldiers, besides officers; I to name the officers, which I have already done: they are to be well clad, and to march any where out of town, when his Majesty's service requires it. The Highland affairs will be settled on Monday, and things are very quiet, and no noise of field conventicles any where, and the rebels in Gallow* and other places suing for pardon, and some of them deliver themselves up upon mercy, and renounce all their covenants and damnable principles; what else I have to say I shall defer till I see you.

J.

"For the Lord Hyde."

XLIX.

THE EARL OF DANBY† TO LORD HYDE.

Clandestine Marriage of his son Dumblaine to the daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hyde.

MY LORD, July 15, 1682.

I hear it is believed by some that I was privy and consenting to the marriage of my son Dumblane to Mrs. Hyde; which although I was not, I shall

* Galloway.

† The distinguished figure which this person makes in the records of his time, renders it unnecessary to introduce him to the reader: a full character of him may be found in the pages of Sir John Reresby and Bishop Burnet. This letter is addressed to Lord Hyde, to exculpate himself from having been privy to the clandestine marriage of his eldest son, Lord Dumblaine, with Bridget, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hyde, Baronet, of North Myms, Herts, his relation. Lord Danby was at this time a prisoner in the Tower.

not trouble myself with undeceiving them; because I doubt not but those who are acquainted with my deportment in the world, will believe that I would never advise any of my own family to do any act which may be capable of having dishonourable reflections cast upon it. But I think myself obliged to give your Lordship more particular satisfaction, because I was privy to Mrs. Hyde's going to your Lordship; for that her gentlewoman, Mrs. Hobson, came (as from your Lordship) to know of me whether I was consenting to her lady's going to your Lordship. To which I then said, I knew not why I should be asked that question; but that since I was, I desired your Lordship might be answered, that I thought it a very honourable action in your Lordship to give her your assistance, and that certainly the lady must look upon it as such, and could not do herself more right than to put herself under your Lordship's protection.

Now, my Lord, had I known that a marriage to my own son had then been in the case, I know nothing which could have been more mean, and less excusable in me, than to have encouraged her going to your Lordship; but it was so far otherwise, that I declare to your Lordship, in the presence of God, I knew no more of the marriage than your Lordship, nor, as I find since, till after your Lordship had been made acquainted with it; for I am told that Mrs. Hyde imparted it to your Lordship on the Tuesday night, and I never heard a syllable of it till the next day (12th instant,) about ten or eleven o'clock, when word was brought me from the Court of Delegates, that my son and Mrs. Hyde were called together into the court, and had there owned their marriage.

This, I do assure your Lordship, upon my honour, to be truth; and I trouble your Lordship with this narrative, that you may not think me capable of so mean a contrivance towards your Lordship.

I can answer the same also for my wife, and can with great truth declare for us both, that my other misfortunes have not given us more trouble than this act of my son's hath done.

I am, with great respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
DANBY.

L.

THE EARL OF BURLINGTON TO LORD HYDE.

Marriage of Lady Ossory.—Mode of raising her Portion.

MY LORD, Londesburgh, July 15, 1682.

I shall now by every post, with great impatience, expect to receive the good news of the consummation of dear Miss's marriage,* which I the more earnestly wish, because her mother may then be at liberty to begin her journey towards France; and since after the marriage is past the preparing of the portion will come to be considered, I shall now acquaint your Lordship with what I have been able to do in order to your service therein. I have appointed Mr. Graham, whenever your Lordship shall call for it, to pay in 1000*l.* which, in a former letter, I acquainted your Lordship I intended as my mite towards this work. I have another 1000*l.* which I intended as part of Betty Boyle's portion, which is likewise at your Lordship's service. There is 2000*l.*, or thereabouts, of Betty Montague's portion, which we did intend to lay out upon some good security till she was to be married; and that likewise, I doubt not but your Lordship may have; and if my brother Boyle has not disposed of 1000*l.* which for him I put into the hands of a goldsmith a little before I came out of town, I believe your Lordship may have it, about which I have by this post wrote unto him; but if he has otherwise made use of it, we must take up 1000*l.* instead thereof; and then all these sums put together, with a former 1000*l.* I gave Miss, will make up the 6000*l.* your Lordship designed.

Mr. Graham has in hands the securities for my Lord Sandwich's monies, which, with the sum I owe his Lordship, which is near 400*l.*, and which I will presently pay him, will near make up the 2000*l.* I have been something large in this, because your Lordship may fully understand it, and because this is

* His daughter Anne, who was married in the chapel of Burlington House, the very day of the date of this letter, to the Earl of Ossory, grandson to James first Duke of Ormonde. It is said in Carte's life of the Duke of Ormonde, that the young lady was very pretty and agreeable in her person, had abundance of vivacity, a great deal of ready wit, and an excellent temper. It appears that the Duke of York proposed the match. The lady's fortune was, indeed, a large one for those times, viz. 15,000*l.*; and by this, and a subsequent letter, it will appear that it was not raised without difficulty.

what I shall be able to do in relation to your service herein, which I am sure shall be performed with all the willingness imaginable, as I shall be always in the commands you shall impose upon,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble servant, and
Affectionate Father,
BURLINGTON.

I am so severely handled with the gout, which has seized upon my right hand in several places, that I cannot hold a pen, and am therefore forced to make use of another's.

" For the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Hyde,
at St. James's, London."

LI.

THE EARL OF BURLINGTON TO LORD HYDE.

The same Subject.

MY LORD, Londesburgh, July 16th, 1682.

After I had dispatched a letter to your Lordship of the 15th instant, wherein I gave your Lordship an account in what manner I was able to serve you in the business of the monies, I received the favour of one from your Lordship this morning, being the 16th, which being come time enough to enable me to overtake the post that carries the former, I shall answer it by this. I never care what reflections are made by different persons upon this business of your daughter's, which I am much more pleased should be attended with envy rather than pity: and since there has been no indirect course used to bring the marriage to a happy issue, but that it has proceeded by all the steps that any thing of this nature could be made, and has had the desire and concurrence of my Lord's parents, we do, I believe, come off herein with flying colours, which gives me no small satisfaction. I cannot doubt but your Lordship's proceedings are always grounded upon good and mature judgment, and therefore must approve of them in the particular your Lordship mentions; but I heartily wish that sum designed you may be in that manner secured to

you, that you may not lose hereafter the receiving of it, which, if you should do (and I must confess I am less confident of you than upon any body upon earth), you will be much to blame. Your Lordship did certainly mistake a letter I formerly wrote unto you, if you did conceive that the 1000*l.* I mentioned in it as a present towards your daughter's portion, was the same 1000*l.* which some years since I had formerly given her; and therefore I pray, my Lord, be so just unto me as to understand that right, and so kind as to believe that I am troubled it is so little: so as this being now rightly understood, there is 1000*l.* more than is comprehended in your Lordship's computation. And if we have my brother Boyle's 1000*l.* (about which I have now wrote unto him), of which, if he has not disposed, I believe we shall, and your Lordship being assured of Mr. Graham's 1000*l.*, the sums following are to be reckoned—4000*l.* from the Duke, 2000*l.* from me, 1000*l.* more I lend you, 2000*l.* of my Lord Sandwich's, 1000*l.* of my brother Boyle's, and 1000*l.* of Mr. Graham's—all which make up 11,000*l.*; so as there then remains 4000*l.* to be procured, upon which your Lordship says you shall raise 2000*l.* upon your own account, so as then there will remain 2000*l.* to be taken up, or 3000*l.* if my brother furnishes not his, which I hope he will. If I had money of my own to lend your Lordship, I assure you I would ask nothing but your own word for it; but these being sums relating to other persons, your Lordship will, as you offer, be pleased to give such security as Mr. Graham shall think advisable, to whom I have now written to engage my credit for the 2000*l.* that falls short of; for the third 1000*l.*, if my brother Boyle supplies it not, and if the payment of that 2000*l.* in Ireland might anywise answer your Lordship's occasions, I would save the trouble of raising it here, and by a bill at six days' sight pay the Duke of Ormond there, who I doubt has more occasion for it here than in that kingdom. And having now given your Lordship the trouble of this long letter, I shall only add, that I would not for the tenth part of this sum stand engaged to any person alive but your Lordship, who may entirely upon all occasions dispose of,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble Servant, and
Affectionate Father,
BURLINGTON.

Since there is now likely to be a very strict alliance between my Lord of Ormond's and our family, I heartily wish that my nephew, Fitz Gerald, who

makes a very considerable branch of it, may, by his Grace's mediation at your Lordship's desire, be restored to those advantages which were taken from him, that the whole family may be united in the resolutions of serving his Grace upon all occasions; and that this may no longer be deferred, I most earnestly desire of your Lordship.

LII.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO LORD HYDE.

Requests his interest with the King, to repress the violent Aggressions of France.

A Dieren, ce 31 d'Aoust, 1682.

Il y a long temps que je ne vous ay tourmenté de mes interests particuliers, presentement je m'y trouve obligé, à mon grand regret, par les violances que la France me fait. J'ay imploré la protection et assistance de sa Majesté: je vous prie d'appuier par vostre puissant credit la tres humble supplication que je faits au Roy; j'espere qu'il aura la bonté de ne point souffrir que l'on traitte de cette maniere celluy qui a l'honneur de luy estre si proche, quand à ce que je m'assure il le peut remedier si facilement; puisque je croi que si sa Majesté me fait la grace de parler un peu ferme, et de temoigner à la France que les violences qu'elle me fait luy touche, que j'en serez bientost delivré. J'espere que vous ne me refuserez pas la priere tres instante que je vous fait pour vostre appui, puisque vous me l'avez toujours promis en tout ce qui concerneroit mes interests particuliers: vous ne pourriez jamais me donner une preuve plus essentielle de vostre amitié qu'en cette occasion que je tacherois recognoistre pour tout ou il iroit de vous faire voir combien je suis vostre serviteur.*

* TRANSLATION.

It is a long time since I tormented you with my own particular interests, but now I find myself obliged, to my great regret, by the outrages of France against me. I have implored the protection and assistance of his Majesty, and I entreat you to support, by your powerful influence, the very humble supplication I have made to the King. I hope that he will have the goodness not to suffer them to treat in this manner, one who has the honour to be so nearly related to him, when, as I assure myself, he could so easily remedy it; since I believe that if his Majesty does me the kindness to speak a little firmly, and to demonstrate to France that the outrages against me concern him, I shall soon be delivered from them. I hope you will not refuse the earnest entreaties I make to you for your support, because you have always promised it me in all that regarded my personal concerns. You can never give me a more essential proof of your friendship, than on this occasion, which I will endeavour to acknowledge in all things that may serve to show you how much I am your servant.

LIII.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD HYDE.

Requests to know if he has spoken to the King about him, as he promised.

Portsmouth, Nov. 22, [1682.]

I have not writ to you hitherto, because I am sure you have still seen the letters to the King and Secretary, in which there was a full account given of all things here; but now the King having commanded me to send back all the members of the House of Commons, I have in obedience to it, sent this bearer also, whom I have charged to speak with you of my own concerns, of which he will give you an account: for the particulars I must refer them to him, and pray let me know whether you have spoken with the King about me, as you said you would when I left London. This bearer will also give you an account of our readiness here, so that I shall say no more at present.

"For the Lord Chancellor (Treasurer)."

LIV.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD HYDE.

On the Duke of Monmouth's Conduct.

Edinburgh, Dec. 4, [1682.]

This is only to tell you that last night I received yours of the 28th, and this morning another of the 29th of last month: you may easily imagine the surprise it was to me to read what was in them; for I did not think the Duke of Monmouth could have been guilty of so much indiscretion and disobedience as I see he is. Within a day or two I shall send back one of the expresses, and then shall write at large to you: pray make my excuse to Lord Sunderland, that I do not write to him by the post; by the next he shall hear from me, and I assure you I am not at all alarmed as to myself.

"For Mr. Hyde."

LV.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK, TO LORD HYDE.

On the same subject.

Edinburgh, Dec. 7, 1682.

I see by yours of the 1st, which I received yesterday, that the Duke of Monmouth continues steady in his disobedience, but that does not at all alarm me, so long as his Majesty continues the same to his resolutions, which I do in no manner doubt; and my enemies were very much mistaken if they thought I could have followed his example, and gone without leave. I do not know what judgment you make of the Duke of Monmouth's carriage to the King, but I cannot think it proceeds from any thing else, but measures he has taken to make himself the head of the fanatical and republican party; for had he not those thoughts in his head, he could hardly have behaved himself as he has done; and I hope this good will come of it, that it will open his Majesty's eyes, to see how ill a man the Duke of Monmouth is, and confirm him in the resolution he has taken; for there could be nothing expected but visible ruin in altering of measures at this time. I had an answer to mine, about my sitting in council on Thursday, and took my place there the same afternoon, and now I am satisfied how that scruple was made, and that it did not proceed from any where you are, but from some here, that were led into it by being over-persuaded by some that are great favourers of those they call fanatics here, but this is an affair cannot be explained by a letter. I am so weary with writing that I can say no more, but to desire you to be favourable to Sir Palmer Fairburn's pretensions.

LVI.

FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK, TO LORD HYDE.

On the period of his return from Scotland.

Edinburgh, Dec. 14, 1682.

I received this day yours of the 10th, by the which I see his Majesty had declared he would prorogue the Parliament to November next, and you may easily believe was glad of it, and shall not press my being sent for sooner than

what was resolved on when I came away, which was to be in January, for by that time I shall have informed myself as well as I can, of the affairs of this kingdom, and be ready to offer my thoughts to his Majesty upon it; and truly, though I think it very hard to reconcile all people here to be very good friends one with another, yet I hope to be able to offer that to his Majesty, which may make them all join in serving him, and secure this country entirely to him, and in the mean time shall take no notice of the expectation I have of being sent for, till the moment I receive his Majesty's commands, which I hope will now come speedily to me, that I may be going from hence about the first week in January; for then will be a light moon, and both the Dutchess and I have a mind to go back by sea, having been extremely tired by our land journey hither, which must need be much worse than when we came; and if you were a seaman, I could soon make you understand that it is better going from hence by sea to London, than coming from thence hither, at this time of year. I have proposed it to his Majesty, who, I hope, will approve of it, and send the yachts as I have desired it, and, with a fair wind, one may easily go from hence to London in four or five days, nay less. I hope his Majesty will send me his leave to come by the time I have mentioned, and will find it for his service; truly I think it, or should not have proposed it, and hope you and the rest of my friends will be of that mind too; and I think, till the yachts come away, it will not be proper to let my being sent for be known. I shall be impatient till I have an answer to these letters, and long to hear what the petitioning Lords do say to this prorogation.

LVII.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the proposed appointment of Jeffries to be Chief Justice.

Newmarket, March 10, 1683.

I intended to have writ to your Lordship sooner, but I have had so great a rheume in my eyes since I came hither, that I could not do it without a great deal of pain, which I did not think necessary to endure, having very little to say from hence, where there is a dead calm at present, though I think I do sometimes perceive certain influences I cannot like. Upon the news of

my Lord Chief Justice's being very ill, I spoke to the King of Jeffries, but I found him very much unresolved, and full of objections against him, as that all the judges would be unsatisfied if he were so advanced, and that he had not law enough.* We expect you here next Tuesday at the farthest; no letter nor excuse will be received. I am more sincerely and unalterably than any man alive, your Lordship's

Most faithful and most humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

My Lord Ranelagh is just now drinking your health in tea.

" Earl of Rochester."

LVIII.

(MORLEY) BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Soliciting a place for his Nephew.

MY LORD,

It is out of the respect I owe you, and have for you, that I write no oftener than I do to you, and, indeed, out of the respect I have for the public also; so much of the weighty concerns whereof lying (if not wholly, yet) chiefly and mainly upon your shoulders, must needs take up all your time and thoughts too, so as to leave you very little (if any) leisure to review or return such addresses as are but officious interruptions of business. As, therefore, for those reasons, I have hitherto, so I will hereafter, be careful to give you as little trouble as I can of this kind, and would have forborne to have done so now, but that my nephew's importunity hath prevailed with me to dispense for once (at least) with that resolution, by telling me that besides what you have done for him already, you are still pleased to profess a willingness and a readiness to do him any other kindness you can, as there shall be occasion and opportunity for it. And all this being (as he saith he

* This unwillingness of Charles, and his reasons for objecting to Jeffries for Chief Justice, are creditable to him, and show, what historians in general have not suspected, that his appointment was the work of *the Ministers* and not of *the King*. Mr. Fox's reflection upon the Monarch, therefore, is unjustly severe when he says, " Jeffries, in this instance, ought to be regarded as the mere tool and instrument, (a fit one, no doubt,) of *the prince who had appointed him* for the purpose of this and similar services." *Hist. of James II.* p. 48. It is upon record, that upon one occasion Charles said, that " Jeffries has neither learning, law, nor good manners, but more impudence than ten carted whores."

believes) upon my account, he thinks I am obliged to own and acknowledge it to be so, and to pay you my thanks, as well as his, for it, which I do with all my heart, and hope he will behave himself as you never shall have cause to repent or be ashamed of what you have done, or may do for him. It is now almost a year since I did, upon the experience I had formerly, upon several occasions, of the Duke's kindness to me, presume to move his Highness to speak to the King for a Groom of his Chamber's place in reversion for this nephew of mine; it being a thing that had been often granted before to some of no better quality and breeding, nor better able to support the dignity of the place than he is. The Duke, upon that motion of mine, was graciously pleased to tell me he would do what I desired, but bid me speak with the Duke of Ormond to join with him in it, whom I found very willing to do so, whensoever his Highness should please to command him; but since, (I know not upon what reason,) there hath nothing been done towards the effecting of it; but perhaps there may be, if your Lordship shall think fit to put the Duke again in mind of it. And then, whatsoever the success shall prove to be of your mediation, you will equally oblige

Your Lordship's

Most faithful and most affectionate friend,

And humble servant,

GEOR. WINTON.

"Farnham Castle,
March 21, 1683."

LIX.

MARQUESS OF WORCESTER* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Project for appointing a Receiver of Penalties on Excommunicated Persons.

MY LORD, Badminton, June 6, 1683.

I am obliged to give your Lordship, and the rest of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, thanks for your late favour in allowing me

* Charles, Marquess of Worcester, eldest surviving son of Henry, first Duke of Beaufort, was a nobleman of great parts and learning. He died in his father's lifetime. His horses running away down a steep hill with him, he thought to avoid the danger by leaping out of his coach; in doing which his thigh was broken, and he was otherwise so much injured, as to cause his death in 1698. This letter proposes one of those measures styled *projects*, by which too many of the nobility in this and the preceding reigns had not scrupled to seek an augmentation of their revenues.

to be his Majesty's tenant for the tolls of Knighton, notwithstanding the pretences of others to it.

My Lord, I have been lately informed that in this county, as well as in others, there may a legal and a just increase be made to his Majesty's revenue, it being a debt already due, and arises from persons who will never contribute (unless constrained by the utmost execution of the law) towards his Majesty's occasions, let them be never so necessary for the kingdom; and, therefore, in my humble opinion, although they are not to be injured, yet are they not fit to be connived at or excused, when their own obstinacy makes them incur the penalty the law so reasonably inflicts, which is what your Lordship may see is by the 5th Elizabeth, cap. 23, imposed upon excommunicated persons, who, continuing to stand out in contempt of the law, do forfeit thereby twenty pounds every term to the King, so long as they continue (after having been legally signified) in their obstinate courses, which penalties, although I hear they are due to his Majesty in this and in other dioceses hereabout, yet, by the knavery of attorneys, bailiffs, and other common law officers, as also for want of a receiver for the King of those penalties, or one that may take care of that affair on the King's behalf, there is nothing done, and that his Majesty loses what is justly due to him, although, perhaps, inferior officers may get snipps thereby to elude the laws, and countenance a faction which will always be briars at least, if they cannot get (by too much clemency used towards them) to be thorns in the sides of the Government; wherefore I thought it might be worth giving your Lordship this trouble, who are not only willing, but in the greatest of measures capable, of doing his Majesty service, and, especially, having applied yourself to so important a part of it as his revenue.

That which I would humbly propose to your Lordship is, that if you think this not unworth the while of having an inspection made into it, there may be a receiver appointed by his Majesty for this diocese, which, if your Lordship thinks me worthy of naming, (the name I shall, after I have received your Lordship's pleasure in answer to this, acquaint you with) I shall propose a person of unquestionable honesty and reputation himself, and one who will bring sufficient sureties to be bound with him for answering of all he shall receive, to his Majesty, as also one who knows perfectly well this county.

My Lord, I should not have troubled your Lordship with this long letter, had I not been informed, by persons who have most reason to know, that there is due to the King in this diocese near 2000*l.* already; but that the ecclesiastical judge and officers cannot proceed or do any good, unless they

have the assistance of such an officer as I have proposed to your Lordship, who may be able to discover and defeat the cheating designs of mercenary bailiffs and other inferior officers. I hope my zeal for his Majesty's service will excuse me to your Lordship for intermeddling in an affair of this nature, taking it to be the duty of every good subject to do all that lies in his power to advance it, which I shall always (according to my ability and in my sphere) endeavour to do, as also to show myself upon all occasions,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most dutiful
And faithful servant,
WORCESTER.

I desire your Lordship will be pleased to keep to yourself my having proposed this affair to you.

LX.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Excuses himself from knowing about an application respecting the fines of Cornwall.

June 13, 1682.

Mr. Guy having told me that Mr. Sydney had spoken to your Lordship concerning the fines of Cornwall, which the King was pleased to give me for some years, I was extremely surprised and startled at it, thinking you might with reason believe that I knew of it, and was engaged in it, which would have been a strange proceeding at this time, that I have so much cause to be sincere and plain with you above all other men, which makes me give your Lordship this trouble, to assure you that I did not know one word of it directly or indirectly; that I was never spoken to about it, nor had I ever a thought of it; and if I had, I would have pursued it some other way, more suitable to my own humour and to yours; and though I had loved projects as much as I hate them, I should not have been so deceived by them as to have imagined a business of that importance could have been easily compassed by such means, and with such circumstances. As for the matter itself, you will never hear more of it from Mr. Sydney. If you care to know how you

* Robert, second Earl of Sunderland. It is sufficient to name this able but Protean statesman.

came to be troubled with it, Mr. Guy can tell you. I have been already too tedious, but cannot conclude without assuring your Lordship that I have never said a word to you that was not exactly true; and if it ever lies in my power, I will as exactly make good what I have said, for the time to come, and ever do you all the service I can, with the greatest sincerity and realest friendship imaginable; which you ought to expect from

Your Lordship's most faithful
And most humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

"Lord Hyde."

LXI.

LADY OSSORY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Deprecates her Father's anger about the State of Lord Ossory's Accounts.

London, August 10, 1683.

I give you many thanks, dear Papa, for your letter and the money, but it is impossible for me to express the concern I have been and am in, to see that you can think I could neglect any thing that you command me, and that what I said about Mr. Burnett* was an excuse. I assure you I spoke to him for the accounts as soon as I came from Windsor, and he said he would put them in order and give them me, if I pleased; but being Midsummer was so nigh, it would be better to stay till that quarter came in, and then I should see the account of a whole year, which I thought better too. Now I own it is a great while since Midsummer, but the Court's being in town made me so much at St. James's that I had not time to do them as I should, and so I did not ask for them again till the other day; so, if this be a fault, pray forgive me, and I hope to give you an account of them when I see you, for I shall have them to-morrow or next day. You say, too, that in other things of this kind I have been to blame to you. Upon my word I have been considering

* This was the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, author of the Sacred Theory of the Earth, who had been governor or preceptor to the Earl of Ossory, and who still resided in his family. He was afterwards chosen master of the Charter-house, through the interest of the Duke of Ormond, though the governors had objected to him because he went always in a lay habit. He afterwards greatly distinguished himself by refusing to admit Andrew Popham, a Catholic, as pensioner, unless he would take the oaths, though the King armed him with a letter and dispensation.

wherein I could accuse myself, but cannot; therefore I am sure it is ignorantly, if I have done any thing, and so I hope you have forgiven me. I am sure, if you knew the torment and concern I have been in to find I have displeased you, you would think it punishment enough for me; for I did not sleep all night,* and my head aches so I can hardly see to write, so pray let me hear, as soon as you can, that you have forgiven me, if you have any pity for her that is, and will ever be, your most dutiful daughter and humble servant.

A. Ossory.

I am afraid you will hardly read this letter, but pray pardon it, for Gedney is gone out and I cannot get a new pen, and this is the worst that ever was writ with. I just now had a letter from my cousin South, and she says that the waters agree very well with my mother, that she has not been at all ill this two days, and is the most mended that can be in so short a time.

LXII.

LADY OSSORY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the same Subject.

London, August 11th, 1683.

I can now, Dear Papa, begin with telling you that I have been all this day very busy about looking over all my Lord's accounts, and do find them in very good order, and very regularly stated: it is impossible to give you a good account of them in writing; but when I see you, I shall be able to answer any question. My Lord intended to have been with you to night, but has put off his journey with a design of going post to-morrow night to see my Lady Dutchess, and staying there one day and come away the next; and I hope he will do it, though he says he cannot be certain till to-morrow, but if he does not go now, he will the latter end of the week. But I will, if I can, persuade him to go to-morrow, now he is in the humour, for fear he should be off of it again. I assure you I have never missed a post writing to her. I am in great hopes to-night of a letter from you that will tell me you are satis-

* That this poor young lady was of a very susceptible though amiable disposition, will appear in a subsequent page: her untimely death was probably occasioned by mental impressions, arising from a superstitious attention to preternatural events and predictions.

fied with me again; for once more I assure you, dear Papa, there is no pain in the world like your displeasure, to her that is, and ever will be, your most

Obedient daughter and humble servant,

A. Ossory.

" For the Earl of Rochester,
at Windsor."

LXIII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanks him for civilities to Mr. Bentinck, and for endeavouring to set him right with the King and the Duke of York.

A Dieren ce 16 d'Aoust, 1683.

C'est avec bien de la joye que je me sens obligé de ne vous pas seulement remercier de toutte les honestetés et civilités que vous avez fait a M. de Bentinck, mais sur tout de la franchise avec laquelle vous avez parlé. Je croi que vous cognoisses assez mon humeur que de savoir que c'est une chose que j'estime par dessus tout autre. Je vous ay aussi bien de l'obligation des assurances que vous avez fait a M. de Bentinck, aussi que dans la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'escrire, que vous travaillerez a me mestre bien dans l'esprit du Roy et de M. le Duc. Et comme je vous cognoit pour une personne qui n'advance rien que ce qu'il a intention de faire, je m'y fie entierement, et ne doute point du succes, sachant l'influence que vous avez sur les sentiments de sa Majeste et de son Alt. Royale. De mon coste j'y coresponderez a ne pas seulement satisfaire, quand il en sera question, a ce que M. de Bentinck a promis de ma part, mais de faire d'avantage quand il sera en mon pouvoir. C'est une grande affliction pour moy que de voir le Roy et Monsieur le Duc si contraire a mes sentiments au regard des affaires publiques; si tout le bonheur et la seureté de cet estat n'en dependoit, et (si je l'ose dire) mesme le veritable interest de sa Majeste et de son Alt. Royale, je pourrois me sous-mestre a leurs sentiments; mais cela estant, je ne le puis en bonne conscience. En tout ce qui concernera les affaires du dedans des Royaumes je ferez aveuglement tout ce qu'ils voudront sans jamais rien examiner, mais j'espere aussi qu'a l'avenir l'on aura un peu plus de croyance en moy sur le subjet des affaires estrangeres: puisque asseurement, estant plus pres des lieux nous en sommes mieux informé. Et l'Angleterre et cet Estat, ayant les mesmes interests, je ne puis avoir auqu'une autre intention que de bien servir le Roy et Monsieur le Duc, la ou, au contraire, ceux a qui on se fie presentement, ont un

interest tout opposé. C'est ce que j'espere que vous ferez bien comprendre, et j'ay une si grande confiance en vostre probité et savoir faire, que je ne doute pas de voir bien tost les effets de vos bonnes intentions; pour moy je n'en aurez jamais d'autre que de l'homme du monde qui sera le plus recognoissant, et le plus entierement a vous.*

G.

LXIV.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Appointment of Sheriffs for the City.—Dr. Sprat's Advancement.

I received yours of the 8th yesterday, which should have come to me the day before, and therefore could not answer it as you might expect. I am mighty sorry your foot continues to give you so much trouble, but since it

* TRANSLATION.

It is with much joy that I feel myself obliged, not only to thank you for all the civilities and attentions shown to Mr. Bentinck, but above all for the candour with which you have spoken. I believe you are acquainted with my disposition sufficiently to know that it is a thing I esteem above all others. I am also under great obligations to you for the assurances that you have made to Mr. Bentinck, as well as in the letter you have taken the trouble to write to me, that you will endeavour to set me right in the minds of the King and of the Duke: and as I know you for a person who never advances any thing but what he has an intention to perform, I rely entirely upon it, and do not doubt of its success, knowing the influence you have upon the opinions of His Majesty and his Royal Highness. On my part I will make a suitable return, not only in performing, when there shall be occasion, what Mr. Bentinck has promised on my behalf, but in doing more when it is in my power. It is a great grief to me to see the King and the Duke so opposed to my opinions in regard to public affairs: if all the happiness and security of this State did not depend on it, and (if I may venture to say so) even the true interests of his Majesty and his Royal Highness, I could yield to their opinions; but this being the case, I cannot do so with a good conscience. In all that concerns the internal affairs of the Kingdoms, I will blindly do all that they desire without examination; but I hope that in future they will have a little more faith in me on the subject of foreign affairs, since assuredly, from being nearer the scene of action, we are better informed; and as England and this State have a community of interests, I cannot have any other intention than faithfully to serve the King and the Duke: where, on the contrary, those in whom they put their trust at present, have interests quite opposed to theirs. This is what I hope you will make clearly understood; and I have such entire confidence in your probity and intelligence, that I do not doubt of seeing the effects in a short time of your good intentions; for any part, I shall never have any other than such as become the most grateful man in the world, and the most entirely yours.

is so, I hope your Lordship will have more ease than you have yet had of it, and not stir till it is well settled. Sir Stephen Cox had already made applications to have Mr. Dashwood excused from being Sheriff this year; but I acquainted the King with the consequence it might be to his affairs in the city, as Mr. Secretary desired I would do, and his Majesty was pleased to direct Sir Stephen Cox to let Mr. Dashwood know that he did expect he should hold, which I have now written to Mr. Secretary as you thought fit I should. I did not answer your Lordship's letter of the 7th, because I was in hopes you might be upon the way hither; but I spoke to the King, the Duke being present, for Dr. Sprat:* his Majesty agreed to all that was said; and though he did not positively promise what was desired, I think I may assure you he will do it. I only desire, that if you cannot come hither, you will write three words to me, that you are glad the King is so well inclined to do justice to Dr. Sprat.

I am your Lordship's most entirely and sincerely,

SUNDERLAND.

Winchester, Sept. 11th, [1683.]

LXV.

LORD DARTMOUTH† TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Posture of Affairs at Tangier.—Remarks on the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since my last to your Lordship, I received a letter from Cadiz, from Mr. Hewre, who tells me he drew the bill for the 2000*l.* (I mentioned to

* This probably related to his advancement to a bishopric. He was then Dean of Westminster, and was made Bishop of Rochester early in the succeeding year.

† George Legge, first Earl of Dartmouth, who had been raised to that title in the preceding year, was sent Admiral of the whole fleet to demolish Tangier; having a commission to be Captain-general of all his Majesty's forces in Africa, and Governor of that city. Burnet tells us, "After the King had kept Tangier about twenty years, and had been at a vast charge in making a mole before it, in which several undertakers had failed, but the work was now nearly brought to perfection, which seemed to give us the key of the Mediterranean; he to deliver himself from the charge, sent Lord Dartmouth with a fleet to destroy all the works, and bring home all our men." Having successfully performed this service, he was on his return rewarded with a grant of 10,000*l.* The reader will renew his acquaintance with him in a future part of this Work. He commanded the fleet destined to oppose the landing of King William in 1688.

you formerly,) upon the Navy Board, positively to be paid after so many day's sight. It hath been very carefully done of him to me; though your Lordship will find at first I intended it out of the credit your Lordship was pleased to give me; but my necessities so far exceeding what was foreseen, and if the season of the year should prove on to continue me still here, so much beyond what had been, if I had been sent hither two months sooner; though I was thought but uneasy in desiring it, or in foreseeing the weather that hath since happened: I say these considerations I hope will dispose you to let his bill be paid, though I hope to bring it within compass, and repay it out of the sum first designed. My Lord, I am very sensible what advantage my enemies will endeavour to take of my long stay here; which, if my life lay ever so much at stake for it, is impossible to be helped, till a Levant brings the fleet together; then I question not but you shall have a good account from me: in the mean time my whole reliance is upon his Majesty's gracious favour, and his Royal Highness's kindness to me. You know I expected the weather and hazards to the fleet I have met with, before my leaving England, and, I doubt not but you will endeavour to prevent any malicious practices that will be endeavoured against me; for I depend upon you in all the guidance and assistance of my fortune. Among all the troubles I undergo here, I comfort myself with the thoughts that you and Andrew Newporte sometimes remember me, when you meet, and I will endeavour to be with you as soon as possible, to condole the loss of poor Sir Allan,* from whom I must ever own to have received great kindness, and heartily wish it ever may lie in my power to return any service to any of his friends, or that belonged to him; and I am the more troubled at his death, before I was able to convince him of my real gratitude to him, notwithstanding all the ill practices and arts of Churchill, to make him believe the contrary; for what I had a hand in, was only for the real service of my master; nor could I have imagined Sir Allan cared what hand he payed the bills by; but sure I was that the Commissioners,† as then we were constituted, did not, nor indeed could not, act for his Royal Highness as they ought; nor do I think it right now, for this commission was frustrated by leaving Jack Lawrance out, that is a man of real business; and taking in Woorden,‡ if the Commissioners were in earnest,

* Sir Allan Broderick. † Commissioners of the Admiralty.

‡ Sir John Werden, made a Commissioner in 1673; he was also Secretary to James Duke of York.

was the last man next the Treasurer to have been of it, and the adding Sir John,* and the circumstances I left it under, really renders it ridiculous; and this ought to be thought on, for the Duke's revenue hath been his chief support under the King. My Lord, I speak to you as one that is sure to suffer with my master, whenever he does, and am concerned by all the ties imaginable to have his condition the best it can be, and heartily wish that any thought or act of mine could in the least contribute to his good: though my discouragements have not been a few, yet they shall rather break my heart than ever alter it towards him. I have written fully to Sir Christopher Musgrave, to prepare to carry on the next year's works in the office, and I must beg of you to give him leave to importune you; which should not be done, but that necessity, and the time of the year, calls so much upon us. My dear Lord, I have nothing farther to trouble you with, but to crave pardon for all my impertinence and faults, and to desire you to bear with them as the weaknesses of

Your real faithful Friend,
And devoted obedient humble Servant,
DARTMOUTH.

Tangier, December 29th, 1683.
"For the Earle of Rochester."

LXVI.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On his re-appointment as Commissioner of the Treasury.

Windsor, July 2, 1684.

You had yesterday the new commission of the Treasury sent you,† as

* Probably Sir John Chichley, or Sir John Narborough.

† Sir Edward Deering, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, dying about this time, Lord Rochester hoped, through the Duke's interest, to have been made Lord Treasurer, but, to his disappointment, the office was continued in commission. Burnet says, "He had lost much ground with the King, and the whole Court hated him, by reason of the stop of all payments, which was chiefly imputed to him. [He was become very insolent, and gave into drinking, and was charged with corruption in the Treasury.] Lord Halifax and Lord North joined their interest to bring in two other Commissioners upon him, without so much as letting him know of it till it was resolved on. These were Thynn and North. Lord Rochester engaged both the Duke and the Lady Portsmouth to divert this, if it was possible; but the King was not to be shaken, so he resolved to quit the Treasury."—Vol. i, p. 592.

Lord Sunderland told me last night. I had a long conversation with the King this morning, concerning you, which will not displease you, I believe, when I shall tell it you. I found him very easy, and not at all unwilling to talk with me. The Duchess of Portsmouth makes great professions to you, and I am confident Lord Sunderland is true to you. Pray be here on Friday night, or on Saturday morning; what more I have to say I shall refer till then. J.

"For the Earle of Rochester."

LXVII.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On his being made Lord President of the Council.—Other Changes in the Ministry.

Hampton Court, Tuesday, 5 o'clock, August, 1684.

Not coming to London to-night, as I intended when I saw you last, I would not defer to tell you, that last night the King called me into his closet, and told me, that having lately known you had been for some time uneasy enough with the employment and the Treasury, and desirous to leave it upon any good occasion, and having a great deal of consideration for your services to him, with much more to this purpose, that he was resolved to make you President of the Council,* and at the same time to put

* "The Earl of Radnor was discharged from being Lord President of the Council, where he had for some years acted a very mean part, in which he lost the character of being a steady cynical Englishman, which he had maintained in the former course of his life; and Lord Rochester was made Lord President, which being a post superior in rank, but much inferior both in advantage and credit to that he held formerly, drew a jest from Halifax that may be worth remembering: he said he had heard of many kicked down stairs, but never of any that was kicked up stairs before. Godolphin was weary of the drudgery that lay on a Secretary of State. He chose rather to be the first Commissioner of the Treasury, and he was made a Baron."—*Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i, p. 592.

Sir John Reresby observes, that it was most evidently against Lord Rochester's own wish, and that Lord Halifax had brought it to pass; and that he thus expressed himself in a letter to him at the time: "You may believe I am not at all displeased to see such an adversary removed from the only place that could give him power and advantage; and he bears it with so little philosophy, that, if I had ill-nature enough, he gives me sufficient occasion to triumph. You see I cannot hinder myself from imparting my satisfaction to so good a friend." Sir John observes that "the wonder

me into your place of the Treasury, with many gracious expressions of the trust and confidence he had in me: he knew very well, he said, that the place I was in was of much more advantage, and that I must not, nor should not be, a loser by this change; but that he thought it of absolute necessity for his service, and could not think of putting anybody but me into this place. I told him that if I were at liberty to consider either my advantage or my inclination, I should most earnestly beg of his Majesty, that he would be pleased to let me continue where I was; but in the manner that he spoke of this thing, that I had nothing to do but submit myself entirely to his pleasure, with abundance of thanks for his favourable opinion of me, which I would still endeavour to deserve to the best of my power. I went this morning to the Duke, to acquaint him what the King had said to me. My Lord Sunderland was by. The Duke told us, the King had told him the same thing yesterday evening in the drawing-room, and that he had spoken to the King upon it, that my Lord Clarendon might be Secretary of State, but that he found the King very averse to it; yet he desired my Lord of Sunderland to speak to the King of it too, and he said he had already desired the same of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who had promised him to do it. I did not know this when the King spoke to me, but he seemed to me very much at a loss for somebody to put into my place, and said he could not like any one that had been named to him, or that he could think of himself: he asked me my opinion of Dr. Trumbull* and of Mr. Blathwaite,† and bade me name such as came into my thoughts. I did not presume to put him in mind of anybody but those that have the honour to serve him abroad at this time, as my Lord Preston, Mr. Chudleigh, and

was, how the finger of my Lord Privy Seal (Halifax) was able to effect this against the shoulder of the Duke of York, who still continued a friend to Rochester as much as ever."—*Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 185. At the accession of James, which soon followed, Rochester had an opportunity of turning the tables upon Lord Halifax, who was removed from his office of Privy Seal to make way for Lord Clarendon, and filled the post of President of the Council, which he had so recently triumphed in imposing upon his rival; and even his possession of this was short-lived, for he was dismissed in a very few months.

* Afterwards Sir William Trumbull, and the early friend of Pope. The diplomatic and official situations he subsequently filled, are too numerous to mention. Pope, when a youth, became acquainted with the veteran statesman in his retirement near Windsor Forest.

† Mr. Blathwayte afterwards became Secretary at War, and was also private Secretary to King William. See more of him in a subsequent note.

Mr. Skelton. He seemed not to like any of them, but to incline more to Mr. Blathwaite,* than any other that had been named to him, and so this matter remained to-day at noon when I left Windsor. My Lord Sunderland made me promise to come back again to-night, being in great pain till he sees the King has fixed upon some one that he can *live with*, as he calls it; so that not being able to come to London myself, I hope you will excuse the trouble of this hasty account, from

Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble Servant,
S. GODOLPHIN.

"To Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester."

LXVIII.

DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Relating to Changes proposed in the Army of Ireland.

Kildare, 14th October, 1684.

I have received your letters of the 4th of this month, and am glad his Majesty seemed so well pleased with what is done, and designed to be done, in relation to his army here. My son Arran, who purposes to pass into England the next week, will carry with him a list of all the officers, for every one of whose fidelity or principles I think it hard I should be answerable; but I am confident the generality of them may be as much depended upon as any so many men in the King's dominions.

I give little credit to reports,† and have lived long enough not to be much

* It appears that the choice fell on Charles Earl of Middleton, who was made Secretary of State, 25th August, 1684. Burnet describes him as a man of a generous temper, but without much religion, well learned, of a good judgment, and a lively apprehension. Lord Preston became Secretary of State just before the abdication of King James in 1688. Mr. Blathwayte, to whom Charles most inclined, was very expert in business, and a very handsome man, as Evelyn tells us. He afterwards became Secretary at War, which post he filled many years, even after the Revolution.

† The reports alluded to were, that he was to be removed from the station he had so long and so honourably filled; which was in fact the case, and was announced to him by the King, in the following short letter, dated the 19th October, from Newmarket:—"I find it absolutely necessary for my service, that very many, and almost general alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military parts of the Government; that several persons who were recommended and placed by

surprised with any events; none, I am sure, can lessen the reality with which I am yours.

The Duke of York also wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, on the 21st, to reconcile him to the measure; and Lord Rochester addressed to him the following:—

LXIX.

LORD ROCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF ORMONDE.

On his recall.

Whitehall, Oct. 23, 1684.

Having been made acquainted that the King had written, or is about to write, to your Grace, upon a subject that concerns yourself, though it be a very tender point for me to say any thing upon, I had rather do that which is decent and natural for a man in my circumstances to do upon such an occasion, let the consequences of it be what it will to me, than seem to have been privy to designs which I would not own. I must confess that I have suspected something of this kind coming on, almost ever since you went from

you (and who were fit to be so at that time) must now be removed; which I think would be too hard to impose upon you to be the director of. For which reason, and others of the like nature, I have resolved to put the Government into another hand, and have made choice of my Lord Rochester, who is every way fit for it, and in one respect fitter than any other man can be; which is, that the near relation he has to you makes your concerns, and those of your family, to be his, and he will have that care of them which I desire may be always continued. And because I would have this alteration appear with all the regard and consideration that I have for you, I offer it to yourself to propose in what manner you would wish it to be done; and afterwards, if you choose to stay in that country, all whom I employ shall pay you all the respect your merit and long constant services can expect; and whenever you come hither, you shall receive the same marks of my kindness, esteem, and confidence, you have hitherto had, and this you may depend upon. Nothing I have now resolved upon this subject shall be public till I hear from you, and so be sure of my kindnesses.

"C. Rex."

The recal of the Duke was effected through the agency of Dick Talbot (Tyrconnell), who was employed to suggest to the King the necessity of a reform in the council, magistracy, and army, of Ireland. Charles was unsteady in his measures, and was the dupe of this artifice. Talbot's conduct was ungrateful in the extreme; for he had been permitted to return from Paris, where he had been an exile from the time of the plot, at the instance of the Duke of Ormonde.

hence; and you may remember, that not long ago, when I gave your Grace an account of some letters of yours that I had laid before the King, I hinted to you that his Majesty was not satisfied with several officers of the army; though I told you, at the same time, I was not directed to say so much to you. But I did not believe that what was then in the King's mind would have gone so far. And, upon my word, from the moment that I found it did, I have done all that was in me to hinder it, and at last to delay it; and would yet contribute anything I could think of to keep the government there in the same hand it is. I am not insensible how hard a construction it may bear in the world, that a man so much concerned as I am to support all your interests, should appear, as it were, undermining you in one of your most eminent stations. Neither am I ignorant, that if you are not well satisfied to leave your employment, no man that is to succeed you will find great comfort to himself, or be able to do the King great service in it. These two considerations, I hope, will serve to convince your Grace, that I have not been the adviser of this matter: and when you shall be satisfied that the King had determined it, before he resolved who should succeed you, I will flatter myself that you will not be displeased, if you must have a successor, that he should be one that can never have an interest different from your Grace's; but, as he must ever depend upon your assistance, protection, and advice, so he will make it his whole business to let you see that he is most faithfully and entirely,

Your Grace's most humble and obedient Servant,

ROCHESTER.

Previous to the arrival of these letters, the Earl of Arran had left Ireland, and was on his way to the Court, taking with him a letter to the King, assuring him of the present tranquillity of that kingdom, and of the apparent devotion of all ranks to his service. Lord Arran was also the bearer of the following letter to Lord Rochester:—

LXX.

DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Tranquillity of Ireland.

Dublin, Oct. 26, 1684.

My son Arran being the bearer, I shall not need to write much by him; he can inform you in any thing you shall desire to know of this place; and I

think it will not be necessary to give him credentials. There seems to be in this people an universal disposition to quietness, and the enjoyment of the plenty God has sent us; and it is in the King's power to do much towards keeping us in this disposition, by continuing the impartial distribution of justice, and by establishing such a force, as that the disaffected may not think it easy to disturb our peace with impunity.

I have said something to this purpose in a letter to the King. Yours,

ORMONDE.

LXXI.

DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Desiring his recall may be kept secret for a time.

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1684.

The subject of your Lordship's of the 23d of October is, in my opinion, as tender for me to write upon as it was for you; and I can truly say I am very much concerned for the construction that may be made by those that are not well acquainted with either of us, upon this occasion.* The greatest

* This letter has been printed by Carte, but is here given from the original, that the chain of the correspondence may not be broken. It may be agreeable to the reader to see the letter written to the King by the Duke of Ormonde, upon the same occasion, which is therefore here subjoined, as it is given in the Appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke, vol. ii.

"I have received your Majesty's of the 19th of October, with all duty and submission, and must ever acknowledge the gracious consideration you have been pleased to have of me in all the circumstances that attend the signification of your pleasure, particularly in the choice of my Lord Rochester, and the care you had of me and my family in it. I am willing to make use of the liberty your Majesty is pleased to give me, to offer what I wish in the manner of executing your pleasure, having so absolutely, and without the least reluctancy, but rather with satisfaction, resigned myself to it in the matter; but since your Majesty allows me to propose, I humbly offer, that if it may consist with your service, my remove may not be in the winter; an unfit season for an old man to travel in, or for any man to make provision for his future residence. I would further wish, that if it be not too late, your Majesty's resolution may be such a secret as it is, till near the time my Lord Rochester shall be ready to prepare for his journey. The choice your Majesty is pleased to give me of staying here, or going into England, with the assurance of your favour and protection in either place, was soon made, and I immediately determined to attend your person, and to perform, as well as I shall be able, the duty of the place I yet hold by your Majesty's bounty, for which and the rest I am most thankful, and pray to God to direct and prosper you.

Your Majesty's, &c.

ORMONDE.

satisfaction I have in this point is, that like other things of this nature, a little time may wear it off; and the less will serve when it shall appear how much we support each other's interest, and how unanimously we shall promote the King's service in our several employments: mine, indeed, will afford me fewer opportunities, but I shall omit none that shall be offered. It was unhappy, but I must impute it to my own dulness, that it did not enter into my imagination, that this change would happen so soon; if it had, I fancy I could have given the King's good nature and tenderness for my concernment and satisfaction, some ease, and prevented some inconvenient discourses upon the matter; for which, as I shall not give the least ground, so I hope none of them shall be put upon my account.

His Majesty having given me liberty to propose what I would wish, in the manner of performing his pleasure, I have presumed to desire that my remove may not be during the winter, if the delay may consist with his service; that his resolution may be kept such a secret as it is till your Lordship shall be ready to prepare for your journey; and his Majesty having given me my choice to stay here or go into England, I have chosen the latter. I have served the two Kings, my masters, in this Government at times, about twenty years, and never yet personally gave up the sword to any successor; but to save the King's charge, and to distinguish betwixt your Lordship and others, I shall not move the King to have it done by a deputy, or justices, till I have his Majesty's pleasure upon what I have humbly proposed. I think I shall have no more to trouble your Lordship with. I am, and will be your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

LXXII.

DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.*

No necessity for the proposed changes in the Government of Ireland.

Dublin, Dec. 3, 1684.

When it has heretofore pleased the King to give me successors in this government, I have endeavoured to let them see the respect I bore to his Majesty's choice, and, as far as they gave me leave, corresponded with them,

* This letter is also printed by Carte; but, as the original is found among Lord Rochester's papers, it has been thought proper to give it here for the reason before assigned. Lord Rochester's answer

and gave them all the light I could of persons and things relating to the King's service here; and sure your Lordship may well expect all that at

is also here subjoined, as given by Carte, with one by the Duke of Ormonde of a subsequent date the original of which has not been met with.

LORD ROCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF ORMONDE.

Whitehall, Dec. 13, 1684.

There were several things of your Grace's letter of the 3d, that seemed to me to deserve some thoughts before they were answered, which made me defer the acknowledging it till I had considered of them. And I confess, what your Grace says as to the darkness you are in, which makes you incapable of communicating such useful thoughts to me, as would be extreme necessary and desirable, is without reply, even in my own judgment. And if I should tell your Grace, that I, who am going, am not much more in the light, it might be some matter of greater wonder to you: I say not much more, for I have not yet the honour to be trusted with the secret, upon my word. I have waited on the King three or four times, with other company, to discourse and receive his Majesty's instructions in relation to Ireland: but it hath never gone further yet than discourse in general, that several officers in the army must be removed; that the council must be changed; and some powers of the Lieutenant himself be restrained. But the particulars, as much as I know, are not yet regulated nor ascertained. I can guess, and but guess, at what your Grace means by interesting the King's justice in the case of making some changes spoken of, or reported to be intended. But I believe there will be no such marks of incapacity or infidelity fixed, as your Grace seems to apprehend; and yet I do not wonder you do apprehend it, because there have gone reports pretty generally abroad, of something of such a nature, as might give ground for such apprehension. When I tell your Grace, there is nothing as to particular men yet resolved on, that I know, you will easily judge I cannot be plainer on this point than I am, and yet I may venture to tell you, that there are one or two gentlemen that are perhaps under a very distinct character, I mean in the army, that I see more broadly aimed at in these discourses I have mentioned, than any others whatsoever. When I know more of this matter, I believe I shall have the King's leave to communicate it to your Grace; and I believe, too, if there should be any thing designed of that nature, that may call the King's justice in question, you may be heard upon it, if you think it worth your pains. As to what your Grace mentions concerning the disposition of Lord Ossory and his wife, when you come from thence, I have nothing to say, but that whatsoever your order will be, must be well. You know I have never offered any thing of my wishes or thoughts upon this subject, knowing very well that your Grace hath kindness enough for them; besides the concern of your honour and justice to design the best for them.

I see by what your Grace says as particularly as to your disposition of quietness and ease to yourself, what you incline to; and, I confess, I think you say what is very reasonable for you to design for yourself, and with very great judgment concerning what is fit too for my Lord of Ossory. On the other hand, if my daughter have had the good fortune to behave herself so as to please you, or that her company or service, in any kind, may be useful to you, she is your child now; and I know her duty to you is such, that she will be glad to be well with you, and she will be content to do any thing you will have her. I will add no more, than that, if you shall resolve to leave them there, as you seemed to incline in your letter, I shall be as much concerned for them both, as for one; and as long as I am there myself, no part of care or service, that I can do for them, shall ever be wanting; and that as much upon the account of what they are to you, as any other consideration.

Concerning

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least at my hands: but the plain truth is, I have been so long suffered to mistake what was, or was not, for the King's service, or what he thought was, or was not so, that I wonder how the impertinence of the things I still proposed and pressed was so long borne with; and, I confess, I am at this time more confounded in my notions than ever I was, not from the reports we have of almost a total change in all the changeable parts of the Government of this kingdom, but from what the King himself was pleased to intimate to me to the same purpose; for which alterations I must say, let the consequence of saying it be what it will to me, there neither is nor can be any necessity, or good reason, at this time: and this, upon inquiry into particulars, might manifestly appear; and therefore, for the honour of the King's justice, and for his service, I hope that intention will at least be again considered,

Concerning your desiring the King to appoint some to receive the sword from you before I come, you know I am wholly without any wish, but what is most convenient to you. But what, for the present, occurs to me upon it is, that if I have not the honour to see you just then, I believe it may be a long time before I have another opportunity; for possibly, it might be for both our good, both in relation to the public, and even to the settlement of my Lord of Ossory and my Lady, that we should speak to one another. And, if there be nothing wanting, but a place for you to be in, sure Chapel Izoud may serve you. And having said this, I end as I began: I wish nothing but what is most convenient to your Grace, and am your Grace's

Most faithful and most obedient Servant,

ROCHESTER.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO LORD ROCHESTER.

Dublin, Dec. 28, 1684.

I received your Lordship's of the 13th, when some use to prepare for the next day's festival, and finding that in my letter of the 3d I had said at least enough, unless I knew more, I think it not necessary to pursue the argument of that letter any farther, than to assure your Lordship that I am in no impatience to know more, or sooner, than it is thought fit I should; nor have any ambition to be heard till I shall be commanded to speak. Though I would be glad, at all times, to do good offices and justice to any whom I shall think to be under misrepresentations.

That I might have the opportunity of speaking with your Lordship at some leisure, was the reason why I thought of desiring his Majesty to appoint some person, or persons, to receive the sword and keep it till your arrival; because that all the time that it will be fit for me to stay after your Lordship's landing, will be taken up with the ceremony of your reception and my departure. I am now to assure your Lordship, I am infinitely satisfied with your daughter's conduct and kindness to me; and yet I must persist in my opinion, that it will be best she and her husband should live in this kingdom, so long as you shall be in the Government. How, and where, is only to be thought of, wherein I shall give my advice and assistance.

I am your Lordship's

Most faithful and most humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

before it be put in execution. I take the liberty to intreat the King's justice in this case; not but that I know his Majesty may instantly change his servants and give no reason for it, but if he gives any, that reason should be well grounded, especially if it be such as fixes a mark of incapacity or infidelity. If I were not out of the case by the declarations his Majesty has made in the Secretary's chamber, and to myself, so much in my favour and to my advantage, I should not say thus much; but by the darkness I am in of what is really intended, your Lordship sees how incapable I am of communicating any useful thoughts of mine to you, to which your Lordship invites me in your's of the 20th of the last month.

As to my private concerns, the most difficult part will be how to dispose of your daughter and my grandson. I am satisfied that the fittest place for him to live in will be in this kingdom, where, if he pleases, he may employ himself in looking to the command your Lordship procured him, and in acquainting himself with my fortune, and with people he must have use of. In England, I fear he will not bestow his time so well; and, to deal freely with your Lordship, I desire to spend the few years I have to live, or rather the little time I am to be in this world, with as little possibility of disquiet, or constraint, as I can. I will contribute what I can to their living at ease, but am resolved, if I can, to do so myself. I doubt I must beg the King to appoint to whom to deliver the sword before your Lordship comes, because there must be some time to fit this place for you, and I know not where to be the while.

Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble Servant
ORMONDE.

LXXIII.

DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Colonel Fairfax.

Dublin, Dec. 30, 1684.

This bearer, Colonel Fairfax, amongst others that have apprehension to be cashiered, finds, as he says, that he is more particularly designed to be ruined, for so he will be if he lose his command, to all intents, and that without any prospect of recovery. He will himself, as he tells me, give your Lordship

very briefly the story of his life: all I can say, of my own knowledge of him in twenty years' acquaintance, is, that he is one of the best officers in this army, and that I think him as loyal, and as safely to be trusted, as any man that I can think of to be put in his place. He will own that for bread he rode in a troop under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, in Scotland, but not till after the Worcester fight; and, if I am not mistaken, there were, if there be not still, some officers that served in that army kept in the regiments in England. Your Lordship, I am confident, will do the King no disservice if you shall please to interpose in his behalf.

LXXIV.

JAMES DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the policy of dismissing from the Army and Council of Ireland, those who had borne Arms against the late or present King.

Dublin, Jan. 3, 1684-5.

Your Lordship's, of the 20th of the last month, lets me know the King's pleasure, that I should give him my opinion whether it may not be proper for him to discharge, from his privy council and army, all such as have, in their own persons, borne arms against him or his royal father.*

To this I cannot just now give his Majesty so satisfactory a return as I hope I shall be able to do in a few days, when I shall have examined the council-book and some muster-rolls. In the mean time I humbly offer, as my opinion, that there are too many privy-councillors, and that all of them are not of quality equal to the dignity, and others not very useful; yet it may be

* This had been long a darling project with the Duke of York, and he had at length, through the representations of Dick Talbot, influenced his brother to listen to his councils, and put it in agitation. It is not certain that the resolution was taken before the Duke of Ormonde left England, that it would be necessary to remove him. James well knew that Ormonde would not lend himself to his views; and it is evident, by what followed on his coming to the crown, that it was only a pretext for reorganizing the Government and army, so as to give preponderance to the Catholics. The Duke of Ormonde's reply is remarkable for its good sense and moderation, though it was not calculated to please in the quarter to which it was addressed. The fact was, that Ireland had never shown less signs of disaffection, and had not been in so tranquil a state at any period of his government.

worth the considering, whether, since they are gotten in, it may not be better to let them wear off than to turn them out; which if it did but reduce them to what they were when they came on, they could not complain; but their dismission will certainly expose them to contempt in their country, and indispose them towards the King's service, which as justices of the peace they formerly promoted. There are very few alive that can inform me touching any officers of the army, that at any time served personally against the King or his royal father; and certainly there are, at least, as few that did so in the present army of any note.

LXXV.

JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Concerned at the divulging the contents of his last letter.

Dublin, Jan. 7, 1684-5.

Few things could have happened to me more surprising, or more to my trouble, than the publishing of my letter to your Lordship, of the 3d of the last month; and I am so out of countenance at the indiscretion or breach of trust by which it came to be copied, and made the subject of ordinary discourse, that I scarce know what to say; but I resolve to tell the truth as far as I know it, whatever it may bring upon me or any body else. My son Arran, being in the place where my chief and last concerns of that nature are transacted, I thought it needful he should be informed in all that had passed, or should pass, relating to my remove from this Government, and therefore sent him a copy of that letter, not with the least imagination that he could possibly think it fit for him to impart it, or the contents of it, to any man, or so much as to own to your Lordship that he had it. What he can say for himself I know not, having heard nothing of it from him, nor any body else that I can hear of having written of it, though there are letters come of four days fresher date than your Lordship's of the 23d; and that it is very unlikely that such a piece of intelligence could escape observation, if it was become as public as coffee-house discourse. Your Lordship very rightly observes, that in that letter of mine there are some expressions that might have been modified, and that may be thought too positive; those, I confess, fell from me by inadvertency, but my passion for the King's service, may

justly bear a share of the error, and I thought it, as I do still, highly concerned that more than half the army, and a like proportion of the privy council, judges, and magistrates, should be removed and changed; and such an interpretation, I conceive, the making of almost a total alteration in the civil and military parts of the Government must bear. This is all I can say to excuse the rashness or hardness of my expressions in that letter, saving, that I write to your Lordship with less caution in weighing and choosing my words, than to others; and might believe you might acquaint the King with the contents, and leave out any expression like to offend him.

LXXVI.

THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the death of his daughter, Lady Ossory.

Dublin, Jan. 28, 1684-5.

If I had had the courage and composure of mind, your Lordship should have received the sad cause of your affliction at once; but besides my part of the sorrow that belongs to our common and equal loss, which made me unfit to write, methinks I have something like guilt upon me, our misfortune happening whilst what was so dear to us was under my care and trust. I have had many and some like inflictions of this nature, most justly laid upon me, for which I was in hope to receive some reparation by your daughter: God's will be done, and humbly submitted to. This is, I think, the first, I am sure the greatest you have felt; and I can tell you nothing but time, with all other assistances, can relieve you;* and that I hope you

* How deeply and severely this blow was felt by Lord Rochester, will be apparent by the meditations on the anniversary of Lady Ossory's death, to be found in a future page. The present moment was fortunately for him one of extraordinary activity: scarcely had the news reached him, than the death of Charles elevated his patron, the Duke of York, to the throne; and Lord Rochester, as one of his most faithful adherents, was among the first to feel the sunlight of the new monarch's favour; but the recurrence of the day which deprived him of his favourite child, he gave to communing with his heart in the silence of his chamber. The Duke of Ormond, in a letter to Sir R. Southwell, says, "The sickness of the young lady I brought a stranger with me into this country, which it hath pleased God to put an end to in her death. I am not courtier, that is dissembler, enough to equal hers with other losses I have sustained of the like kind; but I assure you, her kindness and observance of me, and her conduct in general, hath gained very much upon my affections, and promised so much satisfaction in her, that I am extremely sensible of her loss."

have largely before you. I have caused the body to be deposited where I have two sons laid, but with your Lordship's leave it is my purpose to have it removed to the vault of my family, when those of it that lie in Westminster can be gotten thither. If I knew how to express greater kindness and esteem for all that remains of her here below, I would certainly do it. Her marriage to my grandson did not create our friendship, it was established before; nor shall her death dissolve or diminish it on my part, but I shall be still as much as ever, your Lordship's most faithful, and

Most humble Servant,

ORMOND.

LXXVII.

LORD OSSORY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On the death of his Wife.

Dublin, Feb. 13, 1684-5.

I received a letter from your Lordship to-day, and I am extremely sorry you have so sad an occasion to write upon. I am sure your Lordship is mightily afflicted; and you had reason, for she loved you as well as you could her: but I have much more reason to be afflicted for her, because she was the best wife in the world.* I won't trouble your Lordship any longer, only

* Lady Ossory died of a miscarriage, to the regret of all who knew her, and admired her wit and deportment in those tender years. Some fancies might possibly contribute to this calamity, for the young lady was impressed with the common superstitious notion as to thirteen people sitting at table. A short time previous to her death, Dr. John Hough (afterwards Bishop of Worcester) was going to sit down, when, perceiving that he made the thirteenth, he stopped short and declined taking his place. She immediately guessed at his reason, and said, "Sit down, Doctor, it is now too late; it is the same thing if you sit or go away." He believed that the circumstance affected her, as she was in very indifferent health, and had been subject for some time to hysterical and fainting fits. The poor lady's imagination seems to have been peculiarly susceptible to such impressions, for another story is related that may, perhaps, have accelerated the fatal event. Upon the death of the Countess of Kildare, Lady Ossory being then only seventeen, dreamed that some one came and knocked at her chamber door, and that calling to her servant to see who was there, and no body answering, she went to the door herself, and opening it, saw a lady muffled up in a hood, who drawing it aside, she saw it was the Lady Kildare. Upon this she cried out, "Sister, is it you! what makes you come in this manner?" "Don't be frightened," replied she, "for I come on a very serious affair, and it is to tell you that you will die very soon." Such was her dream, as she related it herself to Dr. Hough. It is amplified with many fictitious circumstances in the History of Apparitions.

to thank you for all your kindness to me, and pardon me for desiring to present my humble duty to my Lady. I am, and always,

My Lord,
Your most affectionate Son
And humble Servant,
OSSORY.

LXXVIII.

THE EARL OF THANET* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Intends coming up to pay his respects to the new King.

MY LORD, Skipton, Feb. 10th, 1684-5.

Not having any public employment, not only my duty but inclination to pay my respect to the King, will bring me up to receive his commands, and to wish him all sort of prosperity; and after to return northward, or place myself where I may be most serviceable to him: the knowledge of this, and my most humble duty, I desire presented to His Majesty, he may receive from your Lordship, in which you will oblige

Your most humble Servant,
THANET.

"For the Earl of Rochester, Lord President of the Council,
at his Lodging at Whitehall, London."

LXXIX.

THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proposal for softening the measure of his recal.

Dublin, 22d of Feb. 1684-5.

Perhaps your Lordship may think mine of yesterday's date, in relation to my particular concerns, too general, after the offer you make me in the end of yours of the 14th, and the permission His Majesty has given you to appear in

* Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his brother Richard, in the preceding year.

them. I have since bethought myself what I have to wish in this conjuncture, and I think I have not so considered myself, but that my desires may well consist with the King's service; at least, I judge so, in the light I stand. I take it for granted, that His Majesty will immediately give a new commission to somebody for this Government, your Lordship's and mine being void by his late Majesty's death; and if he sends one to me, I hope it will not be with a clause that it is to continue but till another named in my Commission shall arrive, because such a clause would make me his deputy, and because such a clause is not needful, since the granting a new Commission at any time will supersede mine. I would, therefore, humbly propose, that a new Commission should be sent me, and that His Majesty, in a letter, would command my attendance at the meeting of the Parliament, giving me power to constitute the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, justices in my absence. By this means nobody will be dissatisfied with the change of a Governor; the King shall be put to no additional charges, and when I come into England it shall be manifest to him, that what I project is not to continue myself in this station any longer than till the end of the next session of Parliament, nor so long, if his Majesty shall think it for his service to send another sooner. All this is upon supposition that things continue in the calm they are, whereof I think there is little doubt; but still my proposal and myself are submitted to the King's pleasure.

LXXX.

DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Congratulation on his appointment as Lord Treasurer.—Finances of Ireland.

Dublin, March 1, 1684-5.

I do not doubt but your Lordship receives many congratulations upon your promotion,—some real, and some not so. I hope you believe mine is of the better sort; and I shall endeavour to make others believe it too. When I do so, the less need to be said upon the subject.

When I pointed at the time I desired leave to come over to be about the 10th of this month, it was upon a supposition your Lordship would be at the water's side about the 10th of April, and that whether you or any body

else should be sent, I might have a month's time to fit myself for transportation, and my family for another way of living; but if the commission to the Lords Justices shall come as soon as by my Lord of Sunderland's to me of the 10th of the last month, may be expected, I shall be somewhat straitened in time, unless his Majesty shall allow of my keeping the commission for the Lords Justices for ten days or a fortnight in my hands; or pardon me, if I presume to do it in confidence of his intention to favour me in things of conveniency, and that he will not think his kingdom in the less security for my being in it.

In answer to your Lordship's postscript, I am to inform you, that as soon as I could think of any thing after I had received the surprising and amazing news of his late Majesty's death, I considered it possible, that upon such a change, some endeavours might be used to raise disturbance in opposition to his present Majesty's accession to the Crown; and immediately sent for Mr. Price, to know of him what money he had or could get into his hands and keep, without retarding or disappointing the payments required by the establishment; and he assured me he had and could procure ten or fifteen thousand pounds: with which sum, I computed I could make a good part of the army and a competent train of artillery, march to any part of the kingdom, or further, if need were. So that if such a sum can be useful and very necessary, I think it may be afforded hence; but if it be not wanted to a great degree, I think, for many reasons, it should be forborne; at least, till some judgment may be made how his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament are like to part; and as to a constant supply from this kingdom, I think he cannot have above twenty thousand pounds a year transmitted, over and above the thirty, without injuring the improvement of the country, and consequently the growth of his own, as well as all other landed men's revenue; for I suppose trade (especially in Ireland) cannot remain at a stand, but must impair if it do not increase: and even the twenty I mention at a guess, and upon supposition that improvement will go on, ought, if it were possible, to be taken out of the commodities and growth of the country, rather than in money; the exchange and interest whereof will make a great gap in the sum: and I should think the English revenue might be so eased this way, that the King might find his full account in it. If what I say be reason, I hope it is not the less so because my estate lies here. Upon this occasion, I think I may properly enough take notice of two things that will help to impoverish this kingdom, and that without any advantage or security to the Government,

which I may the more freely and unsuspectedly do, now that I am leaving it. The one is, the restriction that was in your Lordship's commission, not to give any to the least military officer of the army; which, upon every vacancy, must draw competitors into England, to the ruin perhaps, of him or them that shall not succeed; but to the certain charge of all the pretenders. If his Majesty could possibly himself know the principles and capacity of all candidates, nothing could be more reasonable than that he should choose himself, because it is for himself; but if that cannot be supposed, I conceive he will make very ill choice of a chief-governor, (whom he must be presumed to know very well before he appoints him,) if he be not better able and more careful to choose for officers, than any other that shall recommend them, and are not so answerable for them, as the Lieutenant will be for those he shall place in the King's service. The other is, the pretence of the Office of the Ordnance in England, to send all ammunition, arms, and habiliments of war, out of the stores there, for the service of Ireland, to be paid for out of the Irish revenue; whereby the King pays thirty in the hundred for worse things of most kinds than they may be had for here; and then the country people pay for such as are manufactured in the kingdom, to the discontent of the army, and generally of all the subjects, to see their money unnecessarily, and to the King's loss, carried away.

I know some politic considerations were pretended; but it is plain enough that others are intended. I did not think this letter would have come to half this length; I ask your Lordship's pardon for it, and your firm belief that I am,

Your Lordship's
Most faithful and most obedient Servant,
ORMOND.

LXXXI.

DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Anxiously expects the Commission.—Desires to come to England.

Dublin, March 4, 1684-5.

The commission for the Lords' Justices is not yet arrived: when it comes it shall be most welcome to me, the circumstances belonging to it being by

his Majesty's favour, and your Lordship's care of me, such as I could wish.* With this your Lordship will receive, in the proper form, my opinion of the sum Mr. Price and his sureties should be bound in, for the just performance of his duty and trust. I am now as impatient to be in England as I was when our late Majesty was to pass from Holland to take his crown, being heartily weary of this place, which perpetually brings into my memory old and late irreparable losses: possibly I shall carry those thoughts with me wherever I go, yet there is some pleasure in trying. I am sure one of the greatest satisfactions I can have, will be my confidence in your Lordship's friendship, and the unreservedness with which I mean to open myself to you.

LXXXII.

LADY BURLINGTON† TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Concerning her claim to the Title of Cumberland.

MY LORD, London, March 13, 1684-5.

I am so ill a speaker, especially in my own concerns, that I presume this way, rather to ask your dear Lordship if this be an improper time to remind his Majesty of his former promises, made (at the death of Prince Rupert)‡ to

* This passage will show that the following reflection, in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, [vol. ii. p. 543.] is founded upon an erroneous view of the case; for it will be observed that the Duke, in his letter of the 22d of February, pointed out the mode in which he would wish to lay down the sword of authority; and it cannot be doubted that, through the influence of the favourite, Lord Rochester, his request was complied with. It appears, therefore, that Carte had never seen these letters, or documents of equal authority: his observations are these:—"This King (James) immediately renewed the orders for his revocation; and whereas other governors have retained their character till they arrived at his Majesty's presence, the Duke was to lay down all at Dublin, for the commission for the two Lords' Justices to succeed him was sent from Whitehall. King Charles would never have forced him to surrender the sword in person to any man; and his successor had such late and great obligations to him, that he might have very well observed that decorum in respect of a person who had so highly merited from him; but it seems the favourites of the new King were in great haste to publish to all the world that the Duke of Ormond was not in His Majesty's good graces, and therefore put him under that necessity."

† Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir of Henry Earl of Cumberland, wife of Richard, first Earl of Burlington.

‡ Prince Rupert had been created Duke of Cumberland by Charles I. in 1642, and at his death, in 1682, the title became extinct.

my Lord, to myself, and your Lady, to promote our desires, that the title of Cumberland, under what quality he pleases, might be annexed or conferred on our family, in memory of my father's earliest services and sufferings for his royal father; the like having been conferred on others since, who only appeared after him: besides, my own Lord's constant adherence and services to both the former and his present Majesty, gives him somewhat better title to this than any remoter pretender; but is however submitted to your better judgment, as having hitherto staved off its being conferred on any other, as I think in favour of

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant,
And affectionate Mother,
E. BURLINGTON.

"To the Earl of Rochester,
Lord High Treasurer of England."

LXXXIII.

LORD TOWNSEND* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Desiring to be excused from attending at the Coronation.

MY LORD, Raynham, March 17, 1684-5.

I must confess I have given your Lordship the promise in my last, not to repeat to you more another trouble of this nature. But having attended the Duke of Norfolk for most part of the last week, at Norwich, upon the account of settling the election for this county, in obedience to the King's command, received from your Lordship's hand, in the which I have undergone so much fatigue and disorder, as that the gout in my hand will permit me only to sign this paper, if so much; upon taking my leave, his Grace told me he hoped to meet me shortly in town, for that I was to receive a summons for my wife and self to attend the Coronation of the King and Queen. Upon which, considering the infirmities I am under, which render me incapable of any performance upon such an occasion, I hope your Lordship will give me your pardon for this breach of my former engagement to your Lordship, and leave

* Sir Horatio Townsend, who took an active part in the Restoration, was created Baron Townsend in 1661, and Viscount Townsend, of Raynham in Norfolk, in 1682. He died in 1687.

to make this my humble application to your Lordship, that, by your favour, I may be excused, with my wife, from our appearance on this great solemnity, without any reflection upon our duty and loyalty to the King and Queen; which at all times shall appear as great as any body's, wherein we may be capable of giving testimony of the same. His Grace told me withal, when he came out of town, that velvet and ermines were very hard to be got, and he thought, that making what haste I could, I should hardly get them for money; and I can assure your Lordship that money is as hard to come by here in the country. Upon the whole matter, if your Lordship please that I may receive speedily your directions, by one of your secretaries' hand, it will highly oblige me, for ever to remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
TOWNSEND.

"For the Earl of Rochester,
Lord High Treasurer of England."

LXXXIV.

MR. RALPH MONTAGU* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Congratulating him upon being made Lord Treasurer.—Will attend the King at his Coronation.

MY LORD, Paris, April 4th, 1685.

I would not have been so long without congratulating with you the honour his Majesty has done you in making you Lord High Treasurer of England, but that the news of it came to me as I was upon my journey hither; and had I not been stopped by an indisposition, I should before this time have made you my compliments myself, which I do now, my Lord, as sincerely as any of your humble servants can do. I intend, my Lord, to pay my attendance at his Majesty's Coronation. I know not how unfortunate I may be as to lie under his Majesty's displeasure, but I know the generosity of his nature to be such, that as Louis Duke of Orleans, when he came to the crown of France, said it was not for a King of France

* Subsequently Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Montagu.

to remember the quarrels and grudges of a Duke of Orleans, so I hope his Majesty will be pleased to think the King is not to remember any thing that has passed in relation to the Duke of York; for whatever my opinions were when I delivered them, being trusted by the public, they are altered now I am become his subject,* knowing myself obliged, by the laws of God and man, to hazard life and fortune in the defence of his sacred person, crown, and dignity. I hope my coming can give no offence, since it is out of no other end but to do my duty and submission, as it is fit for a subject to do, and to enjoy that protection and justice under his Majesty's Government, which I am confident he will refuse no man who resolves to be so loyal and respectful to him in all things as I do. I beg of your Lordship, when the occasion offers, to afford me your good offices, which shall always be acknowledged as the greatest obligation in the world. from

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And humble servant,
R. MONTAGU.

LXXXV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

["Upon the death of Charles II. the Prince of Orange endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between King James and himself, and for this purpose sent over M. Ouwerkerck from Holland, and wrote the following Letters to the favourite minister, to intreat his good offices. James received his advances with the same insincerity, with which he suspected they were made."—*Dalrymple.*]

A la Haye, ce 5 Mars, 1685.

J'espere qu'il ne sera pas besoin que je vous fasse une longue appologie de ce qu'il y a si long temps que je ne vous ay point escrit, les raisons vous en estant asses cognue; mais j'espere que cela n'aura rien alteré en l'amitie que vous m'avez tousjours temoigné. Et qu'ainsi vous seres persuadé que l'on ne peut avoir plus de joye que j'ay de ce que le Roy vous a

* He had, however, committed an offence which could not easily be forgotten or forgiven; having been one of those who seconded Lord Russel's motion for the exclusion of James from the succession, when that measure was a second time agitated in 1680, and had been actively engaged in bringing the Duchess of Portsmouth into the measure.—See *Burnet*, vol. i. pp. 481, 487.

confié la plus grande et considerable charge de l'Angletere.* Je vous y souhaite toutte la prosperité et contentement imaginable, et vous prie d'estre asseuré que personne ne le fait de mellieur cœur que moy. Je vous conjure de me continuer vostre amitié, et de m'assister à me mestre bien dans l'esprit du Roy, vous asseurant que ma conduite sera telle, que je ne doute pas que sa Majesté n'en sera satisfait; comme aussi des assurances que j'ay ordonne à Ouwerkerck de luy faire de ma part.† Ce sera une tres grande obligation que je vous aurez, si vous avez la bonté de me procurer un si grand bien que je souhaite tant. Je tacherez à le recognoistre toutte ma vie en tous les occasions où je pourez vous temoigner combien veritablement je suis vostre serviteur, ‡

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

* The Staff of Lord Treasurer had just been bestowed upon him.

† Ouwerkerck's mission was to assure James that the Prince of Orange not only repented of his opposition to the late King, but also to acknowledge his error in his conduct towards the present monarch, when Duke of York; to assure him that he would make all reparation in his power, and that his future conduct should be agreeable to what he would be pleased to prescribe. This the King told Barillon, and added that he had accepted of the Prince's submission, only upon the terms that he would alter his conduct in respect to the French King. James had also stipulated that he should remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and his adherents from the British regiments in the Dutch service, insisting most strongly on his attaching himself to France. It will be seen by the following letters, that the Prince acceded to the two first articles, and Col. Babington's dismissal was one of the consequences; but he avoided giving an answer in regard to his future conduct towards France.

‡ TRANSLATION.

I hope it will not be necessary that I should make a formal apology that I have not written to you for so long a period, the reasons being sufficiently known to you: but I trust that this will have in no degree altered the friendship you have always shown me; and that you will, therefore, be assured that no one can rejoice more than I do, that the King has confided to you the greatest and most important office in England. I wish you all the prosperity and contentment imaginable, and beg you to be assured that no one does it with more earnest sincerity than I do. I intreat you to continue your friendship to me, and to assist me in acquiring the King's good opinion; assuring you that my conduct shall be such, that I doubt not the King will be satisfied with it, as also with the assurances that I have commanded Ouwerkerck to make him from me. It will be a very great obligation I shall owe to you, if you have the kindness to procure me so great a good, and one that I desire so much. I will endeavour to requite it all my life, on all occasions wherein I can show how much and truly I am your servant.

LXXXVI.

LORD ROCHESTER TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

[FROM DALRYMPLE'S COLLECTION.]

In reply to the Prince's Letter of the 5th March, 1685, *assuring him of his zeal to serve him.*

C'est avec bien de la joye que je viens de recevoir de la part de votre Altesse des marques de son resouvenir, et c'est avec toute la soumission imaginable que je luy rends très humble gracés de l'honneur qu'elle me fait, de m'honorer de ses commandemens, et de toute la bonté qu'elle temoigne y avoir pour moy. Je puis assurer votre Altesse qu'elle ne se trompera point, en me faisant l'honneur de croire, que je ne manqueray point à mon devoir en tout ce qui sera de son service; tous mes souhaits ne tendants à rien plus dans ce monde, que de voir votre Altesse aussi bien dans l'esprit du Roy qu'il convient à une personne si etroitement unie à sa Majesté par naissance et par alliance; à quoi j'espere voir de si grands acheminements depuis peu, que je ne puis douter d'un bon et heureux succés. Et je crois ne devoir pas celer à votre Altesse qu'elle a en ses mains propres toute ce qu'elle demande. Ne vous trompez en vous faisant accroire que vous pouvez avoir besoin de mes services, ou que mes pauvres soins puissent être utiles pour un ouvrage de si grand importance. Permettez-moi de vous dire que votre Altesse ne doit pas avoir besoin, et par consequent ne veut avoir, d'entremetteur auprès du Roy; et que la forte inclination que votre Altesse temoigne pour faire ce que le Roy attend de vous, et la bonté que sa Majesté a toujours eu à votre égard, ne peuvent manquer de vous combler de joye et de contentement; dans laquelle personne au monde n'aura plus de part, que celui qui, avec toute sorte de soumission, demande l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, et qui sera toute sa vie un de vos plus obeissans et plus zelés serviteurs,*

ROCHESTER.

* TRANSLATION.

It is with much joy that I have received marks of your Highness's remembrance, and it is with all imaginable submission that I give you most humble thanks for the honour which you have done me in honouring me with your commands, and for all the goodness which you show me in your letter. I can assure your Highness that you will not deceive yourself in doing me the honour to believe that I will never fail in my duty in every thing that shall be for your service, all my wishes tending to nothing more in this world than to see your Highness as well in the favour of the King, as is proper for a person so closely united to his Majesty by birth and by alliance; to which I hope

LXXXVII.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Colonel Babington.

A la Haye, ce 20 de Mars, 1685.

Ce porteur est le Lieut. Col. Babington, un de ces officiers que le Roy a trouvé bon que je cassace, qui s'en va en Angleterre pour se jetter au pied de sa Majesté, et se justifier de ce qu'on aura peu informer le Roy à son prejudice. Il m'asseura fort de ne se sentir coupable de rien, n'y ne peut s'imaginer de quoy on le peut l'accuser. Je luy dois ce temoignage que je l'ay trouvé tousjours fort sage et homme de bien, et asseurement tres brave et bon officier,—mesme un des mellieurs qui ont servi icy de sa nation. C'est ce qui m'oblige à vous prier tres instament d'avoir la bonté de luy donner vostre protection, et de vouloir interceder aupres de sa Majesté, qu'elle veuille le faire ecouter, affin qu'il puisse se justifier ; estant fort persuadé de son innocence, de n'avoir rien fait de mal. Je sais que vous aimez à proteger les innocens ; ainsi je m'asseure que vous vouderez bien accorder ma priere, et vous prie d'estre asseuré qu'il est impossible d'estre plus vostre serviteur que l'est

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

I see such great approaches within this little time, that I cannot doubt of a good and happy success. And I think I ought not to conceal from your Highness that you have, in your own hands, every thing you can ask. Be not deceived in believing that you can have need of my services, or that my poor cares can be useful in a work of so great importance. Permit me to say that your Highness ought not to have need of, and consequently cannot wish to have, a mediator between you and the King, and that the strong inclination which your Highness shows to do what the King expects of you, and the goodness which his Majesty has always had with regard to you, cannot fail to fill you with joy and contentment ; in which nobody in the world will have a greater share, than he, who, with all sort of submission, asks the honour of your good graces, and who will be all his life one of your most obedient and zealous servants, ROCHESTER.

* TRANSLATION.

The bearer is Lieut. Col. Babington, (one of those officers that the King has thought good that I should cashier,) who goes to England to throw himself at the feet of the King, and to justify himself from that of which the King may have been informed to his prejudice. He earnestly assures me that he feels himself guilty of nothing, nor can he imagine of what any one can accuse him. I owe him this testimony—that I have always found him a very prudent and honourable man, and assuredly a very brave and excellent officer,—even one of the best of those who have served here of his nation ; which obliges me to most earnestly beg you will have the goodness to afford him your

LXXXVIII.

MONSIEUR BENTINCK TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Desiring him to continue to labour to preserve the good understanding between the Prince of Orange and King James.

[William Bentinck was descended from a noble family in Guelderland, and was born about the year 1649. His first post about the Prince of Orange was that of Page of Honour; but he soon became a favourite, and was promoted to be Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. He accompanied William in his first visit to England, in 1670; and on that Prince's going to Oxford, was created with him Doctor of Civil Law. When the Prince was made Stadtholder and Commander of the Dutch forces, Bentinck was made Colonel of the Dutch Guards. He manifested his attachment to William, by attending him during an attack of the small-pox, at the risk of his own life, never having had the disease, which was then held in equal horror with the plague, and was, indeed, almost as fatal. Bentinck was again in England in 1677, to solicit the hand of Princess Mary for his master; and had now recently returned from a mission to James, to offer the assistance of the Prince of Orange's troops and person, to repress the rebellions of Monmouth and Argyll. James looked with an eye of suspicion on this offer of personal service, and rejected it. The subsequent events of the life of Bentinck are to be found in every biographical work, and in the Peerages. It is sufficient to mention, that following the fortunes of his master, he retained his esteem even to the moment of his death. He was created Earl of Portland in 1689, two days before William was crowned.]

MONSIEUR, De la Haye, ce 10 d'Avril, 1685.

Dans les rapports que Mons. d'Ouwerkerck nous a faits, je puis vous asseurer, Mons. que je ne me suis jamais trompé en vous, ayant tousjours conté sur ce que vous m'avez temoigné lorsque j'eus l'honneur de vous voir dernierement en Angleterre, et sur l'inclination que vous aviez pour son Altesse, que vous n'avez jamais pu temoigner plus essentiellement qu'en travaillant à lui faire rendre les bonnes graces du Roy. Dieu soit loué que cela ait si bien reussi: vous avez en main les moyens de contribuer à l'establissement de ceste bonne et heureuse union, tant de l'un costé que de l'autre. Vous cognoissez l'humeur de son Altesse, qui n'est nullement de dire ce qu'il ne pense pas, ni de faire une chose à demi; je vous asseure qu'il est dans une disposition à faire tout ce que le Roy peut souhaiter de lui. Vostre lettre sur le sujet de

protection, and to be pleased to intercede with the King that he will deign to hear him, in order that he may justify himself: being strongly persuaded of his innocence of having done any thing evil. I know that you love to protect the innocent; therefore I assure myself that you will grant my request, and beg you to be assured that it is impossible to be more your servant, than is

G. P. O.

Mons. Babington lui a pleu extremement; il aime vostre franchise: je vous prie de continuer à lui dire vos sentiments tout de meme sur tout ce qui pourroit estre agreable au Roy. Vous excuserez, j'espere, que je prenne la liberté de vous dire les miens, puisque nous travaillons à une mesme fin. La lettre que je joins ici vous fera voir, Monsieur, sur quel fondement je vous parle. Nous estions ici dans l'attent que Messrs. d'Amsterdam auroit consenti dans l'Estat de guerre, comme il avoit fait esperer; mais ils demeurent opiniatres. Je croy que la harangue que Mons. Chudleigh a fait quant il prit congé des Estats, n'y a pas pu contribuer, puisque cela leurs a donné lieu d'esperer et de debiter, que l'accomodement n'estoit pas si solidement fait que cela se disoit: ceux de Dort ont suivis l'exemple d'Amsterdam; Mons. d'Avaux il travaille beaucoup. Excuser, Mons. la longueur de ma lettre, et faite moy la justice de croire que je seray tousjours tres veritablement

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble, et tres obeissant Serviteur,

G. BENTINCK.

Je vous supplie d'asseurer Madame la Countesse de Rochester de mes tres humble respects.*

* TRANSLATION.

SIR,

From the relations which M. d'Ouwerkerck has made to us, I can assure you, Sir, that I was never deceived in you; having always relied on that which you manifested when I had last the honour of seeing you in England, and on the inclination that you had for his Highness, which you could never more essentially show, than in labouring to restore him to the good opinion of the King. God be praised, that it has succeeded so well: you have in your power the means of contributing to the establishment of this good and happy union, as well on the one side as on the other. You know the disposition of his Highness, which is by no means to say that which he does not think, nor to do things by halves. I assure you that he is disposed to do all that the King can wish from him. Your letter on the subject of Mr. Babington has pleased him extremely; he loves your frankness: I request you to continue to tell him your opinion, in like manner, on all that may be agreeable to the King. You will excuse me, I hope, for taking the liberty to tell you mine, since we labour to the same end. The letter enclosed will show you, Sir, on what foundation I speak. We were in expectation here, that those of Amsterdam would have consented, in the States, to the war, as they gave us reason to hope; but they remain obstinate. I believe that the speech which Mr. Chudleigh made, when he took leave of the States, has not a little contributed to it; since it gave them reason to hope, and to give out that the reconciliation was not so solidly made as was reported. Those of Dort have followed the example of Amsterdam. M. d'Avaux labours hard. Excuse, Sir, the length of my letter, and do me the justice to believe that I shall be ever, very truly, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

W. BENTINCK.

I beg you to assure the Countess of Rochester of my very humble respects.

LXXXIX.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Letter of Thanks and Compliments.

A la Haye, ce 10 d'Avril, 1685.

Je ne vous puis assez temoigné ma recognoissance de toutte les amities que vous avez temoigné pour moy a Mr. d'Ouwerkerk, et de la franchise avec laquelle vous luy avez parlé. Vous savez qu'il n'y a rien que j'aime plus, et que mon humeur aussi n'est nullement de deguiser mes sentimens. Je vous ay aussi un extreme obligation de ce que vous avez bien voulu prendre la peine de parler au Roy sur le subjet du Lieut. Col. Babington; et suis extremement marri que sa Majeste a une si mechante impression de luy, puisque je le crois fort innocent, et qu'il faut necessairement que l'on aye fait des faux raports. J'espere que sa Majeste aura la bonté de l'ecouter en sa justification, et je vous prie de le proteger aux occasions qui se pourroient presenter. Je vous prie aussi, quandt il y aura quelque chose que vous croirez que je puisse faire, qui serait agreable au Roy, d'avoir la bonté de m'en advertir; puisque je ne desire rien plus que d'estre entierement bien en son esprit, et de faire tout ce qui pourroit affirmer son amitie, qu'il ma fait l'honneur de me rendre. Vous savez assez mon humeur, que je n'aime point a faire les choses a demi, mais de demeurer ferme en la resolution que j'ay pris; et cela avec toutte la sincerité imaginable, comme je serai aussi toutte ma vie entierement a vous.* G.

From the Prince of Orange, April 10, 1685.

* TRANSLATION.

I cannot sufficiently express to you my gratitude for all the kindness you have expressed for me to M. d'Ouwerkerk, and for the openness with which you have spoken to him. You know that there is nothing I love more, and that my disposition also is by no means to disguise my sentiments. I am also extremely obliged to you for that you have been good enough to take the trouble to speak to the King on the subject of Lieut. Col. Babington; and am extremely grieved that His Majesty has such an unfavourable impression against him, because I firmly believe him innocent, and that false reports must necessarily have been raised about him. I hope that his Majesty will have the goodness to hear him in his own justification, and I entreat you to afford him your protection in such opportunities as may offer. I request you also, when there may be any thing that you think I can do, which will be agreeable to the King, to inform me of it; since I desire nothing more than to be entirely in his good opinion, and to do all that I can to strengthen the friendship to which he has done me the honour to restore me. You know well enough my disposition, that I do not love to do things by halves, but to stand firm in the resolution I have taken; and this, with all imaginable sincerity, as I shall be all my life, entirely yours.

XC.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanking him for the present of a fine horse.

A la Haye, ce 13 d'Avril, 1685.

Je vous puis asseurer qui j'ay receu avec une extreme satisfaction les marques de vostre souvenir, par le present qui vous m'avez fait d'un tres beau cheval, qui est arrivé icy il y a deux jours en bon estat. Je le trouve fort a mon gré, et ne doute pas qu'il ne reucira bien, et que je n'en tire de bons services. Je vous en suis tres obligé, et souhaiterois d'avoir des occasions a vous temoigner combien je suis entierement a vous.*

G.

From the Prince of Orange, 13th April, 1685.

XCI.

LORD ROCHESTER TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

(From Dalrymple's Memoirs.)

Advising him to remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland.

I give your Highness my most humble thanks for the favourable expressions you are pleased to use towards me in two letters, of the 10th and 13th instant, that your Highness hath lately honoured me with; and since you are pleased to encourage me in the freedom with which I spoke to M. d'Ouwerkerk and writ to your Highness, I think it agreeable to your mind as well as to your service that I should continue it; and therefore I beg leave to say this to you, as a thing that I cannot but think the King would take well,

* TRANSLATION.

I can assure you that I have received with extreme satisfaction the marks of your remembrance, by the present that you have made me of a very fine horse, which arrived here in good condition two days since. I find him very much to my liking, and doubt not that he will prove a good one, and that I shall use him constantly. I am very much obliged to you, and shall wish to have opportunities of showing how much I am entirely yours.

though I have not his orders to say so much; and it is in relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who is said to be always very near the Hague, if not in it. Upon which I would offer you this, in short, that as it cannot be for your Highness's service that it should be imagined he is there with your privity, so it may be presumed that, considering the authority your Highness hath, and the good intelligence you cannot be supposed to want, that he can be there and your Highness not know it. I hope your Highness will not be offended with me for stating the matter in this manner, which I may do the better, because I do not suspect that your Highness is privy to his being there; but then methinks your Highness might let every body see, that if you knew he were so near you it would be very disagreeable to you; the consequence of which would be, that he could not stay long there. I do not believe the King hath the intention of driving him from country to country, and to make all places uneasy to him; but on the other hand it is not at all necessary, nor in truth decent, considering the circumstance he hath put himself in, that he should be hovering just over against England, as it were always in a readiness to transport himself. Your Highness may be pleased to make the best use you think fit of this humble advice that I presume to offer you; it is only for yourself I mention it, and I am the rather induced to it by your own commands to me, to advertise your Highness of any thing that I think you might do that would be agreeable to the King, and by an expression in your own letter to me, that you do not love to do things by halves: and so I leave it to your Highness's judgment, with all the submission that I owe.

Whitehall, April the 14th, 1685.

XCII.

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complimentary upon his advancement.

MY NOBLE GOOD LORD,

I hope my brother Ely hath been so much my friend as to present your Lordship my humble respects, and to beg your leave that I might suspend my solemn congratulation of your new honour and advancement, until the

* Dr. John Dolben, translated from Rochester in 1683.

throng of formal addresses, wherewith I am sure your Lordship hath been pressed in your proportion as well as the King, were over. Indeed, my good Lord, my bluntness would not have suited well with the crowd of mere complimental addressers, and somewhat else that is in me, worse yet, with another sort of men. I can say no fine things; I will say no false ones. My obligations to your Lordship are true and real; my respects and good wishes are so too; and my services should be such likewise, were it in my power to make them answer my affections and your favours. However, I will endeavour to serve your Lordship in my way, praying earnestly to God that he will guide and support you in your high station, making your service eminently useful to the King and beneficial to your country, that all men may applaud the wisdom and bless the happiness of his Majesty's choice.

I have written to Sir L. Jenkyns, to make my humble excuse to his Majesty for not attending at the coronation; it is a long story, and therefore I would not trouble your Lordship with it; your time is precious, and ought to be better spent. If that come to your Lordship I beg your pardon for it, and humbly kiss your hands, remaining

My most noble Lord,
Your Lordship's most obliged
and most obedient servant,
JOHN EBOR.

March 28, 1685.
" To the Earl of Rochester,
Lord High Treasurer," &c.

XCIII.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Assuring him that he does not know that the Duke of Monmouth is in Holland.

A Dieren, ce 30e d'Avril, 1685.

Je vous suis tres obligé de la franchise avec laquelle vous me faites savoir vos sentiments, en quoy je vous prie de continuer. Je vous puis asseurer, en homme d'honneur que je n'ay point sceus n'y ne scait jusques a present, si le Duc de Monmouth est en Hollande.* Il est bien vrai que l'on a dit qu'il rodoit

* If there is to be any faith reposed in the honour of a prince, this letter ought to be a complete answer to all suspicions, " that the Prince of Orange encouraged, underhand, the expedition of the

entre Rotterdam et Amsterdam, et mesme qu'il avoit esté a la Haye; mais quoy que j'ay fait ce que j'ay peu pour en estre informe au vrai, je ne l'ay peu savoir: et ainsi, bien moins trouvé un moien pour luy faire dire de s'eloigner d'Hollande, qui estoit asseurement mon intension, sachant qu'il n'estoit pas bien qu'il fut en un lieu si pres ou j'estoit, et si je le puis encore decouvrir j'executerai mon premier dessin. Et vous prie d'estre asseuré que je suis tousjours entierement a vous.* G.

From the Prince of Orange, April 30th, 1685.

XCIV.

WILLIAM BENTINCK TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Announcing the intended descent of the Rebels upon Scotland, and in the West of England.

MONSIEUR, Honslaerdyck, ce 25 de May, 1685.

Vous verrez par ce que son Altesse vous mande par cet ordinaire, ce que l'on a peu decouvrir; pour beaucoup de particuliaritez l'on n'en a peu estre instruit, parceque ces gens sont trop precautionnant pour se decouvrir. Comme vous pouvez juger, Monsieur, parce qu'ils ont peu faire apprester trois vaissaux, et charger tant d'armes et d'amunnitions de guerre, sans que l'on n'ait rien

Duke of Monmouth, with the design to ruin him." And coupled with Monmouth's own declaration, that he had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange, he would attempt nothing against James, ought to be conclusive on this head. King James's Memoirs, however, make the following unsupported assertion: "The Prince of Orange himself, though he had countenanced the Duke of Monmouth underhand, and had promised to send some supply of arms, &c. after him; instead of that, offered his service to the King, not out of good-will to him, but to keep the sweet morsel for himself, proffering to come in person, and bring a body of troops along with him, to His Majesty's assistance, if he pleased to permit it," &c.—vol. ii. p. 24.

* TRANSLATION.

I am much obliged to you for the frankness with which you let me know your opinion, in which course I beg you will continue. I can assure you, on the word of a man of honour, that I have not known, nor know to this moment, whether the Duke of Monmouth is in Holland. It is true, that it has been said that he was wandering between Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and even that he had been at the Hague; but although I have done what I could to be informed of the truth, I have not been able to ascertain it, and thus, much less to find means to have him told to leave Holland, which was certainly my intention, knowing that it was not right for him to be in a place so near to where I was, and if I can yet discover him I will execute my first design. I beg you to be assured that I am always entirely yours.

peu decouvrir. J'aÿ informé Mons. de Skelton de ce que j'eu aÿ peu apprendre, et je continueraÿ, puisque la voye par laquelle je sait ce que j'en ay appris, est fort sure. A moins que ces gens ne se trompent en se flattant dans leurs mechants desseins, ils doivent avoir nouvelle par le premier ordinaire d'un commencement de souslevement en Escosse, qui sera suivi d'un autre dans le West d'Angleterre. Dieu veuille confondre leurs desseins! Je vous supplie de me croire tousjours,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

G. BENTINCK.*

XCV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Enclosing a Memoir in Dutch, concerning certain Scotch and English Refugees.

A Honslaerdyck, ce 25 de May, 1685.

J'ay bien receu aujourdhuy la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'escrire par M. Villiers. Je ne scai pourquoy vous faites des excuses de ce que vous me recommendez un officier; vous me faisiez tort si vous n'estiez persuadé de la consideration que j'aurez tousjours pour tous ceux auquels vous vous interesse: ainsi je vous prie de ne pas estre si scrupuleux a l'avenir. Depuis mon retour icy, j'ay fait mon affaire de m'informer le mieux que j'ay peu des desseins, dont on parloit, que des coquins de refugies d'Ecosse et d'Anglois avoient, et ce que j'eu ay peu apprendre de plus certain est marqué

* TRANSLATION.

SIR,

You will see by that which His Highness writes to you by this Ordinary, that which we have been able to discover; for of many particularities we have not been able to obtain information, because these people are too wary to discover themselves. As you may judge, Sir, since they have been able to cause three vessels of burthen to be prepared and laden with so large a quantity of arms and ammunition, without its being discovered. I have informed M. Skelton of what I have been able to learn, and shall continue to do so, as the means by which I obtain my information is to be relied on. Unless these people are deceived by flattering themselves in their wicked designs, they should have news by the first ordinary of the commencement of a rising in Scotland, which is to be followed by one in the West of England. God be pleased to confound their designs! I beg you to believe me, ever,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

W. BENTINCK.

dans le Memoire que va icy joint; que je vous prie de communiquer au Roy. J'en ay escrit a sa Majeste. Je croi qu'elle peut faire quelque fond sur ces informations, puisqu'ils ne sont pas comme beaucoup d'autres qui sont pris a la volée. Elles s'accordent aussi en quelque maniere a ceux qui ont este donne a Mr. Schelton. Je continuerez d'en prendre le plus exactement que je pouvez, affin que cela puisse servir au Roy a mieux prendre ses mesures. Je souhaiterois en cecy, comme en tout autre occasion, estre utile a son service. Il faut que je vous advoue que je n'aurois jamais cru le Duc de Monmouth capable d'une telle action, apres les asseurances qu'il m'a fait au contraire quandt il prit congé de moy.* Je croi qu'il n'est plus dans le Paiis; au moins, toutte les peines que j'ay pris pour le savoir, je n'en ay peu venir a bout. Je suis tousjours entierement a vous.† G.

Je n'ay peu faire, faute de temps, translater ce Memoire en François, mais pour vous il n'est pas necessaire, sachant que vous savez lire le Hollandois.

(Indorsed.)
" The Prince of Orange. May 25, 1685."

* This affirms, beyond the possibility of doubt, what is said in the Duke of Monmouth's appeal, (in his letter to James after the battle of Sedgemoor,) mentioned in a future note, " The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witness for me, of the assurance I gave them that I would never stir against you." Who, after this, will believe that the Prince of Orange was privy to his design?

† TRANSLATION.

I have received to-day the letter you took the trouble to write me by M. Villiers. I know not why you make apologies for having recommended an officer to me; you do me wrong if you are not assured of the consideration that I shall ever have for all those about whom you interest yourself, therefore I beg you will not be so scrupulous in time to come. Since my return hither, I have made it my business to inform myself, as well as I could, of the designs which were mentioned, that those rogues of Scotch and English refugees entertain, and what I have been able to learn with most certainty is set down in the Memoir which accompanies this; and which I beg you will communicate to the King. I have also written to his Majesty: I believe he may make some reliance on these informations, inasmuch as they are not, like many others, taken at random; they agree also in some degree, with those which were given to Mr. Skelton. I shall continue to make use of them as much as I can, in order that it may enable the King the better to take measures of precaution. I could wish in this, as on all other occasions, to be useful in his service. I must confess to you that I never should have believed the Duke of Monmouth capable of such an action, after the assurances he made to me of the contrary when he took leave of me. I believe he is no longer in this country, at least, after all the pains that I have taken to ascertain it, I have been unable to discover that he is. I am always entirely yours.

I have been unable to get the Memoir translated into French, for want of time, but for you it is not necessary, knowing that you can read Dutch.

XCVI.

PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Has proposed to the States the sending of three Scotch Regiments.

Honslaerdyck, ce 9 de Juin, 1685.

Je n'ay pas plustost receu les ordres du Roy que je n'ay propose aux Estats de m'autoriser d'envoyer les trois regiments Ecossois* que sa Majeste souhaitoit, ce qu'ils ont resolu aujourdhuy. Cela ne s'est peu faire, plus tost a cause de la forme de nostre gouvernement, et de quelque opposition qui s'y est rancontre, dont Mr. de Bentinck vous en mandera les particuliarites; ayant eu aujourdhuy tant d'affaires qu'il ne me reste qui le temps de vous assurer que je suis tousjours entierement a vous, G.

J'ay fait escrire au Lieut. Col. Babbington de n'estre pas faux par ces formalites, et ayez la bonté de continuer a estre de ses amis.†

"The Prince of Orange, June 9th, 1685."

* In a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated June 2, (*Dalrymple Appendix*, 126,) the King says, "Last night I had yours of the 5th, by which I see you had received mine, in which I desired you to lend me the three Scots regiments to be sent to Scotland, and was next day to propose it to the States, which I hope, by the next, to hear they have agreed to; for though I have reason to believe that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet such a body of old good men as those three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take it very kindly of you, what you offer concerning yourself; but besides that you cannot be spared from where you are, this rebellion of Argyle's is not considerable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourself."

† TRANSLATION.

I had no sooner received the King's commands, than I proposed to the States to authorise me to send the three Scotch regiments that his Majesty desired, to which they have consented this day. It could not be sooner done, on account of the form of our Government, and some opposition which it encountered, of which M. de Bentinck will write you the particulars; having had to-day so much business that I have only time left to assure you that I am always entirely yours.

I have caused Lieut. Col. Babington to be written to, desiring him not to be insincere through these formalities, and be good enough to continue to be his friend.

XCVII.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Professions of Loyalty, and Offers of Service to the King.

MY LORD, Leicester Fields, June 18, 1685.

Besides my trouble, frequently by a fit of gravel and strangury, ever since I came from home, I have been kept in bed all yesterday by a pain in my knee; but my wife just now telling me that Mrs. Watts, Coll. Werden's daughter, acquainting her one has informed the King upon oath, there was a rising designed last night in London, I take the boldness to beg your Lordship to send me word if there be now, or at any time, any extraordinary occasion where it may befit me to attend his Majesty, or wherein I can perform any part of the duty I owe as a faithful subject; which I will be carried to do, or be ready to creep to upon my hands and my feet. God grant no one of either Houses do ever less than they have engaged, to serve the King with their lives and fortunes, against this traitor the Duke of Monmouth, and all others. By the grace of God I am here, I will make good that duty and promise, though I had as much to venture as all together; and I humbly beseech your Lordship to be so far my friend, as on my behalf to let his Majesty be fully assured of this truth, and that no trouble or danger shall in the least deter me from serving him to the utmost of my poor power, and that my ends or ambitions never were, or will be, other than lawful ones; and principally to render his sacred Majesty all the services possible for me. I scribble this in bed, and beg your pardon for the trouble from

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
And faithful Servant,
STRAFFORD.

Past three this afternoon I had a summons from the Chancellor to attend the King at a Chapter to-day, and am but now told he cannot make my excuse, being out of town; your Lordship would do me a great favour to say it. I am better since I began to write this letter, and the time of year gives me hopes the gout will not last long, that I may be able to wait of his Majesty to-morrow.

* William Wentworth, second Earl. He died in 1695.

XCVIII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sends Mr. Bentinck to explain his sentiments to the King.

A Honslaerdyck, ce 3e de Juillet, 1685.

* J'ay cru que dans cette rancontre je ne pouvois mieux faire expliquer au Roy mes sentiments qu'en luy envoyant Mons. de Bentinck, qui en est entierement instruit. J'espere que vous aurez la bonté de l'assister, tant par vostre credit que par vos bons conseils; il a ordre de les suivre entierement, me fiant absolument sur vostre amitié. La mienne vous est toutte devoué, dont ce porteur vous asseurera plus particulierement, et que je serez tousjours entierement a vous.

G.

"Prince of Orange, 3d July, 1685."

XCIX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complimentary on his becoming a Knight of the Garter.

A Honslaerdyck, ce 14e, de Juillet, 1685.

† Comme j'ay appris que vous estes entré en nostre Ordre, j'ay voulu vous en temoigné ma joye. Vous asseurement que le Roy n'auroit peu choisi personne qui m'auroit esté plus agreable d'estre en la mesme societé qu'avec vous, où j'espere que nous continuerons long temps ensemble; et que nous vivrons ensemble pas seulement comme des bons Chevaliers d'un mesme Ordre‡ le doivent, mais sur tout comme des parfaits amis qui ne changeront jamais. De mon costé vous en pouvez estre asseuré.

G.

* TRANSLATION.

I have thought that in this juncture I could not better explain my sentiments to the King, than by sending M. de Bentinck to him, who is completely instructed. I hope that you will have the goodness to assist him, as well with your influence as with your good advice; he has orders to follow it wholly, relying entirely on your friendship for me. Mine is entirely devoted to you, of which this bearer will assure you more particularly, and that I shall be ever entirely yours.

† TRANSLATION.

As I have learned that you have entered into our Order, I am desirous of testifying my delight to you. The King certainly could not have made choice of a person, whom it would have been more agreeable to me to be in the same society with than yourself, where I hope that we shall continue a long time together; and that we shall live together not only like good knights of the same Order ought to do, but moreover, like perfect friends who will never change. On my part you may be assured of it.

‡ Lord Rochester had just been made a Knight of the Order of the Garter. The circumstance is

C.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Apology for having sent up an express with intelligence of the Rebels.

Bristol, June the 18th, 1685.

No fresh alarm coming this day out of Somersetshire, I begin to repent the postscript I writ to you by last post, and the sending up the man I did to you; but he just coming in to justify from his own knowledge what I had from the Lieutenant of the County and two captains of that militia, whereof the Mayor of Bridgewater was one, and the High Sheriff of that county showing his belief of it by flying hither, not having time left me to consider enough, I did what I did, and I hope his Majesty and you will pardon it, [since hardly] any man alive would have doubted after so many concurring testimonies; however, I assure you now it does not a little disquiet

Your most faithful humble servant,

B. (BEAUFORT.)

"For the Right Hon. the Lord Privy Seal,
at the Cockpit."

CI

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Alarm excited by the Rebels at Bristol has considerably abated.

Bristol, June 19th, 1685.

HAVING troubled you with the most unpleasant account we had here of things, it is reasonable I should tell you that their face is much mended. The truth is, those news, so confirmed as I told you in my last, had put this place (do what I could) into some consternation; but no new alarms coming, and not hearing of the enemy's making any great haste towards us,

thus noticed in the Memoirs of King James:—"His Majesty conferred the honour of the Garter upon the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Peterborough and Rochester; the two latter had served the King in their different stations with much affection and fidelity; and the former, though he could not pretend to it for any particular merit, yet the King thought it not reasonable that the first Duke of England should want the badge of the first or chiefest honour in the kingdom." vol. ii. p. 42.

* Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, who made himself particularly active in repressing the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. He was at this time Lord Lieutenant of the county and city of Bristol. He subsequently made a fruitless attempt to secure Bristol against the adherents of the Prince of Orange in 1688, and refused to take the oaths at his accession; he lived in retirement until his death in 1699.

and the cheerfulness of the militia I have drawn in here (which they see to be of another complexion than that of theirs in Somersetshire, and being better disciplined, and more soldier-like than militias usually are,) has put new life into this place, as the King's troops being now come down, will, I hope, a short one to this rebellion. I give you many thanks for the account you are pleased to give me of things above, and am mightily glad (though I expected no less), that the Parliament continues so dutifully zealous for whatever concerns the King; though I, in this new tax, as this city in general in that of tobacco, shall be great losers. Methinks they being in this temper, if, upon the occasion of the Somersetshire militia running away, and the consequence of such a thing, the power of martial law, over both army and militia, were moved for, it might be obtained, together with other necessary things of that nature. I wish there was care taken to send off those proclamations and acts of attainder, into all parishes, to be read by the ministers, as well as proclaimed in the towns, for it is not to be imagined how much the people are industriously persuaded there is no such thing, nor the Parliament so concerned for the King, and against this chief rebel. This being the only quarter of an hour's leisure since I came to this town, I am making use of it to tire you before I am aware, which would be an ill return for your obliging me so much by your's, which I beg the continuance of, who am most faithfully Your's,

B.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Privy Seal,
at the Cockpit."

CII.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Proposal of the University to raise Volunteers.

MY LORD,

I having waited upon my Lord Abingdon, and discoursed of the ill provision which would be left for the defence of this place when the militia of the county is drawn away, and mentioned a proposal which I had communicated by letter, concerning the University's raising several volunteer companies for his Majesty's service and the defence of this place; his Lordship told me that the thing had been proposed to his Majesty, and had his approbation. We then went on to discourse of the commissions which

* Dr. John Fell, elected to this See in 1675, from the Deanery of Christchurch.

would be necessary for the authorising persons in this service; and I offered that my Lord Noreyes, who is a student in this place, might be commissioned, with such others of our body as my Lord Abingdon should approve; for this would be most acceptable to the University, and avoid the jealousy which otherwise would be occasioned, if the Lord Lieutenant, by his ordinary power, should put the University in arms, from which they are exempt by their charters: and accordingly, in the time of the late rebellion, the University had their commissions immediately from the King. It is not thought but that the University militia should be under the command of the Lord Lieutenant, or such other superior officers as his Majesty pleases to appoint: but it being of great moment to his Majesty's services, that all shadows of jealousy be removed, I hope they may be gratified in this particular; and I beg your Lordship's pardon for the trouble of this long narrative, which was necessary to give due information of our affair. I have further to express my humble desire, that your Lordship would please to discourse with our Chancellor the Duke of Ormond, that if this proposal appear to be for his Majesty's service, it may be expedited; which I humbly guess in this strait of time will best be done by blank commissions, sent down to the Lord Lieutenant's hands. But of this your Lordship will best judge. I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

June 20th, 1685. Jo. Oxon̄.

" To the Right Hon. the Earle of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal, these humbly present."

CIII.

THE EARL OF ABINGDON* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Alarm of the Country at the success of the Rebels.—Preparations to repel them.

MY LORD, Oxon, 20th June, 1685.

My letter at my coming out of town hath, I hope, prepared you to expect this farther trouble, which I hope you will pardon, since I cannot, without your Lordship's assistance, expect such speedy dispatches as I think are absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service. I find the country much alarmed with false reports of the rebels' success, which they say were con-

* James Bertie, first Earl of Abingdon. He was Lord Lieutenant of the County of Oxford from 1674 to 1687; and was again nominated by King William at his accession, though he was in opposition to the Court.

firmed by a servant of my Lord Litchfield's,* who came down for his horses to meet him at Salisbury; however, I am using all diligence to get my militia together to march, and hope to have them all ready by Monday morning: my horse being ready to have marched to-day, but my orders being to march all, I thought it best to march them all together; and if I do not that so soon as was expected, I hope the blame will not be laid on me, since my orders were sent hither when I was in town, which put me almost two days backwards. I am more confirmed since my coming hither, in what I hinted to your Lordship, of the inconvenience of leaving this place without a guard; and therefore wish his Majesty would be pleased to hasten his orders for raising volunteers, together with arms and ammunition for them, neither of which are to be had here for money. And if his Majesty continues his resolution of my brother's raising a troop, it would be well his commission were hastened, because it will be every day more difficult to raise men, unless his Majesty would allow them money to buy horses; but I am sure my brother will do all he can, if his commission comes in any time.

I have written to my Lord Sunderland; but must depend on your Lordship's assistance that I may, by this bearer, whom I have sent on purpose, receive such further orders as his Majesty shall be pleased to send me, and as his Lordship shall have an account, as soon as I march towards Reading: so, in the mean time, you may be pleased to direct your commands hither, for

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

Faithful, and most humble Servant,

ABINGDON.

I cannot but observe to your Lordship, how ill it looks that his Majesty's enemies can give such exact accounts of the rebels, when we, who are his servants, can speak nothing certain. I therefore desire, if your Lordship thinks fit, that you will be pleased to send me some account thereof that I may show about. Since I writ this, the Vice-Chancellor and Bishop have been with me, and propose to raise two troops of horse, and six companies of foot; only they desire they may be under my son's command, by an especial commission from the King, to distinguish them from the militia, being jealous of I know not what punctilio of privilege, which I am afraid may spoil the whole design. I told them, whatever they did, I should not stand on any

* Sir Edward Henry Lee, Bart., created Earl of Litchfield, June 5, 1674, and died in 1716.

thing to the prejudice of his Majesty's service; but whatever your Lordship, upon discourse with the Duke of Ormond, should think most for that, I should be content with.

CIV.

LORD ABINGDON TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Proceedings in raising Militia and Volunteers.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Oxon, June 21st, 1685.

As soon as I received his Majesty's orders, my brother drew out the militia horse, and about four o'clock marched towards Reading, where he intends to be to-morrow morning. The soldiers went out with great cheerfulness, and will, I doubt not, behave themselves well, being as well accoutred as was possible in so short a time. Neither his, nor my brother Richard's commissions are yet come, but as soon as they do, I will use all diligence to get up their troops, having declared that all my own tenants shall have their copyholds and leases renewed gratis, if they miscarry in this service; and if his Majesty would give them leave to name their inferior officers, it would be, I am sure, a great furtherance of his service; but this I will press no farther than your Lordship thinks fit. I did intend to have marched with the foot to-morrow, but shall now keep them, and stay myself till this place is better secured, which I will endeavour as soon as the arms and commissions come down, and doubt not but there will be volunteers enough in this place; but as it was a great satisfaction to me to think I should be by my brothers in this action, so I hope as soon as this place is secured, I shall have leave to show myself, with the rest of my family, where there is some action. I am sensible of your Lordship's favour in getting my despatches this busy time, and beg you will continue that to me. I am now sending out warrants to seize Hord, Blake, and Bard, and will take up also what lesser men I can find out, there being not one Nonconformist minister that I know of in the county, and very few old officers. My brother Richard is very sensible of his Majesty's favour, and will serve him faithfully, either with or without a commission. I will trouble your Lordship with no more, but my most hearty thanks for all your favours, and more especially these last, to, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, humble,
And most faithful Servant,
ABINGDON.

I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that Mr. Bray was the second gentleman in the county, who offered his service to go a volunteer with me; which I take so kindly, that if your Lordship thinks fit, and he behaves himself well, I will hereafter give him some command in the militia, wherein his father was Lieutenant-Colonel.

CV.

THE EARL OF ABINGDON TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Proceedings in raising Militia and Volunteers.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP, Oxon, 25th June.

This acknowledges the favour of two of your Lordship's; and that his Majesty should be pleased to express so much satisfaction in those small services I have yet been capable of doing him, I must believe proceeds from the very good offices of so noble a friend as your Lordship. All I can say is, that his Majesty shall never be deceived by any of the good characters you have given of me, and it shall be the study of my whole life to deserve those many favours wherewith you have so generously obliged me. I doubt not but my brother reached my Lord Feversham before he reached Bristol, and am only sorry I cannot be with him to have a share in that action. The University are very busy in enlisting their volunteers, whereof I presume the Bishop gives your Lordship an account, and my militia regiment is in very good order; and I will now endeavour to raise my brother's troops with all possible speed, for the dispatch of whose commissions I humbly thank your Lordship, and hope you will continue your favour to get their inferior officers' commissions dispatched, which I gave your Lordship an account of, and who, I presume, are approved of, since I hear their names are entered at the Secretary's Office. I am endeavouring, as fast as I can, to pick up the worst men about the country; but cannot yet meet with one Nonconformist parson, having taken some pains heretofore to ferret them out. I would have had bonfires for the overthrow of Argyle, but for fear of any disorder amongst the soldiers and scholars; however, I did, with all speed, disperse it about the country, who are generally very well pleased with it. I will not stir out of this place, nor rest, till it is put in a state of security against any emergencies; and as I hope that will quickly be so, if

there be any opportunity of farther action, I hope I shall, by your Lordship's favour, have his Majesty's leave to attend it, who am,

My very good Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

Faithful, and most humble Servant,

ABINGDON.

CVI.

THE EARL OF ABINGDON TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The same Subject.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Oxon, June 26.

I am willing to trouble your Lordship every post, though I have not much to say at this time, more than that all things here are very quiet. I have now given out the commissions for raising the University Volunteers, and the Captains are very forward in listing their men; there being, as I am told, above 120 listed in my son's company. There will be but one troop of horse raised at present, which I am to be Captain of, and they have taken an account already of about eighty that will serve in it, and believe they shall make them an 100; so that if the arms and commissions for inferior officers be hastened down, these forces will quickly be in readiness. Mr. Mayor, last night, invited me and my officers to meet him at Carfax, where we went to church to give thanks for the success of his Majesty's forces against Argyle, and afterwards had a bonfire, and his Majesty's health, &c. with great acclamations of the people, who were in hopes that news had been come of the defeat of Monmouth. And this morning Mr. Mayor and his brethren came to me, and told me that at a council, this morning, they had resolved to raise two volunteer companies in the City for his Majesty's service, if he pleases; which I desire your Lordship will acquaint his Majesty with, and if he pleases to order me to give them commissions, I will do it accordingly, who am

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, faithful,

And most humble Servant,

ABINGDON.

CVII.

THE EARL OF ABINGDON TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The same Subject continued.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Oxon, June 27.

I heartily thank your Lordship for the favour of your last, and should be very glad to hear of some engagement, it being matter of wonder to all persons that the rebels should march about without any attack, when the King hath so considerable forces on every side of them. I sent Dr. Ailworth,* with a party of the University, this morning to Windsor, to fetch their arms, and will use all diligence to form and discipline these forces, if your Lordship will be pleased to hasten the commissions for inferior officers. And if his Majesty will give me order to raise a company or two in the City, they will provide themselves arms, as soon as there are commissions to list them, which they shall not want long after I have orders. I am endeavouring to raise my brother's troops, wherein I find many difficulties, as I expected; not only by reason of his absence, and that the briskest men and the best horses are gone with him, but also so great rates have been given, both by militia men and others who have raised to go on present service, that men stand upon terms, and most who come in yet are unable or unwilling to buy horses, which are also very scarce: but I will do all possible, and buy horses myself rather than his Majesty's service shall suffer in my brother's absence; only I desire your Lordship will be pleased to get at least the Lieutenants commissions despatched, that I may have some officers to assist me who have so much other business. The Bishop was with me just now, to desire I would endeavour to get their commissions for inferior officers expedited; and I told him I would write to your Lordship, who I know will give them all possible assistance. I know not whether they may stop for want of fees; and though it would be hard those should be expected from volunteers, yet I find they will rather give something than have them longer delayed. I have no more but to desire your Lordship's pardon, for this and all other troubles that are given you by

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, faithful,

And most humble Servant,

ABINGDON.

* Henry Aylworth, of New College, D. C. L., and Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxford.

CVIII.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD [FELL] TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.*

Concerning Arms and Commissions for the Volunteers of the University.

MY LORD, June 27, [1685.]

Having received notice that an order was granted for the delivery of arms, according to his Majesty's appointment, out of the stores at Windsor, for the volunteer forces raised in this place, we have sent a party of forty horse to conduct them hither, where, I suppose, they will be brought by to-morrow. It will now be desirable that the commissions for the inferior officers were sent down, that every thing might be settled while my Lord Abingdon is with us, who is very impatient of being detained from action. Because I guess that in this busy time, nothing will go forward unless it be solicited, I have desired Mr. Evans, my Lord of St. Asaph's secretary, to attend your Lordship, and pursue such instructions as you shall please to give him. I beg your Lordship's excuse for this repeated trouble, and remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most humble and devoted Servant,
Jo. OXFORD.

"To the Right Hon. the Earle of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal, These humbly present."

CIX.

THE EARL OF ABI[illegible]ON TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Further proceedings in raising troops.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Oxon, June 29, 1685.

I thank your Lordship for the last good news, and long to hear of some farther engagement; for my last, from my brother at Chippenham, told me

* It appears that this letter to the Earl of Clarendon was conveyed to him through Dr. Lloyd, (Bishop of St. Asaph,) for he writes a letter to Dr. Fell, dated July 16, 1685, (containing an account of the execution of the Duke of Monmouth,) in which he says, "I received your Lordship's letter by last post, with two enclosed, one to the Duke of Ormond, the other to the Lord Privy-Seal; both which letters I delivered to their own hands, and they promised to answer them."

he had been on duty two nights, and expected that day to fight his way to Bristol; his intelligence being that the rebels were not only in his way, but near him. I am now delivering out the six hundred University arms, and give an hundred to every Captain, though I believe we shall raise eight hundred or a thousand if we can get more arms; but here is one mischief I did not foresee, they have sent us match-locks and no match; so that, till we can get that from London, (and whether we can get any there, unless out of the King's stores, I know not,) those arms will be useless: but the University tell me they will send to their agent, and I will write to my brother Charles to help him to get it, wherein I hope your Lordship will be pleased to assist him. And I must again desire your Lordship to get the commissions expedited for inferior officers, many of them scrupling to act without them; and I intend to-morrow to draw out both horse and foot, and exercise every day till they are ready for service. I mustered about thirty in my brother Harry's troop to-day, and hope to muster as many for my brother Richard to-morrow or Wednesday, but am fain to buy horses for most of them; for what with the horse that are gone with my brother, and those that are now listed for the University volunteers, they are scarcer than your Lordship can imagine. However, I hope in a little time to complete the troops, and will spare no pains to get these forces in readiness. I told your Lordship Messrs. Hord and Bard had sent for Habeas Corpus, which I hear is now coming; and I desire your Lordship will know his Majesty's pleasure what the gaoler shall do therein. I have sent your Lordship a list of prisoners that were brought in yesterday from Northampton, which have filled our gaol very full; and yet I have more to send for out of this county, as fast as I can get horse to fetch them in, my own being harassed with constant duty. I am at present in a crowd of business and people, and hope your Lordshi will be pleased to pardon all faults in this hurry.

My very good Lord,
Your Lordship's most obliged, faithful, and
Most humble Servant,
ABINGDON.

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal, at Whitehall."

CX.

LORD CHURCHILL* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Account of the Rebels. Complaining of being subject to Lord Feversham.—The trouble will be his, the honour another's.

MY LORD, Gomerton, Jully 4th, 1685.

I have recived your Lordshipes kind letter, and doe ashure you, that you waire very Just to me in the opinion you had of me, for nobody living can have bene more obsarvant then I have bene to my Lord feaversham, ever since I have bene with him, in soe much that he did tell me that he would writt to the King to lett him know how diligent I was, and I should be glade if you could know whether he has done me that Justice. I find by the enimes warant to the constables, that thay have more mind to gett horses and sadells, then anny thing else, which lookes as if he had a mind to break away with his horse to som other place, and leave his foot intrenched att Bridgwater, but of this and all other things you will have itt more att large from my Lord feaversham, who has the sole comand here, soe that I know nothing but what is his pleasure to tell me, soe that I am afraid of giving my opinion freely, for feare that itt should not agree with what is the King's intentions, and soe only exspose myselfe; but as to the taking caire of the men and all other things that is my duty, I am shure nobody can be more carefull then I am; and as for my obedience, I am sure Mr. Oglethorp is not more dutyfull then I am; when you are att leasure, ten lins from you will be a greatt pleasure to me, who have not many things to please me here, for I see plainly that the troble is mine, and that the honor will be anothers: however my life shall be freely exposed for the Kings service.

I am, with all truth,
My Lord,
Your Lordshipes humble Servant,
CHURCHILL.

* This is altogether an extraordinary letter of Lord Churchill's; it manifests a spirit not born to obey, but to command; and impatient of following where he felt that he ought to lead. It was this spirit and his military genius, which made him what he ultimately became, THE FIRST CAPTAIN OF HIS AGE. The orthography of the original has been preserved as a curiosity. It was not to literary acquirement that the master-spirit of the great Marlborough was to owe his never-dying fame.

CXI.

DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Requesting his intercession with the King for an interview, and for pardon.

[When Monmouth fled from the fight at Sedgemoor, on the 5th of July, stimulated as it is supposed by Lord Grey, he first rode with his suite towards the Bristol Channel, and was once inclined to embark for Wales, with the view of concealing himself for a time there. This plan was overruled by Lord Grey, and the party separated, Monmouth, Grey, and Count Horn, a gentleman of Brandenburg, taking their course southward: Lord Grey having connexions in the New Forest, it was hoped they might lie hid there until they could find means to escape to the Continent. Leaving their horses, they disguised themselves as peasants, but were so closely pursued, that after suffering much from fatigue and all kinds of privation, Grey was taken on the evening of the 7th, the Brandenburgher early the next morning, and Monmouth soon after. He was found concealed in a ditch near Ringwood, in Dorsetshire; some green peas were found in his pocket, upon which he had supported life, for there was reason to suppose he had little, if any, other sustenance; and not having slept for three nights, he was in a state of complete exhaustion. The same day he addressed a letter to the King, earnestly requesting to be admitted to speak to him, assuring him that he had something of importance to communicate, which could only be imparted to himself. The next day he addressed the following letter to Lord Rochester, and another to the Queen Dowager. Various conjectures have been formed as to the nature of the important communication he promised; and it is asserted in the Memoirs of King James, that it related to the correspondence which Sunderland held with the Prince of Orange, and that Monmouth himself had been encouraged to his fatal enterprise by that intriguing minister. The supposition that it related to the Prince of Orange, has been satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Fox, whose opinion is confirmed by the passage pointed out in a letter of that prince now first printed (p. 127 ante,) wherein he says, "I never should have believed the Duke of Monmouth capable of such an action, after the assurances he made to me of the contrary, when he took leave of me." James consented to see the unfortunate Prince, which, as he himself confesses, "he should not have done unless he had been disposed to pardon him." But he was moved by curiosity, expecting to hear more respecting Sunderland, of whom his suspicion had been awakened. At the interview, Monmouth endeavoured to move James by humble supplication, but it does not appear that any communication was made; the disappointed King is said to have loaded him with reproaches, and Monmouth left his presence haughtily. In James's Memoirs it is insinuated that Sunderland, underhand, assured Monmouth of his pardon if he confessed nothing, and inspired him with the idea of conciliating the King by offering to become a Catholic. The most authentic account of the behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth from the time he was taken to his execution, has been given to the world in the Appendix to Mr. Rose's Observations on Mr. Fox's historical work. It is printed from a cotemporary MS. paper, obtained from the Buccleugh family, through the intervention of Sir Walter Scott. The following letter, which has never been printed, acquires a greater degree of interest from the circumstance of its strengthening the supposition implied by Monmouth's letter to the King, that he had a secret to communicate of high importance to

his welfare. In his letter to the King, he says, "I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign;" and afterwards, "Could I but say one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it, but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it."—Here again he writes,—"I have that to say to him that I am sure will set him at quiet for ever;" and again, "I am sure that which I can do is of more importance than taking my life away, and I am confident, if I may be so happy to speak to him, he will himself be convinced of it." Surely these words imply, that he was possessed of a secret which it was of importance to the King to know? There is a letter addressed to the Queen Dowager, imploring her intercession, written at the same time with this to Lord Rochester, which has been printed by Mr. Ellis, in his *Letters Illustrative of English History*, vol. iii.]

MY LORD, From Ringwood, the 9th of July, 1685.

Having had some proofs of your kindness when I was last at Whitehall, makes me hope now that you will not refuse interceding for me with the King, being I now, though too late, see how I have been misled; were I not clearly convinced of that, I would rather die a thousand deaths than say what I do. I writ yesterday to the King, and the chief business of my letter was to desire to speak to him, for I have that to say to him that I am sure will set him at quiet for ever; I am sure the whole study of my life shall hereafter be how to serve him; and I am sure that which I can do is more worth than taking my life away; and I am confident, if I may be so happy to speak to him, he will himself be convinced of it, being I can give him such infallible proofs of my truth to him, that though I would alter, it would not be in my power to do it. This which I have now said, I hope will be enough to encourage your Lordship to show me your favour, which I do earnestly desire of you, and hope that you have so much generosity as not to refuse it. I hope, my Lord, and I make no doubt of it, that you will not have cause to repent having saved my life, which I am sure you can do a great deal in it, if you please; being it obliges me for ever to be entirely yours, which I shall ever be, as long as I have life.

MONMOUTH.

"For the Earl of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer of England."

CXII.

COLONEL SCOTT'S NARRATIVE RESPECTING THE SUPPRESSION OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S LETTER TO KING JAMES.

[The following circumstantial account has, I believe, never been printed; it was found among the Clarendon Papers. Upon his return to the Tower, the Duke's haughty disposition gave way to his love of life, and he resolved to write to his uncle; perhaps to communicate that secret which he thought would fairly compensate for the pardon he implored. Colonel Scott, the narrator, was of the Duchess of Monmouth's family. Other traditionary accounts say, that in this letter Monmouth again warned the King against Sunderland, and exposed his treachery; and that the Captain, who is not named in the following narrative, was the infamous Blood, who had an office in the Tower; that he forced the letter from Colonel Scott, and carried it to Sunderland, who destroyed it. The following paper takes a more authentic form, and is so circumstantial as to deserve credit. I know not who the Mr. Bowdler was, to whom Colonel Scott related what is here reduced to writing, nor by what means it came to the Hyde family; but the circumstances would very naturally interest the descendants of Lord Rochester and Lord Clarendon; the former having a daughter married to his son; the latter having been present at Monmouth's interview with his Duchess. King James, in his Memoirs, observes that if Monmouth's head and heart had been answerable to his mien and person, his designs would have been more successful. It is with some surprise I see, that notwithstanding the well-authenticated traditionary account of this transaction, mentioned by Dalrymple, Mr. Fox should pass it over with the following slight and erroneous notice, "There is also mention of a third letter, which being entrusted to a perfidious officer of the name of Scott, never reached its destination, but for this there is no foundation."—*Hist. of James II.* p. 262.

In Mr. Ellis's *Historical Letters*, vol. iii. p. 346, there is a second letter to the King, written the day before Monmouth's execution, desiring a short respite, if pardon was impossible. He also requests leave to see Lord Arundel of Wardour, and to have Dr. Tennison, or some other divine, to attend him. The first part of the prayer was not granted, but Lord Arundel did see him, and Dr. Tennison attended him, together with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells. Mr. Ellis prints the letter from a copy, but it has every appearance of being authentic. It can hardly be the suppressed letter to which this narrative refers?]

In the year 1734 I was in company with Colonel Scott, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, in France, when the Colonel called me to him, and said, "Mr. Bowdler, you are a young man and I am an old one, I will tell you something worth remembering. When the Duke of Monmouth was in the Tower, under sentence of death, I had the command of the guard there, and one morning the Duke desired me to let him have pen, ink, and paper, for he wanted to write to the King. He wrote a very long letter, and when he had sealed it, he desired me to give him my word of honour that I would carry that letter to the King, and deliver it into no hands but his. I told him I would

most willingly do it if it was in my power, but that my orders were not to stir from him till his execution; and therefore I dared not leave the Tower. At this he expressed great uneasiness, saying, he could have depended on my honour: but at length asked me if there was any officer in that place on whose fidelity I could rely. I told him that Capt. ——— was one on whom I would willingly confide, in any thing on which my own life depended, and more I could not say of any man. The Duke desired he might be called. When he was come, the Duke told him the affair; he promised on his word and honour that he would deliver the letter to no person whatever, but to the King only. Accordingly he went immediately to Court, and being come near the door of the King's closet, took the letter out of his pocket to give it to the King. Just then Lord Sunderland came out of the closet, and seeing him, asked what he had in his hand; he said it was a letter from the Duke of Monmouth, which he was going to give to the King. Lord Sunderland said, 'Give it to me, I will carry it to him.' 'No, my Lord,' said the Captain, 'I pawned my honour to the Duke that I would deliver the letter to no man but the King himself.' 'But,' said Lord Sunderland, 'the King is putting on his shirt, and you cannot be admitted into the closet, but the door shall stand so far open that you shall see me give it to him.' After many words, Lord Sunderland prevailed on the Captain to give him the letter, and his Lordship went into the closet with it.——After the Revolution, Colonel Scott, who followed the fortunes of King James, going one day to see the King at dinner, at St. Germains, in France, the King called him to him, and said, 'Colonel Scott, I have lately heard a thing that I want to know from you whether it is true.' The King then related the story, and the Colonel assured him that what His Majesty had been told was exactly true. Upon which the King then said, 'Colonel Scott, as I am a living man, I never saw that letter, nor did I ever hear of it till within these few days.'"

CXIII.

SIR JOHN TRELAWNEY* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Requesting that he may have the Bishoprick of Exeter, instead of that of Bristol, proposed to be conferred upon him.

MY LORD, July 10th, 1685.

Give me leave to throw myself at your Lordship's feet, humbly imploring your patronage, if not for the Bishoprick of Peterborough, at least for Chichester, if the Bishop of Exeter cannot be obliged to accept of that now vacant see, which he seemed to incline to, when his removal to Peterborough was proposed; and I am assured from those about him, that if the King should be pleased to tell him he is resolved on his translation to Chichester, he will readily close with it, and let me beseech your Lordship to fix him there, and to advance your creature to Exeter, where I can serve the King and your Lordship. I hear his Majesty designed me for Bristol, which I should not decline, was I not already under such pressure by my father's debts, as must necessarily break my estate in pieces if I find no better prop than the income of Bristol, not greater than 300*l.* per annum, and the expense in consecration, first fruits, and settlement, will require 2000*l.* If Peterborough and Chichester shall be both refused me, I shall not deny Bristol, though my ruin goes with it, if it be the King's pleasure, or any way for his Majesty's service, that I should accept of it; but I hope the King will have more tender compassions on his slave, and that your Lordship will vouchsafe a better lot to

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most devoted obedient Servant,
J. TRELAWNEY.

"To my Lord High Treasurer of England."

* Sir John Trelawney, Bart., was of an ancient family in Cornwall, and notwithstanding this appeal, he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol. It is to his credit that he resisted the arbitrary proceedings of the King, and was one of the Seven Bishops who were sent to the Tower; upon which occasion a ballad was composed, of which the burthen was,

"And shall Trelawney die? and shall Trelawney die?
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why."

Upon the accession of William, notwithstanding he had voted for a regency, he was translated to Exeter, and became at length, in 1707, Bishop of Winchester.

CXIV.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD (FELL) TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Upon the propriety of disbanding the University Volunteers.

MY LORD, July 14th, 1685.

We have here, by your Grace's favourable interposition, a supply of match, powder, and bullet, out of his Majesty's stores; but Almighty God having been pleased to grant an entire defeat of the rebels, which has already caused a dismission of our neighbour militias, we have reason to think that the like may be done to our volunteer troops and companies in this place; that so our young men may return to their studies, and their parents be freed from those needless jealousies in behalf of their children, which ill men have industriously fomented. But we desire to be entirely guided by his Majesty's commands, both in the dismission of our young men, and the disposal of his Majesty's arms and ammunition entrusted to us. And as we earnestly pray for the continuance of such an undisturbed peace as may supersede the need of our military service for the crown, so we shall endeavour, in case of such exigence, to be always ready in the greatest hazards, to justify our loyalty, and answer the obligations of our duty. I have wrote upon this occasion to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, our Chancellor, who, I believe, will be ready to join with your Lordship in procuring a signification of his Majesty's pleasure to my Lord Lieutenant, who, I find, has as yet no instructions in this affair. I humbly take leave, and with all possible respect, remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient Servant,

Jo. Oxon.

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal, these humbly present."

CXV.

THE EARL OF BURLINGTON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Upon carrying into effect the instructions for disarming.

MY LORD, 16th July, 1685.

I am very much obliged unto you for the favour of your Lordship's letter of the 10th, of which date I received one from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, wherein

he fully declares his Majesty's pleasure in the particular of disarming, and infers the great care that in this present conjuncture is to be herein taken; and thereunto adds some things relating to the militia, to all which commands I shall pay a perfect obedience, and do now assure your Lordship, that the power which the law gives us, shall not only be extended to its utmost limits, in the point of searching and disarming, but we will take the liberty to use the exercise of our discretion, in the interpreting the sense of it to the advantage of his Majesty's service. The Deputy Lieutenants have been all the last week, and are still very busy in their several divisions, about disarming, an account of which I very suddenly expect from them, which I shall transmit to Mr. Secretary; and if upon the view thereof, I shall judge an additional search shall be requisite, I will have one. The watches continue to be strictly kept over all the Riding, and I shall assure your Lordship, that all possible endeavours to promote his Majesty's service here, shall be used by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful, humble Servant, and affectionate Father,

BURLINGTON.

CXVI.

THE EARL OF GUILDFORD TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Letter of Compliment.

MY LORD, Wroxton, near Banbury, July 18, 1685.

It is of no importance or concern for your Lordship to know my condition here, where I am in no capacity of serving you; nevertheless I cannot but give you the trouble to know that I find some benefit by the country air and the waters, so that I live not as they that have no hope. My Lord, your commands would be a refreshment to me, which I can hardly hope for. All I can ask is, that in my retirement you will not forget

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

GUILDFORD.

CXVII.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

His son in danger of losing his troop.—Will not part with his own regiment.

Badmington, July 27th, 1685.

I am sorry to find my son in danger of losing his troop, and the rather, because I shall not think fit to part with my regiment, being possessed of it, and having so far earned it, unless I had had one of horse at the same time given me; or did part with my Lieutenancy too, for I have experienced too lately what a lame thing it is to have such a Lieutenancy and no standing force under one. Besides the King is wise, and since he thought fit to give it me, I shall not so much undervalue his gift, as to part with it so.

I am most faithfully yours,

B.

"For the Right Honourable
the Lord Privy Seal,
At the Cock-pitt in Whitehall."

CXVIII.

THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Promotion of Lord Cornbury and others in the Army.

August 1, 1685.

This is only to tell you that I have spoken to the King about the rank of the Duke of Beaufort's regiment, and I believe there will be an expedient found to satisfy that matter, though I am not at liberty at this time to mention it. The Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied that there are so many general officers put over him, and hath given up his commission; this is no secret, but that my Lord Feversham goes to be Captain of that company, and my Lord Churchill to be Captain of that which was my Lord Feversham's, is still one; and so it is that my Lord Cornbury is colonel of the Royal regiment of Dragoons; but I could not but send you word of it; but his regiment, that consists now of twelve companies, and Berkeley's, that consists of eight, are to be made into three, to gratify another colonel, whom I know not yet. This is all to yourself till you hear it from other hands. My humble service to all the company. I am ever yours.

ROCHESTER.

CXIX.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY* TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Respecting the Appointment of a Prebend of Canterbury.

RIGHT HON. AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, Lambeth House, Aug. 6, 1685.

My good brother of Ely, when he was ready to take his flight, stole some minutes from his rest, to let me know, by a fresh instance, what I was by a hundred before sufficiently convinced of, your Lordship's constant friendship and kindness to me and my concerns.

It is about a fortnight since, that the King told me that Dr. Parker had declared to him his intention of resigning his prebend of Canterbury, and had, at the same time, recommended to him Dr. Bradford as a worthy person to succeed him. I told the King, that those conditional resignations, *in favorem*, look like simony, (at least, open a door to it, where men are so wicked as to commit it,) and however, are very unhandsome and undutiful to their patron; being as much as to say to him, 'Now I have held your preferment as long as I think good, I 'll make my will of it; and unless you will bestow it upon a friend of mine, I 'll keep it still.' I therefore suggested, that if he were weary of his prebend, he should be required to resign it, simple and absolute, (which is the style of all lawful resignations); and that his Majesty, when it should be void, would consider whom to bestow it upon; for till then it would not be seasonable.

As for Dr. Bradford, I only told the King that he is not the man which Dr. Parker and Colonel Worden have represented him to be. I said no more then, because I took it for granted (as our best lawyers tell me) that it could not be resigned but into the hands (not of the supreme, but) of the immediate Ordinary, which I am; and that then it would be in my power to accept or refuse it.

Then I meant to represent that Dr. Bradford, though one of Mr. Cooling's chaplains, is in the opinion of his brethren in that honour, and of his neighbours in the city, a man of mean deserts; and (which is yet worse) that he lies under the suspicion of having attained, by undue means, something which he hath already. That he hath a living in London, and another in Sussex,

* William Sancroft, whom to name is to praise. The events of his life are matters of general history. He was deprived for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, in 1691.

of great value, both so remote from Canterbury, that he is not like to keep that residence there, which the necessities of that Chapter require. &c. &c.

If his Majesty would be so gracious as to hear me in a case which concerns my own cathedral, rather than Colonel Worden (who hath nothing to do with matters of this nature) or rather than Dr. Parker (who hates me, and doth this on purpose to affront me,) I would humbly beg of his Majesty to bestow this prebend, when it shall be void, upon Dr. Turner, brother to the Bishop of Ely, who (upon the matter) hath nothing; at least nothing suitable to his great merit, having served ten years, and at last been sent away empty, in commiseration whereof the King hath lately made him his own chaplain; upon whom if he shall think good to bestow this preferment, he will show himself (what all the world knows him to be) the best of masters, and the place will be worthily filled: of which (the person being, I suppose, well known to you) you need not (or else you should) have the utmost assurance, which can be given you, by

My Lord,

Your most obliged,

And faithful Servant,

W. Cant.

CXX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Glad to hear of the King's increasing confidence in him.

A Dieren ce 8 d'Aoust, 1685.

Vous en avez usé d'une maniere si obligante avec M. de Bentinck à mon eguard, que je ne puis assez vous en temoigne ma recognoissance; je vous prie de croire que je ne l'oublierez de ma vie, c'est tout dire. Je ne vous puis exprimer ma joye d'apprendre la confiance que le Roy temoigne avoir en moy, j'espere que sa Majesté ne s'en repentira jamais. Je tacheres de me gouverner de telle maniere que je ne doute pas qu'il n'en sera satisfait. Je ne peu pas prevoir qu'il est possible qu'il pourroit arriver quelque chose qui pourroit alterer cette confiance, qui est si necessaire (si je l'ose dire) pour tout le deux; et comme le Roy le comprand ainsi, et que j'en suis entierement persuadé, je ne vois pas que cela puisse changer. Pour moy, je tacheres de le

cultiver de plus en plus, et faires pour cela tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir: vous priant de m'advertir de temps en temps ce que je dois faire pour cette effet. Je ne m'estenderez pas presentement sur auqu'une matiere, puisque j'ay chargé M. de Bentinck de le faire; vous priant d'estre entierement asseuré qu'il n'y a personne qui soit plus entierement à vous que moy.*

G.

" Prince of Orange, Aug. 8th, 1685."

CXXI.

MONSIEUR BENTINCK TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Respecting James's wish, that those who had furthered Monmouth's Rebellion should be punished: and about the Military Appointment of Lord Pembroke.

MONSIEUR, Dieren, ce 10 d'Aoust, 1685.

J'espere que vous aurez receu celle que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous ecrire, par laquelle je vous temoignay ma recognoissance de touttes les civilitez que vous m'avez faits, Monsieur, et pour lesquelles je suis encore obligé de vous reiterer mes remerciements. Vous verrez les sentiments de son Altesse dans celle qu'il vous escrit lui mesme à vostre esgard, et sa recognoissance des marques que vous m'avez donnés de vouloir estre tousjours dans ces interets. Comme sa Majesté a temoigné considerer les affaires de maniere que les interets de son Altesse sont inseparables des siens, et que l'on doit travailler à un mesme but, j'espere que vous aurez tousjours le soin d'instruire son Altesse des sentiments

* TRANSLATION.

You have comported yourself in such an obliging manner with M. de Bentinck in respect to me, that I cannot sufficiently testify my gratitude; I beg that you will believe I never shall forget it as long as I live; this is all I can say. I cannot express to you my pleasure in learning the confidence the King manifests in me, I hope that his Majesty will never repent it. I will endeavour to govern myself in such a manner that he will be satisfied with it. I cannot foresee that it is possible for any thing to happen which may disturb this confidence, which is so necessary (if I may venture to say so) for us both; and as the King thus understands it, and I am entirely convinced of it, I do not see how it is to alter. For my part I will endeavour to cultivate it more and more, and to accomplish that I will do all that is in my power: begging you to instruct me from time to time in what I ought to do to effect it. I will not enlarge at present, on any subject, because I have instructed M. de Bentinck to do it. Requesting you to be entirely assured that there is no one who is more entirely your's than I am.

du Roy, afin que l'on puisse prendre aux occasions des bonnes et sures mesures pour les affaires du dehors. Touchant le ressentiment que Sa Majesté souhaittoit qu'on temoignat contre ceux qui dans ce pays ont assisté ou connivé la Rebellion, Son Altesse est entierement dans la volonté et disposition de le faire, avec tout l'esclat que le Roy le souhaitte; mais il faut de toutte necessité qu'il sache, non seulement leurs noms, puisque ce sont des personnes particulieres, mais qu'il aye les depositions qui ont esté faites contre eux, qui doivent servir des preuves, sans quoy Son Altesse n'auroit pas le pouvoir de le faire, selon la constitution de nostre gouvernement. Pour ce qui est des interets particuliers de Son Altesse, vous avez commencé de travailler si obligamment que je ne doutte pas que vous ne continuiez à les pousser et à en rafraischir la memoire du Roy, quant vous le jugeres le plus apropos. M. le Prince se trouve embarrassé, ne sachant que faire sur la recommandation du Roy, pour my Lord Pembrouck. J'ay pris la liberté de vous dire, Monsieur, la difficulté qu'il auroit à lui faire avoir le commandement des trouppes Angloises par les Estats, et l'impossibilité de lui faire donner des appointements, et vous savez qu'il n'y a point de regiment vacant à lui donner: et de plus, Son Altesse croit qu'un jeune homme qui n'a point du tout servi, ne peut estre d'auqu'une utilité pour le Roy à la teste de ces regiments, desquels il faudra qu'il prenne le mesme soin quant my Lord Pembrouck sera, qu'il en a pris jusques à cette heure, pour les mettre dans l'estat où vous les avez veus. J'ay parlé à Son Altesse touchant Col. Canon, et vous pouvez estre assuré qu'en consideration de ce que Sa Majesté souhaitte, il ne recevra point de mauvais traittement pour ce qui s'est passé. S'il y a quelque chose, Monsieur, dans quoy je puisse executer vos ordres en ce pays, j'espere que vous me commanderez, comme à l'homme du monde le plus reconnoissant de vos bontez. Souhaittant d'avoir les occasions de vous temoigner avec quel respect je suis,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble, et tres

Obeissant Serviteur,

W. BENTINCK.

Souffres, si il vous plaist, Monsieur, que j'adjouste ici mes compliments pour Madame la Comtesse de Rochester.*

* TRANSLATION.

SIR,

I hope that you will have received the letter which I had the honour to write, by which I testified my gratitude for all the civilities which you have shown me, and for which I am again obliged

CXXII.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Requests the King will let him stay a month longer at Badminton.

Badminton, Aug. 13, 1685.

I have all the reason in the world to lay hold on your proposal of laying aside every thing that looks like a compliment; for as there is not more due, of that nature, from any body than there is from me to you, so nobody is less able to do it, as it ought to be done, than I; therefore you shall hear no more of it from me: but you must do me the justice to believe my heart is full of grateful acknowledgments. I humbly thank you for letting me

to reiterate to you my thanks. You will see the sentiments of his Highness toward you, in that which he himself has written to you, and his grateful sense of the marks which you gave me of desiring to be always his friend. As his Majesty has appeared to consider affairs in such sort that the interests of his Highness are inseparable from his own, and that we ought to labour for the same end, I hope that you will always take care to inform his Highness of the King's sentiments, to the end that good and sure measures may be taken for foreign affairs. Respecting the resentment his Majesty wished to be here manifested against those in this country, who have assisted or connived at the Rebellion, his Highness has a most earnest will and desire to do it, with all the publicity the King wishes; but it is first necessary that he should know, not only their names, as particular persons are designated, but that he should have the depositions which have been made against them to serve as proofs of their guilt, without which his Highness would not have the power to take measures against them, according to the constitution of our government. For what relates to the particular interests of his Highness, you have so obligingly begun your operations, that I doubt not you will continue to pursue them, and to refresh the memory of the King whenever you may see fitting occasion. The Prince feels himself in some embarrassment, not knowing what to do in respect of the King's recommendation of Lord Pembroke. I have taken the liberty to express to you, Sir, the difficulty there would be to persuade the States to let him have the command of the English troops, and the impossibility of giving him appointments, and you know that there is no vacant regiment to give him. Moreover, his Highness fears that a young man who has seen no service, could not be of any use to his Majesty at the head of these regiments, of which it would be necessary for him to take the same care, if my Lord Pembroke should be appointed, as he has taken of them hitherto, to put them into the state in which you saw them. I have spoken to his Highness respecting Colonel Canon; and you may be assured that in consideration of his Majesty's wishes, he will receive no ill-treatment for that which is past. If there is any thing, Sir, in which I can execute your commands in this country, I hope that you will freely use me, as the man of all the world the most grateful for your kindnesses. Wishing for occasions to show with what respect I am, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient Servant.

Allow me, Sir, if you please, to add here my compliments to the Countess of Rochester.

know the King's pleasure in the things I troubled you with representing to him, which shall be obeyed. I only beg, and lest you should not be at Windsor, I have desired the same also of Lord Peterborough, that you would ask the King that he would be pleased to dispense with my continuing here, for a month longer, in order to my health; I being sent away from taking waters at Chelsea the day I had begun them, and finding it necessary to supply it now, as long as the season will last, which continues, you know, longer for the Bath waters, (which I can take here,) than for others. I hope I may have done with them, so as to be able to wait on him at Winchester before he goes from thence, if that time be appointed for my waiting. I am the while, and ever, most faithfully yours,

B.

As I was sealing my letter, I received the enclosed from Gloucester, which I send you, desiring you would know his Majesty's pleasure in this affair; having never had any notice of it from him, or any body by his order; and I do a little wonder at the Major's proceedings, who might have had the manners, (if his Colonel had not) coming into my lieutenancy, especially, I being in the country, to have applied to me in this matter, and desired my order to the Mayor, since he had not immediately the King's; and since, I suppose, his Majesty in sending him thither, did not intend to supersede my authority in the town. If he did, upon knowledge of it I shall forbear intermeddling. In the mean time, I have written to the Mayor, that I have sent to know his Majesty's pleasure in it, and I hope the Major will have patience till I have an answer. It may be convenient and proper to keep guard there, since a regiment is there quartered; but I humbly conceive there should be an order for it, and that properly directed; and if the King is pleased to make Gloucester or Bristol, or both garrisons, I hope, as long as he continues me Lieutenant of those places, he will make me also Governor of them.

CXXIII.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Thanks him for speaking to the King about the conduct of the Mayor of Gloucester.—Observations on Military arrangements.

Badminton, September the 4th, 1685.

I received the day before yesterday two letters from you; whereof one should have come the post before, and would have prevented my complaint, though not my congratulation, which I have now reason to repeat, as I hereby do, having that news confirmed by your own hand. You need not doubt my zeal in your service, as long as you will be pleased to own so insignificant a servant. I humbly thank you for what you said to the King, in the business of Gloucester and of my regiment, in both which I am also to own the King's favour. I hope his Majesty was put in mind of the disadvantage I had in raising the latter; my orders for raising my men coming so late, as you cannot but remember, and Cornewall being so much beforehand with me in my own best province for that purpose. I confess I am a little concerned to see him placed before me in the precedency of regiments, especially since, in the last regiment I raised, I was put behind so many, because they, being older than I, had had commissions for colonels before me, in King Charles the First's time: whereas I have now the same plea, (abstracting from quality) against Cornewall, for I had an army regiment given me at the last king's Restoration, which was in sixty, and consequently five-and-twenty years ago; and have raised three regiments since; whereas he never had any before this time, and 'tis a thing never to be redeemed: for it is declared the regiments shall always have the same place, whatever becomes hereafter of the colonels, which makes me the more concerned in my regiment's behalf; but I do not reflect that, by complaining thus, I shall make my letters uneasy to you, who would not willingly be so, that am most faithfully yours,

B.

I find the Commissary makes difficulty of passing the roll for Chepstow garrison, where Capt. Worseley is my lieutenant at half-pay, myself having none, because he is also a Captain in my regiment, and that it requires the King's special direction in that case; which I desire you would please to speak

to his Majesty for, and to get it signified to the Commissary by a warrant, countersigned by the Secretary at War, which a servant of mine, when you have spoken, shall go to Mr. Blathwaite for.

"To his Excellency the Earl of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Lieutenant of
Ireland, at Whitehall."

CXXIV.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Congratulation on his being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

MY LORD, Bolsover, Sept. the 8th, 1685.

I being very much obliged to your Lordship for many favours I have received from your Lordship, I cannot but presume to congratulate your Lordship being Lieutenant of Ireland, it being one of the greatest employments his Majesty has to give, and none can serve him better in it. I wish most heartily your Lordship all prosperity, and will ever serve you to the utmost of my poor power, being most sincerely,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
Obedient servant,
H. NEWCASTLE.

CXXV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH AND LORD GRANARD [LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND] TO LORD CLARENDON.

Address upon the same Occasion.

MY LORD, Dublin, September 10, 1685.

It was with great satisfaction that we received the advertisement of your Lordship's nomination, by the King, for the Lieutenancy of this kingdom; we heartily congratulate your Lordship's great and deserved interest in his

Majesty's favours, and at the same time do much please ourselves with that happy condition which we promise to ourselves, and to this country, under your Lordship's government. God be praised we are all here in peace, and we doubt not but your Lordship will find this people, at your coming hither, very dutiful and obedient to his Majesty, and very observant of your Lordship's commands.

To accompany this, our first address to your Excellency, we thought it not unseasonable to send your Lordship the enclosed brief account of his Majesty's stores, that your Lordship, by your timely view of their condition, may understand his Majesty's pleasure (if he thinks fit to do any thing farther in that matter) while your Excellency is there upon the place. We wish your Excellency all happiness, and remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
And most faithful Servants,
MICH. ARMAGH. GRANARD.

CXXVI.

THE DUTCHESS OF *BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Wishes Lord Cornbury to marry Lady Betty Stanhope.—Other family matters.

DEAR BROTHER, Badminton, September 14, 1685.

I am extremely pleased with the hopes you give me, that I shall see you at Badminton before you leave this kingdom, which I find is like to be sooner than I believe we shall willingly be at Chelsea; my Lord of Ossory† has a very kind message from my Lord Churchill, that he will wait at any time for him. I hope some of the other Lords will be as kind to my Lord, which if they will, and the King be pleased to dispense with him, I believe he will not come to Chelsea till near the meeting of the Parliament.

* *Mary*, daughter of Arthur Lord Capel: she was the widow of Henry Lord Beauchamp; survived her husband the Duke, fifteen years, and died in 1714. She calls Lord Clarendon brother, because he had married her sister Theodosia.

† Lord Ossory had been, in May of this year, made a Lord of the Bed-chamber to King James, and Lord Churchill had the same office at Court. Lord Ossory had just married his second wife, Lady Mary Somerset, daughter to her Grace.

The lady I wished for my nephew is my Lady Betty Stanhope: (I have never heard any thing of her but very good). I have reason to believe, if you like a match there, and make offers to my Lord Chesterfield, that they will be kindly received. Lord Thomond and his son Lord Obrian are here, the father hath a great mind to one of my young women: he thinks the youngest too young for his son, and we his son too young for the other; the young Lord is a fine youth, and seems to be very well inclined. My Lord hears nothing from the other you mentioned; for several reasons I wish I knew whether they have the same thoughts they formerly had, at least as my Lord Dunbarton told my Lord. It is with great difficulty that I have stole so much time from Lord Thomond as to write thus much: more he will not allow me than to subscribe myself

Dear Brother,
Your most humble Servant
And affectionate Sister,
M. Beaufort.

Lord Ossory, my daughter, and all the rest of my young ones, are your most humble Servants.

CXXVII.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Remonstrance about Chepstow Castle and its Garrison.

September 21, 1685.

I have received a letter by this post from Mr. Blathwayt, wherein he tells me that Colonel Trelawny's regiment will be, before the end of this week, at Bristol; and that, upon their arrival, Colonel Trelawny will have orders to send a company to Chepstow; and that then, his Majesty resolves to disband the eighteen men and officers there, whereof I am one; so that I am no more (by what I perceive,) to have the command of my own house, or the garrison in it; a thing that has been perpetually driven at by the factions of those parts, ever since his late Majesty's happy Restoration, at which time he was pleased first to establish it; first, with a full company of a hundred men, whereof I was Captain, and afterwards with sixty, but I still continuing Captain, with full pay for myself, my officers, and soldiers.

After that, at a time when nothing but saving money was thought of, though with the hazard of the crown, and several things were done to gratify those that cried out against Popery and that Castle, it was resolved absolutely to be disbanded; and then it was, that rather than there should be no place in all these parts to keep ammunition in, with any safety, and knowing of what importance it was to the King's service, I proposed, rather than there should be no men there, to quit my own pay, and to make my Lieutenant and Ensign be content with half theirs, I being fain to gratify them another way. After all this, I confess I think it a little hard to be thus turned out of it, at this time; and therefore desire at least some respite, till I can wait upon his Majesty in it, if he thinks not fit to do what I proposed in my last letter to you. I must needs say, I cannot well see (neither) how practicable it is, since I hear the Companies are to be relieved every two months, how the ammunition, cannon, and other stores, can well be delivered over, so perpetually, from hand to hand; besides the companies that relieve one another, do not carry with them an establishment for fire and candle; and gunners are necessary to so many guns, whereof a good many are my own proper goods. But that I confess that most troubles me, as to my own particular, (and it troubles me much the more because it does something affect the public,) is the great rejoicing it will cause among the factions that have so often bragged they have got me out from my command there: but I run on, without considering how unconscionably I torment you with my affairs, which I fear, for all your good nature, must make you weary of your importunate, though most faithful humble Servant,

B.

CXXVIII.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Hopes to be allowed to recommend the new Welsh Judges.

Badminton, Sept. 30th, 1685.

I humbly thank you for the approbation you sent me of the Gloucester Town-clerk, and for having spoken to his Majesty in the business of Chepstow; wherein (with submission) if there had been a salary, I believe the pre-

cedent would not have been of any ill consequence; since I am confident I am, and have been for some years, the only Governor in England without pay: but his Majesty is master, and it is fit he should order what he thinks best, and our business is to obey. I hear of several judges dead, and it is very probable some removes will be from the Welsh judicatures into Westminster-hall. I hear particularly Sir Edward Herbert is to have Chester.

I hope his present Majesty will be as kind to me in that particular as the King his brother was; and allow me to recommend others in their places, of such as he shall remove, in which I shall purely consider his service, as I can safely say I did his brother's, and never made the least advantage to myself directly or indirectly, by any recommendation; which made me free to let them and the King know their faults, without partiality, if they committed any, which I think had no ill consequence. I humbly beg you will add to your continual favours, that of minding his Majesty of me in this affair, who am most faithfully, Yours,

B.

I know not how to believe so great a happiness possible as you flatter us with here.

"To his Excellency the Earl of Clarendon,
Lord Privy Seal and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,
at Whitehall."

CXXIX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Recommends Mr. Sidney to the good offices of Lord R.

A Loo, ce 21 de Sept. 1685.

Je ne puis laisse repartir M. de Sidney* pour l'Angleterre, sans vous renouveller les asseurances de mes services, et vous prie de luy faire du bien

* Henry Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney) was a great favourite with the Prince of Orange, through whose means he was appointed to the command of the British troops in the Dutch service. He had been sent envoy to Holland in 1679; and Burnet says, "he entered into such particular confidences with the Prince, that he had the highest measure of his trust and favour that any Eng-

en tout ce qui sera en vostre pouvoir; et quoy que je scai que vous estes de ses amis, j'espere que, pour l'amour de moy, vous aurez quelque consideration pour lui, sachant combien je l'estime; et assurement il le merite autant qu'homme que je cognois. Il est si bien informé de mes sentiments sur toutte choses, que je puis me refere entierement à luy. Surtout, je l'ay enchargé de vous parler d'un affaire en quoy j'espere que vous serez de ses amis, et pour moy je serez toutte ma vie entierement à vous,*

G.

" The Prince of Orange."

* TRANSLATION.

I cannot let Mr. Sidney depart for England, without renewing to you the assurances of my services, and beg you to do him good in all that lies in your power, and although I know you are his friend, I hope that, for the love of me, you will have some consideration for him, knowing how much I esteem him; and certainly he merits it as much as any man I know. He is so well informed of my sentiments on all things, that I may refer me entirely to him. Above all, I have charged him to speak to you of an affair, in which I hope you will be his friend; and for me, I shall be all my life entirely yours.

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lishman ever had." Barillon, in one of his despatches, dated 26th November, 1685, has the following curious passage, which shows that it was suspected there was more in this verbal communication than was really the case. " My Lord Sunderland (says Barillon) has told me a thing of great importance, which, if it is true, and the King of England should know it, will diminish greatly the credit of my Lord Rochester: it is that when Mr. Sidney was going into Holland, my Lord Rochester begged to see him the last, and only a minute before his embarkation with Bentinck. In this interview, my Lord Rochester told Mr. Sidney that he had one piece of advice to give to the Prince of Orange, which was to come to England, whatever it might cost, and even in spite of the King of England, and that it was the sole and only means to set things right, which took a bad course, that it would be impossible in the end to remedy. Mr. Sidney acquitted himself of this commission, and said that the Prince of Orange was moved, but did not dare to hazard coming. He has spoken of it to Bentinck, to whom Mr. Sidney had not mentioned it, and who would have been earnest enough for the Prince of Orange to come into England. I see plainly, the motive of my Lord Sunderland in telling me a thing of this importance, has been to deprive me of all confidence in Lord Rochester, and to make me regard him as one entirely opposed to your Majesty's interests, and attached to those of the Prince of Orange. I can hardly think that this circumstance is invented: I well know that my Lord Sunderland can, through Mr. Sidney, keep up his connexion with the Prince of Orange, which may come to light in future times, but in the interim he keeps a course entirely favourable to the Catholics, and which alienates the King, his master, from all other attachments, but to the interests of your Majesty."

CXXX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complaint of the conduct of Dr. Covell, Chaplain to the Princess.

A Dieren, ce 22 d'Oct. 1685.

Estant à la Haye la semaine passée j'y receu vostre lettre du $\frac{5 \text{ Oct.}}{25 \text{ Sept}}$, et vous suis tres obligé de vouloir bien vous emploier en l'affaire dont M. de Sidney vous a parlé, la quelle je remets entierement entre vos mains, estant persuadé que vous y ferez ce que vous pouvez. Je suis marri d'estre obligé de vous escrire d'un affaire qui est arrivé icy; c'est qu'ayant eu beaucoup de raisons de soupsonner que le Chapelain de la Princesse, le Dr. Covell, n'estoit pas honest homme ny un fidel domestique, et estant dernierement à la Haye, il me tomba entre les mains une lettre qu'il escrivit à M. Schelton que j'ouvris; et à mon retour icy j'ay pris le chyfre du Docteur, et l'ay fait de chyfre selon que vous verrez par la copie icy jointe; dont j'ay l'original, signé et escrite de sa main, qu'il a advoué quandt je luy l'ay fait voir. Vous serez, sans doute, surpris qu'un homme de cette profession peut estre un si grand fripon. J'advoue que j'ay esté extremement trompé en cette homme, dont j'avois un tres bonne opinion au commencement qu'il est venu icy, et je l'ay tousjours traitté fort civilement, dont il c'est aussi loué publiquement affin de me mieux trompé. La Princesse et moy n'avons fait autre chose que la chasse de la maison, en laissant le chastiment à l'Evesque sous lequel il est. Je crois avoir beaucoup de raison de me plaindre en cette affaire de Mr. Schelton,* d'avoir voulu tenir une telle correspondence en ma maison; de la maniere que j'en ay usé avec luy, depuis qu'il est icy, ne me devoit pas attiré une telle recompense. Vous pouvez bien juger qu'apres cecy je ne puis plus bien vivre avec luy; quoyque je ne manquerez pas à ce que je dois à son caractere, sans quoy asseurement j'en userois d'un autre maniere. Mais j'espere que le Roy aura la bonté pour moy, de le retirer d'icy; c'est ce que je vous prie de supplier sa

* Burnet, in his History, represents Skelton as the haughtiest, and withal the weakest man that could have been employed as Resident. He talked out all secrets, and made himself the scorn of all Holland. James was unfortunate in his ministers at this Court, for Chudleigh, the predecessor of Skelton, had been recalled for openly insulting the Prince.

Majesté de ma part. Je luy en aurois escrira moymesme, mais j'ay cru qu'il estoit plus respectueux que vous fissiez cette supplication de ma part. Je suis bien marri de vous donner cette peine en un affaire qui ne vous peut pas estre agreable. Je me fie en vostre amitié, et suis tousjours entierement à vous,

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

" Prince of Orange."

* TRANSLATION.

Being at the Hague last week, I received your letter of the $\frac{5\text{th Oct.}}{25\text{th Sept.}}$ and am very much obliged to you for being pleased to occupy yourself with the affair Mr. Sidney spoke to you about, which I place entirely in your hands, being persuaded that you will do all that you can in it. I am grieved to be obliged to write to you about an occurrence which has taken place here, which is, that having many reasons for suspecting that the Princess's Chaplain, Dr. Covell, was not a man of probity, nor a faithful servant, and being lately at the Hague, a letter fell into my hands which he wrote to Mr. Skelton ; I opened it, and at my return hither, I took the Doctor's cypher, and had it decyphered, as you will see by the copy annexed, the original of which I have, written and signed with his own hand, and which he acknowledged when I caused it to be shown him. You will no doubt be surprised, that a man of his profession could be such a great knave. I confess I have been extremely deceived in him, of whom I had a very good opinion when he first came here, and I have always treated him with great civility, of which he has boasted publicly, in order the better to deceive me. The Princess and myself have done nothing further than to turn him out of the house, leaving his punishment to the Bishop who has authority over him. I think I have good reason to complain of Mr. Skelton in this affair, for having consented to hold such a correspondence in my house; the mode in which I have acted toward him since he has been here, ought not to have been rewarded in this manner. You can well judge, that after this, I can no longer live with him as formerly, though I will not be wanting in what I owe to his official character, but for which I should assuredly have proceeded in a very different manner. I hope the King will have the goodness, on my account, to recall him from hence; this I beg you will from me petition his Majesty to do. I should have written to him myself, but I thought it would be more respectful that you should make this supplication from me. I am sorry to give you this trouble in an affair which cannot be agreeable to you. I confide in your friendship, and am always Entirely yours.

CXXXI.

A COPY OF DR. COVELL'S LETTER TO MR. SKELTON, DATED FROM DIEREN, OCTOBER $\frac{5}{15}$, 1685.

[Some words, which were underlined in the original, were in cypher.]

Your honour may be astonished at the news, but it is too true the Princess's heart is ready to break; and yet she, every day, with Mrs. Jesson and Mad. Zuylestyn, counterfeits the greatest joy, and looks upon us as dogged as may be.

We dare no more speak to her. The Prince hath infallibly made her his absolute slave, and there is an end of it. I wish to God I could see the King give you some good thing for your life, for I would have it out of the power of any revocation; for I assure you I fear the Prince will for ever rule the roast. As for Mr. Chudleigh, if his business be not done beyond the power of the Prince, before the King die, Mr. Chudleigh will be in an ill-taking. But I wonder what the devil makes the Prince so cold to you. None but pimps and bawds* must expect any tolerable usage here.

I beseech God preserve the King many and many years.

I acquainted your son with your desires, who returns his humble duty and respects to your lady, and will be mindful of what you advise.

I do not wonder much at the new Marchioness's behaviour, it is so like the breed. We shall see fine doings if we once come to town. What would you say if the Princess should take her into the Chapel, or in time into the bed-chamber? I cannot fancy the sisters will long agree. You guess right about Mr. d'Allonne, for he is secretary in that, as well as in other private affairs.

We will treat the sparks when they come here, as well as we can. I am sorry we must not hope for seeing you here, though I think you have great reason in what you say.

I fear I shall not get loose to meet you at Utrecht; it will not be a month before we meet at the Hague.

* Bishop Burnet has alluded to the amorous propensities of William; but he also adds that he covered them at least with the veil of secrecy, and so did not offend against public decency, as some of his predecessors had done.

The widow and maid and I, do often remember your Honour and your most excellent Lady, with all hearty and true respects. They both this minute most passionately desired me to present their most humble services to you both; and I beseech you accept of mine.

I never so heartily longed for to come to the Hague: God send us a happy meeting. The Princess is just now junketing with Madame Bentinck and Mrs. Jesson, in Madam Zuylestyn's chamber. Believe me, worthy Sir, ever with all sincere devotion to be

Your Honour's, &c.

P.S. I had a letter . . . . . .

Let me know at your leisure how you were received at the Hoff.

CXXXII.

MINUTE OF LORD ROCHESTER'S ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING LETTER OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, IN HIS OWN HAND-WRITING.

Not dated.

I have received the letter your Highness was pleased to write to me the 22d instant, and cannot but be much troubled at the occasion of Dr. Covell's being sent away in that manner from your Highness's service. As for what relates to Mr. Skelton, I showed the King what your Highness wrote upon that subject; who cannot but be concerned that such a business as this is, should come to draw your Highness's displeasure upon his Majesty's minister to such a degree, as to desire to have him recalled out of that station, wherein, in all other respects, his Majesty thinks he hath good cause to be well satisfied with him: but since it is so, that your Highness thinks fit to interest yourself so far in the matter, his Majesty is satisfied that no man can serve him there under such disadvantages as your Highness's particular displeasure must bring upon him; and therefore will consent in some convenient time to gratify your Highness: but on the other hand, your Highness must be pleased to consider, that at this time there is a great deal of business of his Majesty's in the hands of Mr. Skelton, and in so particular a manner entirely under the management of the intelligences which he hath solely in his hands, that many things of very great importance to the King's service, would suffer, if he should be recalled on a sudden; and therefore, as the King is pleased in the main to gra-

tify your Highness in this point, so I am commanded expressly to tell your Highness, that his Majesty hopes, that till Mr. Skelton can be recalled with convenience to his Majesty's service, that he shall have the same countenance and favour from your Highness as is necessary for his Majesty's minister always to have.

CXXXIII.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Is glad the King has given pay to General Macquoy.—Has promoted the two officers recommended by the King.

A la Haye, ce 21 de Janv. 1686.

Je suis tres aise que le Roy a eu la bonté de donner des gages au General Macquoy, et cela sur ma tres humble priere. J'en rends graces à sa Majesté par cette ordinaire, et vous prie de le faire aussi en mon nom. Je vous suis fort obligé des bons offices que vous avez rendu en cette rancontre, et que vous voulez bien avoir soin de le faire mestre sur l'estat pour le payement de ces gages. Au regard de ce que vous me mandes des intentions de sa Majesté, affin que je donne la compagnie de Stuart à l'Ensiegne Grimes, je luy donnerez sa commission ausitôt qu'il sera venu icy. Par cette occasion il faut que je vous informe d'une affaire que j'ay appris, et qui me touche fort au cœur; c'est que le Roy m'ayant recommandé un Capitaine Maceligot* pour estre Major du Regiment du Conte de Pembroke; j'en avois disposé avant que de recevoir la lettre de sa Majesté, en faveur d'un autre Capitaine du mesme regiment: ce que, à ce que je suis informé, il y auroit eu des gens qui auroit tache à faire comprendre à sa Majesté comme si je ne deferrois pas comme je devois à ce qu'elle m'ordonnoit. Je suis si eloigné de ça, que comme je ne pouvois plus donner cette charge au Capit. Maceligot, en ayant disposé, je cherchois d'abord les moiens pour l'accomoder: c'est ce que j'ay fait il y a environ huit jours, luy ayant donner commission de Lieut.-Col. et gages de Major. J'en ay escrit au Roy, n'ayant osé repondre plustot à la lettre que sa Majesté m'avoit escrit sur ce subjet avant que je n'eu trouvé un expedient pour accomoder celluy, dont il m'avoit fait l'honneur de m'escrire. Je vous fais ce detail affin que si

* It is most probable that the name of this officer was Macloud. It is spelt Macelioud in the next letter.

vous en aprenies quelque chose de cette affaire, vous en puissiez informer sa Majesté et justifier ma conduite. Je ne desire rien plus qu'elle fut tousjours telle que sa Majesté en fut satisfait; et vous ne sauries plus m'obliger que de m'advertir quand j'avois le malheur de faire quelque chose qui pouvoit deplaire au Roy, affin que je m'en corrige. Je suis tousjours entierement à vous,*

G.

CXXXIV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanks him for his concern about what happened at Orange. Hopes the King will resent it properly.

A la Haye, ce 12 de Fev. 1686.

J'ay esté tres aise d'aprendre que le Roy est satisfait de ce que j'ay fait pour le Capit. Macelioud et l'Ensiegne Grimes. Je vous suis bien obligé de ce que vous vous concernes à ce qui m'arrive à Orange, mais je ne puis estre de

* TRANSLATION.

I am very glad that the King has had the goodness to give pay to General Macquoy, and that at my humble request. I return his Majesty thanks by this ordinary, and beg you also to do it in my name. I am very much obliged to you for the good offices you have rendered me on this occasion, and that you purpose to have a care to place on the list the payment of this pension. In regard to that which you write me of the intentions of his Majesty, to the intent that I should give Stuart's company to Ensign Grim, I will give him his commission as soon as he arrives. By this opportunity I must inform you of an affair that has come to my knowledge, which I take much to heart,—it is, that the King having recommended Captain Maceligot to me to fill the rank of Major in the Earl of Pembroke's regiment, I had disposed of it before his Majesty's letter came to my hand, in favour of another captain of the same regiment; upon which, as I am informed, there have been people who have endeavoured to make his Majesty think that I do not pay the attention I ought to his commands. I am so far from it, that as I had it no longer in my power to give that post to Captain Maceligot, having disposed of it, I sought at once the means of accommodating him, which I carried into effect about eight days since; having given him a commission of Lieut.-Colonel with the pay of Major. I have written about it to the King, not having ventured to answer the letter which his Majesty wrote to me on the subject, before I had found an expedient to serve the person about whom he had done me the honour to write. I enter into this detail, to the end that, if you hear any thing of this affair, you may be able to inform his Majesty, and to justify my conduct: I desire nothing more than that it should be always such that his Majesty might be satisfied with it, and you cannot oblige me more, than by informing me when I have the misfortune to do any thing which may displease the King, in order that I may correct it. I am always entirely yours.

vostre sentiment, qu'il n'y auroit autre chose à faire que de temoigner que sa Majesté ne se conforme pas, n'y ne peut prendre pour satisfactoire ce que M. de Cressy a repondu à M. de Trumbull, sur le Memoire qu'il avoit donné au Roy Tres Crestien au regard de mes affaires d'Orange. Si le Roy ne trouve bon à faire autre chose que cela, je n'ay guere à esperer d'estre soulagé en ce que je souffre. Et peutestre il eut mieux valu que sa Majesté n'eut point fait parlé de la maniere que cela c'est fait pour laisser l'affaire la, et asseurement cela ne peut estre que tres prejudiciable mesme au Roy; car que dira le monde si elle voit que sa Majesté laisse mal traitte sans auqu'une juste raison, celluy qui a l'honneur d'estre beau-fils et son neveu sans s'en resentir. Je ne puis estre persuadé que la conjuncture presente ne permetteroit pas que l'on temoigna plus de vigeur: ce n'est pas à moy à prescrire ce que l'on doit faire, mais il y a bien des moiens sans venir jusques au dernieres extremités, pour veu qu'on les veut mestre en œuvre. J'advoue que cette affaire icy me touche sensiblement au cœur, et si je ne m'y vois point protegé presentement, je n'ay rien à esperer pour l'avenir. Je n'ay peu m'empesche de vous dire franchement mes sentiments: l'affaire m'est trop sensible, et de trop grande importance pour ne rien deguiser. J'espere que vous le representerez au Roy, et que vous me temoignerez d'estre effectivement de mes amis en cette occasion, comme je serez tousjours le vostre, et entierement à vous.*

* TRANSLATION.

I was very glad to learn that the King is satisfied with what I have done for Captain Macloud and Ensign Grimes. I am very much obliged to you for concerning yourself about that which happened to me at Orange, but I cannot be of your opinion that there will be nothing else to do but to show that his Majesty does not conform to it; nor can I take for satisfactory the answer which M. de Cressy has given to Mr. Trumbull, on the Memoir which he had presented to his Most Christian Majesty, in regard to my affairs at Orange. If the King does not like to do any thing beside that, I have hardly a hope to be relieved from what I suffer. And perhaps it had been better that his Majesty had not caused it to be mentioned in the manner it has been, to leave the matter where it is; and, certainly, it cannot but be very prejudicial even to the King: for what will the world say, if it sees that his Majesty suffers one who has the honour to be his son-in-law and his nephew to be ill-used without any just reason, and does not resent it? I cannot be persuaded that the present juncture will not allow of more vigour being manifested: it is not for me to prescribe that which ought to be done, but there are many methods of proceeding without coming to last extremities, provided there is a disposition to employ them. I confess that this matter affects me very deeply, and if I do not see myself protected now, I have nothing to expect in future. I could not help telling you candidly my opinion; the affair affects me too nearly, and is of too great importance to disguise any thing. I hope that you will represent it to the King, and that you will show yourself to be as effectively my friend on this occasion, as I shall always be one to you, and entirely yours.

CXXXV.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanks him for his letter by Mr. Sidney.—Desires to preserve his friendship.

A Dieren, ce 19 d'Aoust, 1686.

J'ay receu la lettre que vous avez pris la piene de m'escrire par M. de Sidney, peu de jours avant mon depart de la Haye, et depuis j'ay presque tousjours esté en chemain, ayant esté voir M. l'Electeur de Brandenburg deux fois à Cleves; et toute la semaine passée occupé à la revue d'une partie de nos trouppes que j'avois fait venir camper pres de Nimuegen. Ce sont la les raisons pourquoy je ne vous ay peu remercier plustost des marques de vostre souvenir et de vostre amitié, laquelle je considereres tousjours beaucoup; vous priant de me la vouloir tousjours continuer, et d'estre persuadé que j'aurez une joye extreme quand je pourez rancontrer les occasions à vous pouvoir temoigner combien je suis vostre serviteur.

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.*

CXXXVI.

MEDITATIONS BY LAURENCE EARL OF ROCHESTER, ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER, LADY OSSORY.

Monday, Jan. 25, 1685-6.

This day was twelve month it pleased God to take away out of this world the joy of my life, the comfort of my soul, and the hopes and prospect of a great deal of happiness and support to me and the rest of my family, for as long as it might please God to let any of them or their posterity remain

* TRANSLATION.

I had received the letter you took the trouble to write me by Mr. Sidney, a few days before I left the Hague, and since then I have been almost always travelling, having been to see the Elector of Brandenburgh twice at Cleves; and all the last week was occupied in reviewing part of our troops, that I had caused to be encamped near Nimeguen. These are the reasons why I have not thanked you sooner for the marks of your remembrance, and of your friendship, which I shall always greatly esteem; begging that you will always continue them to me, and be persuaded that I shall have extreme pleasure when I can meet with opportunities in which I may be able to show how much I am your servant.

upon the earth; and there being now a whole year run about since I received that stroke of God's wrath upon me, wherein divers and wonderful changes have happened to the public as well as to me, I confess I think it not an unseasonable entertainment, to myself at least, to set down some of my thoughts upon so many and great revolutions. And first, to reflect upon the vanity and weakness of our human nature, and the sad and miserable circumstances in which it is, without remedy, encompassed; that the greatest occasions of grief and trouble should be so far hid from our eyes, that at but a small distance of place from the person that my soul delighted in, that moment that the stroke was given, that that life, which was the joy of mine, left this world, I could be no more sensible of it, nor know no more of it, till time could bring posts, and news, and letters of it, than if there had been no such thing happened unto me. So that at the time, that in truth my loss was suddenest and heaviest and most insupportable, if I could have known it, I might possibly be entertained with the mirth and jollity and all the vanities of this world. And then comes, secondly, at a distance of time by other such conveyances as our nature is capable of being informed: by reports, by messengers, by condoling friends, the dreadful sound of that shot that was fired a week before; and the hours and the days that should immediately have been offered up, in humbling oneself before God; in submitting with patience to his strong hand and his stretched out arm; in repentance and sorrow for the sins and wickedness that have drawn down his wrath and indignation; in tears and lamentations for the groans and pains and anguish, that every dying creature suffers at their dissolution—all that time, I say, having been either spent in the usual employments of business, or in the less innocent entertainments of this wicked world, one begins then to complain, when the pain of one's friend is over, when the breath is departed; and the body is cold and in the grave; and one cannot really know the loss one receives, till there be so much time past on many occasions, that some other accident of life, so contrary to this, may have happened, that one's heart may be so taken up with a new passion, perhaps of another kind, that it is no more liable to the impressions of the former.

To explain this dark, and perhaps unusual reflection, it is obvious enough, that it very often happens that very dear and nearly related friends may be at such a distance, that a misfortune happening to one of them may not come to the knowledge of the other in the space of three or six months; or it may be a much longer time; and, in that interval, a marriage is made for one

child, or an heir born to another, upon which vast though vain hopes may be conceived, and all the while not mindful, or at least not being capable of knowing, the misfortune that had actually happened to the most beloved friend one had in the East or West Indies for the purpose, from whence news comes slowly: at last when it does come, no doubt but the joy that hath happened between, or it may be some other affliction nearer at hand, fallen out later and come sooner to knowledge, must needs dull the affection and weaken the impression as to that particular first loss or misfortune, that would have taken up the whole thoughts and passions of a man, if it had come to him by itself to have been considered abstracted from those many other accidents of divers natures that may have intervened. Alas! my irreparable loss, indeed, came not to me in these circumstances. It was, in the first place, at a much smaller distance; and the news of her sickness came before that of her death, by which I might have been better prepared for the event that infallibly happens in some sickness or other, and may be expected in every one. But I confess, having had her in my house all the time of her life, till the time of her marriage, knowing by that means the constant healthfulness of her constitution, having never had any sickness but that of the small-pox, out of which she recovered wonderfully successfully: coming afterwards to be married into all the plenty and greatness that might make her life easy and comfortable; growing to be with child, and well delivered, and mighty well recovered in strength and beauty; I thought indeed, here was a young creature grown to be seasoned in the world; and after having escaped the two greatest dangers to young women in their lives, the small-pox, and their first child, might be looked upon to have taken root in this world, to be likely to spread forth her branches, and to bring forth fruit for the propagation of the great family she was matched into, and the support of that she was gone out of. Thus vainly deceiving myself with these imaginations, I own I received the news of her sickness as an accident attending only the change of air, and depended upon the goodness and strength of her constitution to have preserved her many years. But it pleased God in his wonderful providence, to take her away as it might be on this day, and I lived on almost a week longer deceived in my vain expectations that I should hear better of her and that the worst was past, till here comes the dismal news, a week after the blow was given:—a week's time I had spent, after her lying cold and breathless, in the ordinary exercises of my life;—nay, I think I had wrote from hence to her, after the

time she was dead, with hopes that my letter should find her better; with expressions of tenderness for the sickness she had endured; of wishes for her recovery; of hopes of being in a short time happy in her company; of joy and comfort to myself in being designed to go to live again in the same place with her; I say I had written all this: to whom? to my poor dead child! Oh, sad and senseless condition of human life!

Well, but the sad news being come, not to go about to express the condition I was in; to say of it only, I was doing like other people, overwhelmed in the most sensible calamity that can befall a miserable man: I was beginning to turn myself, to try to recover the time of the lost days, from the hour of her death and agonies, till the time I knew it; to call after my poor child, as soon as I could; to lament my coming so late to shed forth my tears for the pain she had endured, not only of her body in sickness, but of her soul's sorrow for the grief she expected I should have when I should know she was gone to be no more seen. After this I was beginning to turn myself to God, in weeping and prayer; in bowing myself down under the weight of his mighty displeasure; in repenting of the sins I had committed, by which I had drawn down this untimely death upon my innocent child; in acknowledging that I had not served him as I ought, and that for the many blessings I had received of his hands throughout a long, uninterrupted course of this world's happiness, through all the misfortunes that happened to my father, in the King's disgracing and banishing of him, and in some other displeasures to the rest of my family; I had been preserved in his Majesty's favour and countenance, that I seemed to be like a tree planted by the water side, whose leaf did not wither, and whatsoever I did seemed to prosper. That going on to a greater share of the King's goodness, I was promoted to honour and titles, and places of the greatest trust and confidence:—through all this glittering pomp and vain shows, I had not given glory to the Divine Majesty above, nor behaved myself as one that had received all these bounties from his hand. After this I was preparing myself with all decency and duty towards the King, to lay my mortified soul and body at his feet, to beg his pardon for all the errors of my conduct towards him, and to make a resignation of all the employments he had honoured me with, finding that my soul being gone, I had not life enough within me to support his service; and, in the midst of this, I had my wife lying weak and worn with long and continual sickness; and now, as it were, knocked quite on the head with this cruel blow; a wife for whom I had all the tenderness imaginable, with whom

I had lived long and happily, and had reason to be well pleased; whose fainting heart and weak spirits I was to comfort and keep up, when I had none myself. Two days only were spent in these contemplations, and the exercise of some of them, and I thought I had gone a great way in learning the great lesson of Christianity:—"I had found there was no striving with God, who gives not account of any of his matters, and that when he hideth away his face none can behold him, whether it be done against a nation or a man only;" and I had learnt, that it was my duty ever to give God thanks for this judgment upon me, if, by it, I might be restrained from the evil of my ways, and might know and practise his will and commandments, in leading for the future a godly and a sober life, void of offence towards God and towards man: for the which I had seriously designed to prepare myself, and by frequent, constant, and earnest supplications, to have prayed for his blessing upon me; and that he would not leave me nor forsake me.

And now behold another calamity, more general and universal, coming like a thunderbolt, in a sudden and unexpected blow upon the head of him that governed us all. In a moment a King is struck with a fit of an apoplexy, and dies like a common man. Here a man overwhelmed with his own particular calamity, drowned in sorrow for the loss of his best child and dearly beloved friend, and as it were, forsaken of God, resolving to lead a private life, and to make atonement for what is past; is hurried again into the world to attend on this spectacle of a dying King, and to pay his last duty to the Lord's anointed. And from this scene of sorrow, by the grace and favour of his Majesty that now reigns, I became immediately snatched out of these peaceable and quiet intentions and contemplations, to attend him and his service in his entering on the throne, and quickly after was translated in my own person into a more eminent and splendid station in the world than I had been before; and since that time in perpetual hurries of public business: sometimes in the pomp and state of a coronation; after in the great assembly and the consultations of a loyal and well-disposed Parliament; anon, in the alarums of a rebellious bastard, that made an attempt to bring war and desolation upon our land, to overturn our laws, to take away our liberties, and to destroy our King; and this happily disappointed by the Providence of God, and his care over his anointed: in come a new revolution the next meeting of Parliament, of fears and jealousies, and misapprehensions on all sides, and I have brought about this year to the anniversary of my unspeakable loss.

O God! teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto

wisdom, and so to number all those that are past, that those that may be yet to come may be the more comfortable to me; teach me to number the days that I have spent in vanity and idleness, and teach me to number those that I have spent in sin and wickedness; teach me to number those that I have passed in this world's happiness and pleasure; in the conversation of those that have been my true friends; my wife, and my children, and of that dear child's whose conversation I can have no more: but let me never forget the happiness I have had in her company, and the good qualities thou hadst given her, by which she so perfectly deserved all the kindness I could ever show her; and be thou pleased to continue to me the conversation of my wife and children that thou hast left me. O God, teach me to number the days of my affliction too, and to give thee thanks for all that is come to me from thy hand. Teach me likewise to number the days of this world's greatness, of which I have so great a share, and teach me to look upon them as vanity and vexation of spirit; and be thou pleased to forget some of them, and forgive them all, and to teach me so to lead the remainder of my days, and so to apply my heart unto wisdom, that I may have the benefit of it both in this world and in the world to come.

Thus indorsed—

"25th January, 1685-6.

"Meditations on the anniversary day of the death of [Lady Ossory] by her father, Laurence E. of Rochester, in his own hand-writing."

CXXXVII.

DR. ROBERT SOUTH TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Requests his interference to restore him to the King's favour.

MY NOBLE LORD, Caversham, 29th August, 1686.

I should be very unworthy if I should not with as much gratitude own the favours designed as the favours done me by your Lordship, being equally your Lordship's ever obliged debtor for both.

Your Lordship, with the whole world, is now a witness of the alienation of the King's favour from me: the cause of which the Bishop of Durham, having sent for me about the beginning of this month, told me *was a* letter said to have been written by me not long since, to Dr. Bathurst, the Dean of Wells, and since by his brother, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, put into the King's hands; in which I

had reflected upon Mr. Walker, of Oxon, though no particular was alleged by his Lordship of any such reflection. This, my Lord, was my whole charge.

In answer to which, I then assured his Lordship, and do now assure your Honour, by all that is true and sacred, *that at the time of this charge, I had not for three or four years last past, so much as wrote to Dr. Bathurst at all.* And I have, since that, received a letter from him, in answer to one wrote by me to him upon this occasion, (which letter I keep by me, ready to be produced) in which he positively and solemnly owns and avows the same.

And thus, my Lord, stands my case. I am cast off and slurred in the face of the whole kingdom for a letter. A letter that was never wrote, never received, and so, no wonder if never produced. If it can, I will forfeit my neck to the gallows. And the King himself, upon the report of my absolute denial of it, was so gracious as to promise the Bishop of Durham that he would enquire further into it, and *that my accusers should either prove what they had said true, or themselves liars.* The former, I am sure, can never be done, and the latter I cannot yet hear declared.

And therefore, my good Lord, since neither the King's former good opinion and large testimony of me, confirmed by that worthy character given me by your Honour, and indeed, by all the great ministers, have prevailed any thing for me against this pitiful, malicious whisper: I have but this one humble request now to make to your Lordship; viz. that if your Lordship retains any kindness for me, as an old servant of your family, and one whom your noble father had a greater kindness for than his misfortunes suffered him to show, your Honour would so far concern yourself for me, as to search into the bottom of this business, and to find out *by whom, and for what* I stand accused to the King; and when your Lordship has informed yourself, that your Honour would vouchsafe also to inform me. Not that I have any thoughts of creating the least trouble to any one upon this account, but that I may learn from hence, both how to govern and secure myself for the future. What your Lordship shall do for me in this matter, I shall own as an obligation upon me to my dying day. Time, I doubt not, will do that for me that I cannot do for myself, and every day, more and more convince your Honour of the sincere mind of,

My Lord,

Your Honour's most faithful,

Humble, and obliged Servant,

R. SOUTH.

"For the Right Honourable Laurence Earl of Rochester,
Lord High Treasurer of England, and one of the
Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, &c. Whitehall. These most humbly."

CXXXVIII.

W. HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Report respecting the State of New Park.

MY LORD, [*Without date.*]

In obedience to your Lordship's commands, I have been at New Park, and am heartily sorry to find it in so sad a condition. Hartleton Lodge, which was in the care of the late Duke of Lauderdale, is so run to ruin that it is ready to fall down, and stinks so insufferably by the decay of the sewer, that it is uninhabitable. The barn, stable, and the outmounds are down, and the materials sold, as the keeper tells me; and the little lodge hard by the other, in which the underkeeper used to live, must be taken down this winter, or else it will fall. I have known these lodges long, and they have ever been observed to stand in a very ill place, and to be unhealthy. This present keeper, who served the Warwyck family, at Lees, near the Hundreds of Essex, five and twenty years, hath had more sickness in his family this last year, than in any one year there, and his wife hath a very severe ague on her now. Mr. Emmetts, whom I took with me to admeasure the wall that is defective, concurs with me that it will cost three hundred pounds to put Hartleton Lodge in good repair; upon consideration whereof, and of the ill situation of it, in my poor opinion it would be more conducing to his Majesty's service to build a new one, with the help of those materials, in a more healthy and convenient place of the said Park; for health and security of the game and deer, as on the great lanne* near East Sheene; which is not only a fine dry soil, and in all probability very healthy, but the only place where the deer can receive any prejudice by coursing, as the keepers, and a famous deer stealer there heretofore, Mr. Cheeke by name, assure me; besides the beauty of having so fair a lanne about it. If his Majesty shall approve of having the lodge removed, then the charge must and will be according to the bigness of the new one; but, upon discourse with Mr. Emmett, we computed that a lodge of fifty foot in front and forty in depth, with the help of the old materials, would cost about 800*l.* and about 200*l.* to finish it reasonably well: that to wall in a small garden, to build a little kitchen without doors, a wash house, &c., would cost about 450*l.*; and a small barn and stable,

* *Lanne*, laune, laund, or lawnd—a smooth open space of grass land, or pasturage, between woods—*Lande*, Fr. From this comes the modern *Lawn*.

about 250*l.*, in all 1700*l.* There appears upon an admeasurement, that 665 perch of the coping of the wall is defective, and must be made new; for which he demands twenty shillings per perch, but I can have it done very substantially for sixteen and sixpence per perch; and that a great piece of walling near Colonel Panton's Lodge, along the high way thence to London, must be taken down and rebuilt; which, with the several other breaches in the wall, will contain sixty perches of new walling; this he estimates at five pounds per perch, having the old materials allowed him. If so, then the coping of the wall will cost 548*l.* 12s. 6d., and the new walling 300*l.*, which, added to the 1700*l.* aforementioned, will amount to the sum of 2548*l.* 12s. 6d. Having thus stated this matter, I shall proceed to give your Lordship my opinion of the present state and condition of the said Park in general, and what it may be brought to by the care, honesty, and industry of a man who loves that sort of thing, and would endeavour to give his Majesty the true diversions that place would afford, both winter and summer.

In the first place, great part of the Park is grown very coarse for want of branching and keeping of it dry; other parts are overrun with great coverts of furzes and ferne brakes, which, added to the great number of cattle and horses the keepers and others pretend to put there by right, takes up a great part of the yearly value of the said Park. For each head-keeper puts in twenty-four cows, and a bull, and ten horses; each under-keeper four or five cows, and three or four horses; one Hulk, a groom at the half way house, ten horses; Mr. Dalmahoy, in his life-time, as Deputy Ranger to the said Duke, twenty-four cows, and a bull, and ten horses, a thing never heard of before. This is a great stock, but I find that many other horses are put in there on divers other pretences. The head-keepers claim also forty load of wood, called brousewood, yearly; and the trees, in some parts, have been bruised most shamefully. There is a large piece of coarse meadow ground, fenced off by a pale, to make hay for the deer; which may be made much better with no great charge, and serve them plentifully with hay every winter.

The stock of deer, I fear, is very low, though the keepers insist upon it that there are 1000 fallow deer, and 50 red deer, but I cannot believe it; and I fear that there are but few pheasants, partridges, or hares; which I wonder at, for in all the parts of the world which I have seen or been at, I never did find so fit a place for them; nor where there might be such winter shooting; nor indeed a more park-like ground altogether.

And now, having represented to your Lordship the present state and

condition of the said Park, I will give you my poor thoughts what it may be brought to; of which no man is a better judge than the King himself.

First: that this disorderly way of stocking be regulated and ascertained, which his Majesty may do in an hour's time, and 100*l.* per ann. be allowed for destroying the great coverts of furzes and brakes effectually, making of new ditches where they are wanting, scouring the old ones; for laying of some pot ashes on the meadows, &c., and this only for four or five years. I believe a careful man would preserve and maintain a stock of 2000 fallow deer, and 200 or more red deer, and barring great mortalities, this stock will afford every summer season 120 bucks and twelve stags, and every winter sixty does and six hinds; and with a little pains and care, there may be quantities of pheasants, partridges, and hares gotten into the Park; and as the turf shall mend yearly, as undoubtedly it will, so the stock may be increased proportionably. The way to get the Park thus stocked as soon as may be, is to lay a restraint for three years, especially upon winter deer; and to bring out of those forests that are at some distance, as Whittlewood and Salcey, which are a large sort of deer, a reasonable quantity or number; and it will be no hard matter to have them from other places also. And being put into this order, his Majesty will not only have the pleasure of diverting himself there either winter or summer, and have a clear and convenient place to shelter himself from ill weather; but in my poor opinion, be master of the best Park in the world.

This is all I can say upon this occasion, and assure your Lordship that I am, with all the truth imaginable, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, humble Servant,

W. HARBORD.

MR. ROBINSON TO LORD ROCHESTER.

Envoy in Sweden.—He solicits the Treasurer for money.—Report of Monmouth having taken refuge in Sweden, false.

MY LORD, Stockholm, March 25, 1685.*

Since it has pleased his most gracious Majesty, after a long experience of your Lordship's eminent faithfulness and ability in managing the great affairs of the Treasury, to reinstate your Lordship in that important charge, with the new addition of the honour and authority your Lordship has so

* This letter was accidentally omitted in its chronological order.

long deserved; all that have loyal hearts and dare presume to approach so near, will be ready to burden your Lordship with congratulations, to testify their joy at your advancement; since it appears that his Majesty, in conferring this most honourable office, had, together with a due regard to your Lordship's merits, a more general prospect of the good of all his subjects, who will not fail to find the influence of your Lordship's wise and equal management. They especially that have the honour to serve his Majesty abroad, have a more particular reason to rejoice in the happiness of being under your Lordship's patronage, who know so well how necessary it is to supply their wants. This consideration, my Lord, together with the assurance of your singular goodness, emboldens me to make this most humble address and most hearty congratulation, and it gives me hope also of your Lordship's pardon for the unseasonable solicitation my necessities force me to, being reduced at present to such circumstances, as I can only be relieved in by your Lordship. For I am now, in pursuance of a revocation from his late Majesty, preparing to return home; but of necessity am forced to delay it till I hear of money to defray the debts I have contracted, which in above two years time amount to a very great sum: so that though 600*l.*, which was ordered me before his late Majesty's death, should be paid, as I have reason to hope from your Lordship's goodness; yet I must profess that is so made over to Mr. Alderman Jeffreys, and other creditors in England, that I cannot expect any part of it will reach me here; but must humbly beseech your Lordship to assist me with a farther supply of 3 or 400*l.*, that I may be able to quit this place without any dishonour to the character his Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow on me.

I will only presume to add what, this afternoon, I was told by Count Oxenstern, the Premier Ministre, that the last post brought letters from Monsieur Lyonbergh of a report in England, that the Duke of Monmouth was retired into this country and taken into this King's protection: which Count Oxenstern assured me his Majesty of Sweden is extremely troubled at, as being altogether groundless, and a report raised by some that had no good intentions for this Court: That his master valued the amity and esteem of the King of England too high, to give refuge or encouragement to any persons that his Majesty was not satisfied with, which his Excellence bid me write from him. In all humility I recommend myself to your Lordship's favour, as, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant,

JOHN ROBINSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON.

I.

LORD CLARENDON TO MR. GOLDWYER.

Election of Members for Christchurch.

GOOD MR. GOLDWYER, Whitehall, March 16th, 1684-5.

Now that the time approaches for the election of burgesses at Christchurch, to serve in the approaching Parliament, I think my duty to the King, and my respect to the inhabitants, oblige me at this time, more than at any other, to give them my advice in so important a matter; which does not only relate to the preservation of his Majesty's person, and the government in general, but their own particular security and happiness in it. The industry used at the last election, in February 1680, by my Lord of Shaftesbury to recommend Mr. Thomas Hooper and another to that Parliament for Christchurch, had a farther prospect than was then discovered; which was the destruction of his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, and the whole monarchy with them, since notoriously appeared.

There were some who had, in two preceding parliaments, preferred and prosecuted a bill to exclude his Majesty that now is, being then Duke of

York, from his birthright in the succession to the Crown; and because Sir Thomas Clarges was a rigorous opposer of that wicked bill, all endeavours must be used to hinder his election to the Parliament. First, James Hooper made himself Master of the Precept; then an agent of the Duke of Monmouth was sent to Christchurch, to give it out that he was a Papist; and next comes Mr. Trenchard, the brother of him which first had the boldness to bring that vile bill into the Parliament, with one Mr. Ayloft, and others of the same principles; and these were to discredit him with the burgesses for his loyalty to the King; and when they could not prevail with so many of them as they hoped to do, they brought in old Mr. Dewy, and four or five other obsolete burgesses to assist them, who had not appeared in any public business many years before: and when this also proved insufficient, they proceeded to discover themselves a little more than they had done before; and in order to the design they had of subverting the government of the kingdom, they made their first essay in an attempt to overthrow the ancient manner of choosing members to serve in Parliament for Christchurch at that election; and brought in a seditious constable, with a rabble as seditious as himself, to disturb it, and claim a right to give votes for the election; though it is manifest, that in all the elections extant on record since the first time Christchurch elected members to Parliament, there is not one precedent for a popular election. Mr. Ayloft, the comrade of Mr. Thomas Hooper in these enterprizes, is withdrawn from justice; and how Mr. Thomas Hooper upbraided me then with his Earl of Shaftesbury, and how contemptuously he spoke of his present Majesty, and his exclusion, is yet fresh in the memory of many that observed and heard him; and yet I hear he has the confidence to set up himself for the next election, or otherwise to disturb it. But how fit he is for such a trust in this conjuncture, every honest man may judge. I am also told that Mr. Hawkins stands to be a burgess for Christchurch; he was with me to assist him, but I could not encourage him in it; and though I did not tell him my reason thereof, because I thought he would have desisted without it, since he does persist, I must communicate to you the reason of my dislike of him, which is, because he was active in opposing his late Majesty's intentions about the electing sheriffs in London, and was set up by my Lord of Shaftesbury's party to be one of them. So that though he may be (for aught I know) a fit man to be a member in another Parliament, I cannot advise him to be chosen at this time to this Parliament till I shall have some more convincing proof of his loyalty; for this is not a season to dissem-

ble. Many burgesses have made addresses to the King lately, and most of them have expressed their resolutions therein, to choose no person that approved of the exclusion of his Majesty, when he was Duke of York. And if the town of Christchurch do not address in the like manner, yet if they show their duty in their practice, by electing men to this Parliament of known loyalty to the Crown, and such as have given testimony against it, they will sufficiently testify their loyalty to his Majesty and the Government; and it is for that reason which I am chiefly solicitous on their behalf; and do therefore write my mind at large to you, in whom I have especial confidence, that you may acquaint my friends therewith, and I shall desire to hear from you, and them as soon as may be, of the true state of the town, that I may take my measures accordingly, who am,

Sir, your truly affectionate servant.

"To my very good friend, Mr. Goldwyer,
Minister of Christchurch, Hampshire, These."

II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND, BY LORD GUILFORD, ADDRESSED TO LORD CLARENDON.

[Francis North, Baron Guilford, was the third son of Dudley, Lord North, Baron of Kirtling; he received the rudiments of his education at a common school, and completed it at St. John s College, Cambridge, where he was entered as a fellow-commoner. He next became a member of the Middle Temple, and by his close application to the study of the law and his assiduity, at length arrived at the dignity of Lord Keeper, a station upon which his virtues and integrity reflected credit in an age remarkable for corruption and vice. One of the most amusing pieces of biography in the language, from its naïveté and the minuteness of its detail, is the Life of Lord Guilford by his younger brother, the Honourable Roger North, which has recently been made accessible to the reader in a new edition.

The following observations on the state of Ireland, were drawn up by Lord Guilford for the instruction of his friend Lord Clarendon, when he was about to proceed thither as Chief Governor. They are remarkable for the good sense and discrimination with which they are written, and that part which relates to the causes of disaffection in Ireland toward the seat of Government, and to the influence of the Catholic religion in producing it, are not unworthy of attention at this day; though the circumstances and relations of the two countries are altered.]

Ireland is a kingdom subordinate to England in so absolute a manner, that the King in his Parliament of England, may make laws that shall be binding

in Ireland. This doctrine is so hard of digestion to Irishmen, that they will not with any patience hear of it, but it is necessary to be known by their governors, whose prudence will contain them from speaking of it without necessity, and likewise from acting any thing against it.

The greater prejudice there is against an opinion, the more care must be taken to make it clearly out; and if this opinion were not very manifestly to be proved, it would some time or other have been brought into dispute; which it hath not been, nor ever will be, otherwise than by a rebellion.

For it cannot bear argument, there being not only daily practice, but undoubted proofs from antiquity.

In Edward the First's time, the statute called Westminster the Second, which was made in the thirteenth year of his reign, speaks of the King's publishing statutes at Gloucester, per que populus suus Anglicanus et Hibernicus, sub suo regimine gubernatus, celeriorem justitiam quam prius in suis oppressionibus consecutus est; which is a demonstration that statutes for Ireland were made in the parliaments of England.

In every parliament to this day, there are receivers and tryers of petitions for Ireland.

The constant practice is to bring Writs of Error returnable in the King's Bench in England, to reverse judgment in Ireland. Whence it follows, that in Ireland, they are not trusted to judge or declare the law, (for so they might change the law,) but if they judge wrong, their judgments are subject to correction here.

So that if this question, Whether an Act of Parliament in England can bind Ireland? should come into judgment; it must be finally determined in England, where right will be done; and not in Ireland, where they are prejudiced against it. It is always objected, the people of Ireland are not represented in the Parliament of England, having no members that serve for them, and therefore it is unreasonable they should be bound.

But it is answered, that though they are not represented, nor do appear as any of the States, yet they are the King's subjects, and the King will have that care of them that is fitting. And it is not unreasonable that a conquered nation should receive laws at the pleasure of the King alone; and, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that they should be subject to such laws as the King of England, in his highest court of Parliament, should be advised to impose upon them. So that the reason of this power is founded upon the King's

enacting the laws, and not upon the consent of the Parliament, where they are not represented.

Their not having representatives in the Parliament of England, makes it unreasonable the Parliament of England should give away their money, or make any laws to change property. And as to laws concerning government, it is not fit they should be made without great occasion, and upon full information, which is difficult to be had at so great a distance.

I mention this, because in the Parliament at Westminster, 1680, there were Bills prepared relating to Ireland; which, if they had been tendered to the King, would have been inconvenient; for to pass them might have produced discontent in Ireland, and to reject them would have occasioned the like here.

Ireland being thus in subjection, not only to the King, but to the crown of England, it is natural and necessary to believe that the Irish will have an aversion to the English, and their government; and if ever they have it in their power, they will shake it off.

This aversion is the stronger, because by the late revolutions many of the Irish lost their estates; and thought it hard measure, that upon the King's return their claims were rejected, where they pretended innocency, (which was done for reason of State,) because the difficulty of making proof after twenty years, and the generality of the case, some of them that may be supposed really innocent of the first rebellion, being sequestered by the usurpers; and others that were in that rebellion, but merited afterwards by their service to the King, were in the same condition with the worst of the rebels, and involved in the generality of those claims that could not be heard.

This aversion will incline them to opposition and difference with the English in all things, and especially in religion, which has been always found the best pretence to make a change in the State. To encounter these, two grounds should be laid and steadily observed,—1. To encourage the English people. 2. To encourage the English religion; that is, the Church of England. The practice of the former is easy and plain, by encouraging the English people to transport themselves.

It will be a matter of great difficulty to steer a right course in the latter; because the numbers of Presbyterians, as well as Catholics, are so very great, so that it is necessary for a Governor to consider well how to avoid occasions of general discontent of either side, and to make his progress by such degrees as may not produce disorder, but prove effectual.

For the well doing whereof, he ought to know how the laws of that kingdom stand, both against papists and fanatics; there being a great difference betwixt England and Ireland; for the late laws that have been made in suppression of either party in England, have not yet been enacted in Ireland.

All the old laws against the Pope's jurisdiction, before 10 Henry VII., (which were many,) are in force in Ireland, by Poyning's law, as will appear in Lalor's case, at the end of Davy's Reports,—worth reading.

And many laws have been made since the Reformation, but neither so general nor so severe as in England.

He that governs Ireland will have a zeal for the Church of England, when he considers he is a servant to the crown, and of what importance the King's supremacy is to the support of it; and what consequences the denying of it produces.

1. The Papists say the Pope is above the King in Ecclesiastical causes, (and what they are the Pope will determine,) and the King may, for good cause, be excommunicated by the Pope: the consequence whereof is, that none of his subjects may minister unto him, or keep him company. This opinion was very popular in England in the old times, when the anti-court party had no other refuge; and by this they created all the troubles to the crown.

This is not a bare notion, but was always put in practice when sedition was grown to that height that the Popes could do it to the purpose; they did it in King John's time in England, and in Henry the Third's time in France.

2. The Papists deny the King's power of pardoning ecclesiastical offences, which cuts off a main dependance upon the crown. But the people must be imprisoned by the King when they are excommunicate, and cannot be released by him until they shall be absolved by the ecclesiastical courts; which power (considering how large the jurisdiction is,) will be intolerable, unless where the King is so powerful that the Pope is afraid of him.

3. The Pope exempts his clergy from temporal jurisdiction. The abuse of this claim was insufferable in England, and when laws were made to restrain it, the Popish clergy disputed and preached against those laws, as void and against the law of God, and that all that put them in execution ought to be excommunicate.

4. The Popish clergy, claiming a power of declaring what is contrary to the law of God, without any subordination to the King, claim a power to declare the King's laws void, for all men admit that human constitutions

must yield to the divine law: all these are consequences of denying the King's supremacy. No man that considers then, but must hold the crown so maimed by them, that the King cannot be esteemed sovereign without the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

And, considering the avarice of Rome, and the greater influence that France and Spain will have over that See, that Prince must be reckoned very weak that will give any ground to a jurisdiction so entirely and happily shaken off.

On the other side, the fanatics disallow the King's supremacy, though they will take the oath of supremacy to avoid punishment.

They hold an assembly of the clergy, or the classes, to have their commission immediately from God, and that if any laws are contrary to the law of God they are void, and they may declare them to be so.

That if Kings are wicked, and transgress the laws of God, the people may depose them.

These are the doctrines of Calvin and other Presbyterians, and their practice has been always conformable whenever it was in their power; therefore they ought to be discouraged by all ways possible, that their numbers may never give hopes to their false teachers to overturn the Government again. But the Church of England, which was reformed by law and not by rebellion, is the best constitution for a monarch; it asserts the supremacy of the King, that he is accountable to none but God; that it is unlawful upon any occasion to take up arms against him, much less to depose him.

This church hath the most easy discipline and least chargeable to the people of any in the world, as appears by plain experience.

MY LORD,

I promised to scribble a sheet of paper and I have done it, being a man of my word, and your Lordship's

Most faithful and humble Servant,
GUILFORD.

This is designed only for your Lordship's perusal.

III.

NEWS LETTER FROM IRELAND, ADDRESSED TO COLONEL RICHARD GRACE.

November 11, 1685.

Having written but one letter to you since you parted hence, (to which I own to have received an answer,) I can hardly plead for a pardon without making this long enough to serve for two or three.

Perhaps you have been already informed of a meeting intended at Loglereogh, in order to choose one or two agents from the natives of this province to represent our grievances to his Majesty. And this, pursuant to an advice from Sir Patrick Barnewal, in a letter to Sir Harry Lynch, (who not suspecting but Sir Patrick consulted the Government, or at least my Lord Tyrconnel, before he advised a meeting,) sent copies of this letter up and down, with two words of a postscript, importing that the 26th of October was appointed for the meeting at Loglereogh. As soon as I had notice of it, I wrote to my Lord Tyrconnel, to get his opinion, for I did suspect, (though Sir Patrick came lately out of England, and that he found it a proper time,) that it was not seasonable yet to move any such thing; and finding, by my Lord Tyrconnel's answer, that it was very improper and unseasonable to meet about it, I stopped my Lord Dillon, Lord Birmingham, and several other persons of quality; and notice was sent to Sir Harry Lynch, and such as would come to Loglereogh, to appear in no numbers, but immediately return home; which was accordingly done, without any great appearance or noise. However, because we are still unfortunate, the rumour of such a thing having alarmed our adversaries, I hear they are now very busy to get those of the natives who gain by the present settlement, to join with them in an address to his Majesty not to alter it; and that the most considerable part of the nation being already provided for, do acquiesce in the settlement. It concerns you, gentlemen, that are about Court, to prevent any prejudice that such an address might bring upon the generality of your nation. I know none of this province but the merchant race of Galway who got by the new settlement; and, indeed, in a well-governed country they should not be allowed to purchase so much land, and give over the traffic at sea, which hath absolutely impoverished this province beyond any other part of Ireland: for those of Galway have more land than all the townsmen in the whole kingdom put together, and consequently more land than all the merchants in France and Spain. And is it

not a preposterous thing, that the inhabitants of a little town, not altogether so big as Ostend, should have more land than all the townsmen in two or three flourishing kingdoms?

I saw your late letters. We have a great talk here of a commission to my Lord Clanricarde to raise a regiment of horse, but we see no effects of it; and for my part, I should think it more proper for his Lordship (and so much I told him) to have a regiment of foot, and those governments and commands in the Province of Connaught, which his predecessors were intrusted with by his Majesty's Royal ancestors; and I am confident the now Lord would as faithfully acquit himself of that trust as any of his predecessors. I do but offer this to you.

If you remember when you lived in this kingdom, you cannot forget that we had our news letters in manuscript: now, Sir, we have them in print: and because it is so, they carry as much credit as any relation in the London Gazette; and therefore I should think there should be a moderator appointed to oversee it, as there is certainly one for the Gazette. I observe this month or two, commonly every second news letter has something in it of the severity used against the Hugonots (whom they call Protestants) in France, and yet we find no mention of any such thing in the Gazette. I made bold to make my observations upon it to my Lord Tyrconnel, for it is obvious to every man's understanding, that it is designedly done, and it is easily understood what they drive at. If what is printed in Dublin be true, it is strange but some Gazette or other would mention something of it, or we might have it by private letters out of France; but if it be a fiction, as certainly it is for the most part, why does not the Government take notice of it? I send you here enclosed, an abstract I took out of two or three news letters I had about me. I might send you a whole sheet of collections, but let this serve to demonstrate the great concern that those of Geneva-Dublin have for their Calvinist brethren in France.

We are very quiet now in this kingdom, as to outward appearance. Is it not a strange thing that the Whigs of Ireland did not think themselves secure when Argyle was in arms in Scotland, and Perkin at the head of an army in England; alas! they were in continual dread of a massacre then, and that the Papists would cut their throats; but now that Argyle is hanged, drawn, and quartered, Monmouth defeated and executed, their apprehensions are over, and they are come to their right senses again. It is very certain that if the devil had had power to give Monmouth and Argyle those victories that

Heaven bestowed on his Sacred Majesty, there is not a Cromwellian in Ireland, in or out of employment, but would join with the rebels, and cut our throats; and it is as certain they will do so again if ever any such opportunity offers. Is it, therefore, advisable to keep such men in power and in authority, either in the militia or civil government? And is there any kingdom or empire upon earth that can be always secure from revolts and insurrections? Now, because this is a theme a little too high for men of our sphere, I will stop here, lest I might take too great a flight, and so run myself into a præmunire.

There is a strong report among us here, that Colonel Grace is Governor of Athlone, as Whiggish a little town as any in Ireland: they burnt the Pope, (that is a block that they fixed horns upon) on the 23d of October last, in memory of the Irish rebellion, which was fatal to the Irish, but beneficial enough to the English Whigs, who got large possessions by it: indeed they are obliged to celebrate that day with joy and thanksgiving. However, I could wish my old comrade were Governor of it, that I might have the comfort of his neighbourhood; but I am of St. Thomas's belief as to that and many other reports. They say my Lord Tyrconnel goes soon for England; we want him there, and we shall want him here. The boy tells me he will hardly overtake the post, for it is three Connaught miles from hence, and you know we have good measure here. Adieu. God bless his Sacred Majesty, with long life, health, and happiness, and a numerous issue male. Amen, Amen.

"To Colonel Richard Grace,
at my Lord Dartmouth's Lodgings,
London, these."

IV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[The details of Lord Clarendon's journey to Holyhead, contained in the following letters, will amuse the modern traveller acquainted with that route. It appears from Mr. Evelyn's Diary, that Lord Clarendon left London on the 16th of December, for on that day he says, "I accompanied my Lord Lieutenant as far as St. Alban's; there going out of town with him near two hundred coaches of all the great officers and nobility. The next morning, taking leave, I returned to London." Twenty miles seems to have been an average day's journey, and it will not, therefore, be surprising that he did not reach Holyhead until the 3d of January, especially as Christmas festivities delayed him for a day or two at Chester.]

Coventry, Dec. 21, 1685.

Yesterday, after I had sent away my letter to you, the Chief Justice of Chester* came to me; he came to this town on Saturday from executing the special Commission, and goes this morning for London; he tells me, when the indictment was preferred against Lord Delamere,† he had summoned two other witnesses, which he was informed of upon the place, who appeared before the Grand Jury, and did extremely corroborate the testimony given by Saxton, and gave great satisfaction to the whole country: though you will know this more fully when the judge comes to town, yet I thought it no harm to acquaint you with it sooner. A servant of Colonel Sarsfield's, newly come from Ireland, and who arrived here last night, seemed surprised (as I am informed) when he found I was thus far on my way; and said when he

* Jeffries.

† Lord Delamere was tried for high treason, upon suspicion of designing to raise a rebellion in Cheshire and join with the Duke of Monmouth. Saxton swore to things which were so palpably untrue, that what little colour there might have been for conviction, was entirely destroyed by his excess of zeal in the cause. This evidence was not corroborated, and the Solicitor General (Finch) made a violent declamation in vain, to prove that one witness, with presumptions, was sufficient to convict in cases of high treason. It may not be unacceptable to the reader to see the charges which Lord Delamere preferred against the Chief Justice of Chester for his iniquitous conduct, in a sensible speech which he made in Parliament, upon the corruption of the judges. "The county for which I serve is Cheshire, which is a county palatine, and we have two judges peculiarly assigned us by his Majesty. Our puisné Judge, I have nothing to say against him, for he is a very honest man for aught I know. But I cannot be silent as to our chief Judge, and I will name him, because what I have to say will appear more probable: his name is Sir George Jeffries; who, I must say, behaves himself more like a jack-pudding than a judge. He was mighty witty upon the prisoners at the bar; he was very full of his jokes upon people that came to give evidence, not suffering them to declare what they had to say in their own way and method, but would interrupt them, because they behaved themselves with more gravity than he; and in truth, the people were strangely perplexed when they were to give in their evidence. But I do not insist upon this, nor upon the late hours he kept up and down our city. It is said he was every night drinking till two o'clock, or beyond that time, and that he went to his chamber drunk; but this I have only by common fame, for I was not in his company; I bless God I am not a man of his principles or behaviour: but in the morning he appeared with the symptoms of a man that over-night had taken a large cup. But that which I have to say is the complaint of every man, especially of them who had any law-suits. Our Chief-Justice has a very arbitrary power, in appointing the assize when he pleases; and this man has strained it to the highest point; for, whereas we were accustomed to have two assizes, the first about April or May, the latter about September; it was, this year, the middle (as I remember) of August before we had any assize, and then he despatched business so well, that he left half the causes untried; and to help the matter he has resolved that we shall have no more assizes this year. These things are, I hope, just cause of complaint."—*Works of Lord Delamere*, 8vo. 1694, p. 142.

left Ireland, the letters which were last come from England, brought an account that I was not to go for Ireland: the best is, these reports do one no harm; this person, says my Lord Tyrconnel, was to embark from Dublin to-morrow. I have not seen this man myself, having no occasion to speak with him, so that what I tell you is only from information. Here are two churches in this town, I was at both of them yesterday, and must needs say they were very well filled; the two ministers which belong to them are very good preachers, and seem very discreet men. They assure me there has not been a conventicle in this town for above a year; and that executing the law upon the non-conformists, in making them pay, has brought them all to church. I have now tired you sufficiently with a long letter about nothing, but I think I cannot spend my time better than in conversing with you, at what distance soever. Being impatient to hear from you, and to know something of our love affair,* I caused the packet for Chester, which left London on Saturday night, and came hither this morning, to be opened; I found several letters for myself, which I took out, but met with none from you, which makes me conclude that you enclosed yours to somebody at Chester, and then I shall meet with it on Thursday. God keep you and all yours.

V.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Itinerary from Coventry to Lichfield.

Lichfield, Dec. 22, 1685.

The ways hither were much better than the former part of the journey, for we did not take coach till nine in the morning, and we came hither by four in the afternoon. About four miles from Coventry, my Lord Digby and his brother met us, and came with us to this town. About a mile from the town, the Mayor and his brethren, the Dean and prebends, and several other gentlemen met me; and indeed I have had as much honour done me all the way as, I believe, was ever done to any. Here are no troops quartered in this town. I am now going to take coach for Newport, and I leave this behind me, that you may hear from me from every stage. My humble service I pray to my sister: I pray God keep you both long together and bless all yours. Pen and ink are very bad here.

* A negociation on foot for the marriage of his son, Edward Lord Cornbury.

VI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD ROCHESTER.

Occurrences in his journey from Coventry to Newport.

Newport, Dec. 23, 1685.

This is no post town, however I drop a letter that you may hear from me at every stage; the man of the house promising to put it into the bye-bag. Ever since we have been five miles from Coventry, the ways have been extraordinary good; yesterday we travelled most upon Watling-street, an old Roman way; we came hither quickly after three in the afternoon, though we set not out from Lichfield till after nine, and it is near twenty miles. This is a great village and no corporation, but it stands high and pleasantly. Warwickshire and Staffordshire are noble countries; this is Shropshire, and it is the only county I have come through, where some of the gentry have not come to me; but nobody of this county hath as yet taken notice of me. We are now taking coach for Whitchurch, where we are to lodge at night; it is but fifteen miles from hence, but the other fourteen from thence to Chester, are so bad way, that all people tell me it will be a sufficient day's journey for to-morrow. My humble service to my sister. God keep you both and all yours.

VII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Mode of his reception in his journey from Newport to Chester.—His entertainment in that City.—Negociations for the Marriage of Lord Cornbury.

Chester Castle, December 26th, 1685. Saturday.

My last to you was from Newport, and I have not missed writing to you from every stage where I lay, except from Whitchurch, and that is no post town; and if I had left a letter to have been sent by the bye-post, it would have come no sooner to you than this. I came hither on Thursday, about three in the afternoon, so that we have kept our time according to our first calculation, and I thank God we are thus far advanced wonderful prosperously, not having had any coach in our company overturned, nor any of our tackle broken. I have been received and complimented in all places (as I am informed) as well as any of my predecessors; and though I told you none

of the Shropshire gentlemen met me at Newport, (that being the first place I came to in that county,) yet several of them, as Sir John Corbett, Mr. Manwaring, Mr. Wilbraham, and others, came to me the next day to Whitchurch. About two miles from this city I was met by very many gentlemen of the county, of the best rank, as Sir Philip Egerton, Mr. Cholmeley, Sir John Ardern, the Governor, &c.: it would be endless to name them all: through the suburbs was a guard of the town militia, in red coats lined with black. My Lord Ferrers's regiment, which is here quartered, made a guard quite through the city. Just within the gates, was, upon a scaffold, the Mayor and his brethren in their formalities, and the Recorder made a speech: in a word, (if I may say so,) it was impossible to make a greater show, or to do more, if the King had been here himself. I am lodged at the Castle, and entertained too well; the Governor will not be content to feast my wife and me, and such of our family as are necessary to attend us (for I do not suffer the rest to be here), but likewise entertains all the country gentlemen, and all the officers of the regiment. This I owe to you, for this gentleman speaks with wonderful esteem of you, and says he has those obligations to you which he can never enough acknowledge; and I hope you will help me to thank him. I am to be entertained to-day by the Corporation, as they say other Lord Lieutenants used to be, and therefore I was not to refuse it; to-morrow we dine with the Dean, and on Monday morning we set forward into Wales. I found here your's of the 19th, for which I return you many thanks.

As to my son's affair, if it should succeed, I know very well I shall owe it to your friendship and kindness; but I have not time now to enter upon those acknowledgments, which can be never done sufficiently. I do not wonder Mr. Hervey and his lady should be startled at my miserable condition; I rather wonder that you should have the courage to believe that the expedient of my wife's estate being applied towards the clearing of mine should any way satisfy them. The expression in your letter, that you had good hopes of the thing from the manner of Lady Whitmore's speaking to you, gave me great comfort; and though I am not naturally very sanguine, yet I have no mind to despair of a thing which I do so passionately desire. But my son's letters, both to my wife and myself, of the 22d, which give an account of the conference he had with the young lady, show him to be in despair, of all which I suppose he has informed you himself, for you can give him better cordials than we can at this distance. He says he sees no life in his affair, but that he is not forbid the house, and till he be he will continue his applications. I know not what to say, but as I

would do all I can to establish my family, and that I find my son's heart is extremely set upon this lady, who really, I think, would make us as happy as we need to be, I am most heartily grieved that I can do no more towards the removing the difficulties which my misfortunes have raised; but I know not what I can do more than the keeping a most exact prudent conduct (if God and the King please to give me life, and to let me keep in the Government upon which I am now entering), which may hasten the wearing out of my debt. There is nothing I would not do to compass this match, and the extreme desire of it makes me think of expedients which perhaps are not reasonable; but you will let me mention any thing to you, and they need go no further. What if their Majesties were prevailed upon to intercede with Mr. Hervey and his lady, and the widow herself? Gracious expressions to them of kindness towards the family (to which, I confess, he has already given but too many proofs of favour and bounty,) would perhaps, in some measure, supply the defect of settlements: but this I dare but hint: God's will be done.*

As to what you say of the Queen Dowager, I am very glad the greatest of my crimes she has been pleased to accuse me of to the King, is insolent behaviour towards her; which I should never forgive myself, if I were guilty, for which I dare refer myself to the two lords her Majesty has named: but I will say no more of that matter till I have the particulars of my accusation from you. I am very glad Crag is taken; I hope he will be able to make out the whole villany of the late damnable conspiracy; but, if I may say so, it is time there should be an end of the plot, as soon as is possible. The first thing I do after my landing in Ireland, shall be to look after the Tories, in the same manner you advise; and I hope you believe that I shall always follow your advice, except you are satisfied yourself with the reasons why I do not; therefore pray never let me want it. I humbly thank you for the enclosed paper you sent me. My wife is your humble servant, but extremely troubled about Ned's affair; I verily think she could not be more concerned if he were her own son. God Almighty bless you and all yours. I have now written a short letter to my Lord President, but had nothing to entertain him with more than my respects.

* The object of all this solicitude was probably the Lady Catherine O'Brien, whom Lord Cornbury afterwards married: she was daughter of Henry Lord O'Brien, (who perished at sea in the Gloucester, 1682,) eldest son of the Earl of Thomond, by the Lady Catherine, sister and sole heir of Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and also sole heir to the Lady Catherine, daughter and heir to Lord Clifton, so that she became Baroness Clifton in her own right, the title descending to her son at her decease in 1706; who, therefore, became a peer of England before his father.

VIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proposed marriage of his son.—Has shipped his servants and horses, and is about to take his departure for Wales.—Stories about Lord Tyrconnel.—Appointments.—News letters, the mischief they occasion, &c.

Chester Castle, Dec. 28, 1685. Monday.

I have received yours of the 24th, for which I give you many thanks. I know not what to say to Mrs. Whitmore's business; I am as much satisfied as you can be yourself that you have done, and will do, all that can be thought of in the matter; and if your next tells me that affair is totally at an end, I shall not be surprised; though I cannot help being troubled, because I doubt I shall not meet with so likely an opportunity of settling my son; and that made me so foolish as to suggest what I did to you in my last; and I doubt not but you have thought of speaking to all people who have any credit with the young lady, and so God's will be done. Let me beg you to give my son good advice; he has promised me to hearken to, and be advised by you. As to what you say of the Queen Dowager, I asked her whether I should pay the warrant to Meers, or pay the 500*l.* to Mr. Thynn: she told me to the last; and I know not how, in the hurry I was in when I came away, it was not done; but I will send orders about it from hence, for the money is in Sir R. Clayton's hands. I am this morning going for Wales, with a light train, having shipped most of my servants and horses from hence, as they tell me my Lord Duke of Ormond used to do. As soon as I am in Ireland, I will write to you about the wool-money, as you direct, and upon all other particulars you mention relating to the revenue and other affairs of that kingdom. Here are a multitude of stories of Lord Tyrconnel, and some very ridiculous ones; not only from Ireland, but of his behaviour in these parts as he went over, which I will give you an account of when I am more at leisure. I will not take any notice of what you write concerning Mr. Kingdon, without your further directions; and certainly your fundamental rule is a very good one, and I hope will be a means of keeping the appointing those commissioners to yourself, which will be more to the King's service if he considers it right. The news letters which come into these parts do put the people into a wonderful consternation; those which came down yesterday, speak of a declaration of toleration which is in the press, and of twenty other things, which I dare say are not true, as if it were done on purpose to dis-

quiet men's minds. If you think it fit to suppress these letters, (which methinks were worthy consideration), the Governor here and the Recorder will easily give you an account from whence they come. Here is one Mr. Williams, an officer in the Customs; he formerly lived with Mr. Secretary Jenkins: I am under an obligation to Mr. Cholmley, the Governor, and several other honest gentlemen, to move you that his salary may be augmented from 25*l.* to 40*l.* per annum.

A few days before I left London, my old friend Colonel Grace* sent me the enclosed letter, which I here send you to make what use you please of; he is no admirer of Lord Tyrconnel, no more are many of that religion and country. You will give me leave to put you in mind of consulting my Lord of Canterbury in the matter of granting the impropriations to the church which you mention: you shall have my opinion upon it as soon as I have the draught of the letter and your directions. God Almighty keep you and yours.

I have really not had time to write to my sister from hence, having had so much company, with whom I was obliged to spend my time: I hope you will excuse me to her till I am in Ireland.

IX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD ROCHESTER.

His entertainment by the Bishop of St. Asaph.—Story told of Lord Tyrconnel's behaviour when at Whitchurch.

St. Asaph, Dec. 29th, 1685.

I wrote to you yesterday from Chester, as I was going to take coach for this place, where we arrived about five in the evening, it being from Chester hither twenty Welsh miles; I am sure I could have gone in the same time from London to Reading. The Bishop here has a very good, convenient, though not magnificent house, as you will believe, when I tell you, besides us and our necessary servants, he lodgeth Sir P. Rycaut and Mr. Keightley, and discomposeth none of his own family; and there is in the city, as it is called, two very pretty inns, who have room for fifty horses. We are now

* The reader will find the letter sent to Colonel Grace here alluded to, printed in its chronological order at p. 188. *ante.*

going to Conway, which is fourteen miles from hence, and will take us up five hours to go it: we must be there before four in the afternoon, because then the tide serves to carry us over the ferry. One of the stories I have to tell you of Lord Tyrconnel is, when he came to Whitchurch, fourteen miles before he came to Chester, in his way to Ireland, his Lordship went into the church, where is a monument of one of the family of Talbot, which he said was one of his ancestors; he gave orders for the repairing of it, and found great fault that the windows of the church were broken, saying, "*This church was in better order when you took it* (speaking to the sexton) *from us Catholics, but we shall have it shortly again, and then you shall pay for all.* You will easily believe how this relisheth amongst country people; but there is as worthy a minister as any of the gown, who will keep things in good order: I have known him these twenty years in Lord Bridgewater's family: Whitchurch, both town and living, belongs to that noble Lord. Oath is offered to be made of this, but I forbade my people meddling with it. I could tell you many more of these stories, but they are all as ridiculous as this. I have directed Mr. Radcliffe to wait on you, to give you some information of my Wapping affair, which may turn to good account, if you please to give some of your servants order to appoint him convenient times to attend you, when it will be least troublesome. God keep you and all yours.

X.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD ROCHESTER.

Negociations for the Marriage of Lord Cornbury, and difficulties of raising the Sum to be settled on that occasion.

Conway, Dec. 30, 1685. Wednesday.

Yesterday, just as I was taking coach at St. Asaph (for I was come down into the Court,) I received yours of the 26th, which was sent by an express from Chester to me: I can never enough thank you for the care and pains you take in bringing my son's business to a good issue, which I know must take up a great deal of your time, which you cannot well spare; but I know you do not now expect compliments from me. As to the proposal you make, of my selling the six shares in the King's moiety, it is fit I should a little explain that matter to you, which I will do very briefly. It is very true, the charge of recovering those six shares did cost me a great deal of

money; but it is as true, my wife engaged part of her other estate to enable me to pay the debt so incurred, and to furnish the rest of the purchase money for those six shares; so that I may truly say, that that purchase and the charges of the suit were all defrayed out of my wife's estate;* all which Sir R. Clayton knows very well: for the first time I dealt with him upon the account of the New River, was to make an end of that suit; and the money he then lent was upon the security of three shares in the Adventurers' moiety, as well as upon the six recovered shares in the King's moiety; though I write this now upon memory, yet the writings will show it, and they were sealed at my Lord Chief Baron Montagu's chamber, in the Temple. Notwithstanding that my wife had thus helped me to pay for this purchase, as I have mentioned, yet she put those shares entirely into my hands; and truly, when about six years since she was so kind to me as to lend me a further sum, I could do no less than re-settle those six shares again upon her and her trustees. The writings will show how wonderfully kind she has been to me since all this, as very lately to accommodate me with yet a further sum, and has thereby made the debt upon the water shares 30,000*l.*; how she has yet, in a greater degree, if possible, showed her kindness for the settling of my family, you know by the writings she sealed at St. Alban's. And after all this to get her absolutely to sell those six shares, would be very hard, and she has no mind to do it; but still, to show her kindness to my son, she is willing to engage that, if I should not live three years, or that my estate of Blunsden and Christchurch should not in that time be cleared and settled upon him, she is willing, I say, to engage that she will see it cleared and settled. But immediately to bring her to sell those six shares, I cannot do it: and in truth, I cannot much blame her, for it is visible that revenue does daily more increase than land can do; and by some new rules which we have lately made, a very considerable improvement will appear within a year. But, after all, if the person whom you say you know would give 21,000*l.* for those six shares (and you seem to have a power over him) will engage, in writing, to re-convey those shares back again, if either my wife or I, or my wife's assignees do, within three years, pay him the said sum of 21,000*l.*, and he, in the mean time, to have the full profits of the shares with their improvements, and never to be accountable for the same, but at the end of three years to receive his 21,000*l.*, I do verily believe

* Lady Clarendon's fortune, which was considerable, consisted principally of shares in the New River Water Company.

upon these terms, in this manner, my wife will be persuaded to part with the six shares; and methinks this should do, if the person you mention be in earnest that he will part with the six shares again, *in any time*, as you say; a shorter time, surely, cannot be set than three years. We would not do thus much, but that we are sensible with you that the breaking off this match now, must be known to be on the account of so great an engagement upon my estate that it could not be freed, and will have a very ill influence upon any thing else of that kind. But if 21,000*l.* can thus be raised, I hope you will then be at a certainty with them, even with the young lady herself, that it shall be a match if the first proposition be made good.

It may not be amiss here to tell you, that when Sir St. John Broderick took leave of me at Wooborne, he told me he wished heartily to my Lord Cornbury's success; but he said I had one of the craftiest men in the world (Mr. Hervey) to deal with: he said he spoke it by experience; that he had been in a treaty with him for the other daughter, for a nephew of his own, and that, after all, the portion was not ready; and he wished this lady's 20,000*l.* would be found effectual. I know you will look to that, but I thought it not amiss to give you this hint. I know you are unsatisfied with Sir St. John Broderick upon another score, but I verily believe he loves our family, and would do any thing to serve any of us. If the 21,000*l.* can be procured as I have mentioned, I do verily believe my wife will consent to it, and it may be despatched as soon as you please; a messenger sent to us on purpose, with articles, writings, or what shall be necessary, may not be amiss; he shall not stay an hour with us for his despatch. If 21,000*l.* can be procured as above, I compute 15,000*l.* will clear Blunsden and Christchurch, or thereabouts, and then will remain 6000*l.* for Sir R. Clayton, towards lessening the debt of 30,000*l.*, and there will remain a charge upon the eight shares in the Adventurers' moiety 24,000*l.*, which eight shares are worth, to be sold, at the least 28,000*l.*, for they are worth much more than the shares in the King's moiety. I think I have fully answered your letter almost to your proposition, and hope I shall quickly have your return to this.*

We came hither about four yesterday in the evening, and, thank God!

* Lady Clarendon has here written as follows:—"I am very sorry, dear brother, all that I have done is so ineffectual; however I am not so discouraged but that I do approve of what my Lord has written, provided it may certainly be a match, and that I may have the six shares again as my Lord has stated it. Your's ever, F. Clarendon."

passed the Ferry very well. Here met me my Lord Bulkeley's son, from his father, to invite me very obligingly to his house: but when we shall get thither God knows; for though the full moon be this day, and the tides used to be the same two days before and two days after the full, yet they say here there has been no ebb since August, and at two this morning Mr. Bulkeley sent his servant, who is returned with this answer, that there was no ebb. However, we resolve to try in the afternoon at three of the clock; the worst is returning hither again, and indeed this is a bad place to stay in. My wife has been very much out of order since the first night she came to Chester; it is what has so long troubled her by fits, great faintness, which has, as it useth to do, made her very weak, but she is to-day much better, and I think full as well as when you left her. God keep you and yours.

XI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Difficulties of the journey from Conway to Beaumaris.

Conway, Dec. 30, 1685, Wednesday, nine at night.

I left this place at two of the clock in the afternoon, and came to the foot of the Penman [Mawr] by four, and stayed there till five, when it should have been dead low water; but the guides and others on horseback found it impassable; and the skilful say the ebb was not so low as it useth to be in these seasons, by forty yards; which they can give no reason for but the weather; for I must confess it has been as great a storm all this day of hail, rain, and wind, as ever I knew in all my life; the people on the place say the ebbs have been very little since August. This being the case, we came back hither again, and the resolution I have taken, upon the advice with the most skilful upon the place, is this,—to be to-morrow, at six of the morning, at the foot of the Penman again, and if the tides will not suffer the coach to go under the rocks, then my wife shall go into a litter, which a gentleman has lent me, and I will ride, and so shall her women over the Penman: and so to Bangor, and thence to Beaumaris, where, God willing, we shall be at noon, and will rest there the rest of that day and night; and on Friday we propose to borrow my Lord Bulkeley's coach to carry us to Holyhead. This is in case the weather continues bad; if it be good, then we go under the rocks in our coaches, and

leave the litter. This is all I can do, and I am sure I have lost no time since it came out. I arrived at Chester at the time first proposed; I stayed there three days because of Christmas day and Sunday, and had I gone thence on Saturday, it would not at all have advanced my journey: for all agreed I could not well pass under the Penman till this day, so that I hope I have hitherto done nothing amiss. I hope in God the weather will be more favourable to-morrow morning, till when I will keep this letter open; it cannot go hence till Friday, at the same time with the other which I left here to-day, in answer to yours of the 26th, and they will both be with you on Monday. Had yours come to me an hour before I left St. Asaph, so that I could have answered it, it would not have been sooner with you than this; for all letters from these parts must go to Chester, and the post went thence yesterday before noon, and not again till Saturday.

Thursday, five in the morning; it has been a very tempestuous night, but we are setting out in the method I have told you above: God send us well to Beaumaris. God keep you and all yours.

XII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Journey from Conway to Beaumaris over Penman Mawr.

Beaumaris, New Year's Day, 1685-6.

We left Conway yesterday at six in the morning, and pursued the methods for our journey, which I mentioned in my last from thence; my wife in a litter, and the rest of us on horseback, (though I confess, for my own particular, I went on foot,) passed over Penman Mawr, at the foot of which, on this side, I met my Lord Bulkeley's coach and servants, but they told us they had escaped very narrowly being cast away in coming over the ferry, and that the winds were so very high that it was not fit for us to attempt going that way; so the coach carried us to Bangor, where we ferried over into Anglesey, and then put my wife into the litter again; for never was, or can come a coach into that part of the country; and thus we came safe hither about three in the afternoon, God be praised, without any mischance to any of our company; and here we are lodged at my Lord Bulkeley's, who makes very much of us, and entertains us most nobly. I left Sir Paul

Rycaut at Conway, who had a mind to see what success I had in passing the mountains before he would venture, but I expect him here this day; he offered two guineas to have his chariot carried over Penman; and the Dean of Bangor (who met me on the borders of Wales, and will see me on board,) offered him to have it done for ten shillings; he brought two honest fellows to me at Conway, who undertook to carry my coach over Penman for twenty shillings; they proposed to take it off the carriage, and so to carry it by strength of hands, and the carriage afterwards; this seemed feasible, and likely to be accomplished, and I thereupon agreed to it. But to the amazement of all the company, last night at supper, your officer William (who is a very diligent fellow) came in to us, and told us the coach was come, and that without taking it to pieces; but by setting the horses in trace, one behind another, and keeping three or four men behind, that it might not slip back, they had drawn it over the hill, upon the carriage and wheels. This would scarce have been believed, (considering it is a great heavy coach,) had not the coach been at the same time in my Lord Bulkeley's yard: so that, God be thanked, we have now overcome all the difficulties of our land journey, without any the least ill accident; and we are now ready to go to Holyhead, and to embark as soon as the wind is fair, but it is now full in our teeth. I have been very inquisitive here whence the so little ebbs should proceed, now at this time of the full moon; and my Lord Bulkeley tells me it is occasioned from the great storms which have been of late, and which keep the rivers from ebbing so low as they use to do.

My waggon, which I left at Conway with orders to be sent to Chester, thence to be embarked for Ireland, is this afternoon arrived here, brought likewise over Penman Mawr, with all its lading; so that it is said here I have introduced a new way of travelling. The way I came from Bangor is at least eight miles about; the ferry at Bangor is about as broad as the Thames at Battersea, but the boats are little round sea boats, and will not hold above three horses at a time, so that we were very long coming over the river. But God be thanked, we are here. I beg you to own my Lord Bulkeley's civilities to us, which have been very great; he professeth to be a great servant to you.

Saturday the 2d. A very fair morning, the wind south; we are taking coach for Holyhead, where I hope to embark this evening: I wish you a happy new year; God Almighty preserve you and all yours. My humble service to my sister.

Sir P. Rycaut came to us last night, so that this journey will be famous, three coaches and a waggon having been brought over Penman Mawr.

XIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Journey from Beaumaris to Holyhead.

Sunday, Holyhead, Jan. 3, 1685-6.

I thank God we came all well hither yesterday in the evening, where I find the Portsmouth yacht, the Arran yacht, belonging to the commissioners of the revenue, and three packet boats, so that we shall not want accommodations to transport us when we can go; but at present the winds are contrary: however we are now ready when the Captain calls upon us, and you will believe this is not a place to invite one to stay in longer than is absolutely necessary. My Lord Bulkeley has been most extraordinary kind to me, and by his care in sending pioneers before, the way from Beaumaris hither was made as good as was possible, though still it was worse than ever I yet went. His two sons, and his son-in-law, Sir William Williams, are come hither with me, and will stay till I am embarked. Sir John Arderne, and my cousin Hyde, of Norbury, are come hither with me from Chester. I hope we shall quickly have a fair wind to carry us over, and then you shall have an account of every thing to your satisfaction. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours. Last night was very stormy.

XIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Detained by adverse weather.—Interests himself for Sir John Nicholas.—Desires to have the Order in Council about Mr. Muschamp.

Holyhead, Jan. 7, 1685-6.

This will show you that we are still here, though the Dogger, which went out on Tuesday morning, be not yet heard of, and therefore we hope she has got safe over; yet the weather has been so very foul and tempestuous ever since, that Captain Wright would not go out with the yacht. I find in the news letters (which come regularly thrice a week, to the post-master here,)

an account of several alterations, particularly in the army, many of which I believe may be true, because they were talked of before I came away. But I hope the King's displeasure has not appeared towards Sir John Nicholas; the two little employments he has are both together but of very small value, and he hath no other marks of favour for his own and his father's long and faithful services to the Crown: and both those places were given him by the late King when we were at Bruges. You know there are very few people for whom my father would have been more concerned, had he now been living. Let me beg you to do what you can for him, if there be occasion; you will never repent of doing good, especially to worthy people. I hope care is taken that I shall be served with the order in council for the sending over of Mr. Muschamp; I know it lies upon my Lord Ardglasse to do it, but possibly he may think, since I was then myself at the Council Board, that I should take notice of it without any further service; and, therefore, that I may not fail on my part, I desire you will command some of the clerks to send me a copy of that order. I thank God we are all in good health, and my wife much better than when she left London. I compute that mine of the 30th past, from Conway, came to you on Monday last: I will hope it gave satisfaction, which your answer (if written on Tuesday) will tell me on Saturday morning, if still here, which I hope I shall not be. God keep you and all yours. My humble service, I pray, to my sister, and all our friends.

XV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His Voyage, and arrival in Dublin.—Reception.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 10, 1685-6.

We set sail on Friday, about five in the evening, from Holyhead, the wind being very fair, and, God be thanked, we landed at Dunleary about five yesterday morning; as good a passage as could be expected. That sea is, they say, always very rough, I am sure it was so now: every body in the yacht was sick, though we had no storm, and I was worse than ever in any former voyage. I stayed at Dunleary till a committee of the council came to me, according to usual form, which having been with me, I went, with the rest of the company (who were a great many, and many carriages,) in my Lord Primate's coach, (which he sent for me,) to

the Council-chamber, where the King's commission was read, and the oaths administered to me. My Lord Primate made a short speech, which I thought obliged me to say something, which I did, though very short, to the sense you know of. These ceremonies being performed, I got to the Castle about noon: the rest of the day was taken up in receiving visits. I need not tell you the manner of my reception by the soldiers, both horse and foot, which will be in all the public letters; but, in a word, it was as full of respect as ever had been on the like occasions. You cannot expect I should say any thing to you as yet of the public affairs, but by the grace of God I will not lose one moment from entering into business, as you will find by the next. I have here received yours of the 31st past, which is all I can say at present, for the post goes away before church, and I will not begin with making it stay, though I am told I may, but I will never do that but upon extraordinary occasions. I have, by this packet, only wrote to my Lord Sunderland, to give him an account of my arrival here, which is all I could do now; by the next I purpose to write to the King. Pray remember me to my sister, who shall hear from me by the next. My head is scarce steady yet; for, indeed, I was terribly sick, to the last hour of my being on ship-board. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

XVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

[This letter is the first in the series published by Dr. Douglas in 1763, from *copies* then in Mr. Powney's collection. Those copies were probably such as Lord Clarendon had directed to be taken; for he thus expresses himself in his Diary: "Whether I have been well used by my Lord President in this affair; or whether, in truth, I have been well used by him in the whole time of my being here; I leave all men to judge, who shall read my letters to him, or his to me; all which shall, God willing, be carefully preserved."—They are now for the first time carefully collated with the ORIGINALS, which Dr. Douglas never saw. It will be observed that some important omissions are supplied, and many new letters inserted, for the copies appear to have been defective in many places, and a portion of them lost. The letters which are added in this impression will be distinguished in the Table of Contents by an asterisk.]

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 10, 1685-6.

After a long journey, and tedious stay at Holyhead for a wind, I arrived safe here, God be praised, yesterday in the forenoon. I went immediately, according to the usual form, to the Council-chamber, where the King's com-

mission was read, and the oaths administered to me: the rest of the day was spent in the necessary formalities of receiving visits. Your Lordship will not expect that I should have any thing of the public affairs to entertain you with at this time. This is only to let you know that I am where I ought to be, and will immediately fall to the execution of this great trust, which the King has been pleased to honour me with, whereof I shall have occasion to give your Lordship almost a daily account, which I shall do with all the fidelity imaginable, and shall pay a punctual observance of all your Lordship's commands, as well in what relates to your own particular, if you please to honour me with any such, as to the King's service. And I beseech your Lordship to look on me as I am with perfect respect,

My Lord, Your, &c.

XVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

On the Appointment of a Captain in Lord Granard's Regiment.—Recommends Colonel Lacy, and his Petition.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 12th, 1685-6.

Captain Florence Carty in the Earl of Granard's regiment is lately dead; which I beg your Lordship to lay before his Majesty, and to send over a commission for whom his Majesty shall think fit to bestow that command upon. The two first in the list your Lordship gave me are the Lord Brittas and Captain Butler, my Lord Galmoy's brother. Whom the King intends to provide for first, his Majesty is the best judge: Captain Butler has served abroad, when the late king had forces in France, and has as good a character as any young man can have; and the King said, he should be one of the first he would provide for. I say not this to lessen the King's good intentions towards my Lord Brittas, who wants his Majesty's support extremely, and has been perfectly ruined by Oates's plot: but I think the King designed him for horse. It is my duty to lay before his Majesty those persons for whom I think he intends soonest to provide, and to acquaint him as well as I can with their merits and qualifications; which I shall always do with impartiality, and with perfect submission, my only design being to serve the King to his own satisfaction, which I will always make my business. Here is one Colonel Lacy, an old Cavalier, who hopes the King will, when he has an

opportunity, put him into employment; I am sure he deserves it: he was an officer in the time of King Charles the First, and I believe his Majesty remembers him with himself in France and Flanders, where he served very bravely. This poor gentleman was settled here in a comfortable way, when in Oates's reign he was sent into England, and kept prisoner in the Gatehouse about two years, besides other severities both to his person and small estate. I take the liberty to recommend his enclosed Petition to your Lordship. I am beginning to enter upon my business, and am taking an account of the state of the army, and where the several troops are quartered at the present, which shall be very speedily transmitted to your Lordship, that so his Majesty may have a view where his army here is disposed of; and I believe there will be no great change made in the quarters the remaining part of the winter. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to assure you that I am with very great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

On the same subject.—Professes himself entirely devoted to serve the King as he is instructed to do.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, Jan. 12th, 1685-6.

I arrived here on Saturday last, and am applying myself with all possible diligence to be informed thoroughly of all things relating to your service, and will not rest till I have laid the true state of every particular before your Majesty. I have acquainted my Lord President with the death of Captain Carty in my Lord Granard's regiment, and have presumed to put your Majesty in mind of some of those in the list, whom, you were pleased to say, you intended to provide for in the first place; it being my duty, as I conceive, to lay those in your view, who you think deserve best of you. I have sent my Lord President a petition from Colonel Lacy, whose long services to the crown in the time of the King your father, and constant attendance upon your Majesty both in France and Flanders, I am sure, will not be forgotten, I presume it is not unknown to your Majesty how much he suffered in the

time of Oates's villainy, and how he was then kept prisoner in England at least two years; which has much impoverished him, for he was never rich. I beg your Majesty's pardon for saying thus much in a particular man's case, which I will never do, but when the person's eminent loyalty and services will justify me. I have nothing further to trouble your Majesty with at present; but to assure your Majesty, that I will make it the business of my life to serve your Majesty according to the methods you have directed me; particularly in this great station, where you have been pleased to set me. God Almighty preserve your Majesty, and make this a happy year to you, and grant that you may enjoy many, many more; which is the daily prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful and most obedient subject and Servant,

CLARENDON.

XIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Particulars relating to the state of the Revenue in Ireland.—Hopes that all Commissions in the Army may pass through his hands.—Pay of the soldiers, and deduction for clothing.—Purpose of the Catholic landed interest to petition the King.—Approves of the Officers of the Revenue.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 12, 1685-6. Tuesday.

My last gave you an account of my being landed. I am now falling to work; and in order to that, yesterday in the afternoon the Commissioners of the Revenue were with me; and I have appointed Mondays in the afternoon for that business, that being the most convenient day for them in regard of their attendance at the Custom-house. I have directed them to make all possible haste in perfecting the last year's account, which ended the 24th of December last. They have promised it shall be done within six weeks, and they say it cannot be sooner, in regard that it will be near a month before they can have the accounts from the several collectors in the country. You may be sure they shall not want being called upon. The commissioners tell me they send you every month an abstract of all the receipts and payments, by which you see the state of the cash. I have directed them to bring me the like every week, which I will transmit to you. You had long since an account of

the last Midsummer quarter, compared with the same quarter 1684. Of these branches, viz. customs, fines, inland excise, ale-licences, wine-licences, I have called to the Commissioners for the like account of Michaelmas quarter, compared with that of the former year; which is less by 6467*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* than Michaelmas quarter 1684. It shall be sent to you as soon as it is transcribed: but notwithstanding the decrease of that quarter, yet I am assured, the produce of the whole year will be more than that of 1684; of which you shall quickly have a view. I will shortly say something to you of the quit-rents: the Receiver-general puts into his certificate of the state of the cash, what he has received of those rents since the preceding certificate; but the Commissioners do not mention those rents in the abstracts they make up quarterly; neither do they take any notice, in those quarterly abstracts, of the hearth-money; but I say I will enlarge more upon this ere long. I only mention it now, that you may see we have discoursed of every branch of the revenue at the first meeting. Though the revenue be in management, yet the Commissioners farm out the hearth-money all the kingdom over, except only the city of Dublin, which they have put into collection these last six months. They say, that revenue would not come to so much by collection, as by farm; which seems very strange, for certainly the farmers and sub-farmers would not lose by their bargains, as they must do if they did not receive more than will pay their rent; but with this particular I will likewise in a very little time entertain you more largely. I send you here enclosed a copy of what I have written to my Lord Sunderland, and I do beg you to concern yourself that the commission for the vacant company may be sent to me, which the King was pleased to declare should be the rule; and if it be kept at first, men will not be so eager to run into England for preferment, but will expect with patience the King's pleasure from his chief Governor, which will certainly be as much for his Majesty's service. My Lord Granard, with whom I have had as much discourse already as the time will permit, tells me the soldiers cannot bear the deduction of two-pence per diem for their clothing; that by means of other deductions to the hospital, &c. the poor soldier will not have above two-pence farthing a-day to live on; and that a penny a-day will clothe them twice in three years; which he thinks will be sufficient. He has desired me to hear him, and some other of the officers upon this point; which I have promised him to do to-morrow; and do resolve to allot one day in a week certain for the affairs of the army. I only tell you this now, that you may take notice of it, or not, as you think fit: by the next probably I may have some-

thing ready to lay before the King, if the officers think fit; for it shall be theirs: whatever it be, you shall have a copy of it. This morning Mr. Nugent, a lawyer, and of the King's council, brother to the Earl of Westmeath, came to me: he had been recommended to me before by the King. After many professions of duty to the King, and of respect to myself, he told me, many of the old proprietors amongst the Roman Catholics had a design of making their applications to the King to lay their case and condition before him, and to show how there were several lands vested in the King by law, whereby he might relieve them in a great measure, without shaking the acts of settlement: that in order to this, they had sent letters into the several counties, and had had several meetings amongst themselves, whereby to make collections for the support of such agents as they should think fit to send to the King. He told me this, he said, that I might not be surprised if I heard of any of those meetings, now he had told me what they were for. I have reason to believe this matter is set on foot by Lord Tyrconnel, and therefore I was cautious, and only gave him the hearing, without saying any thing. I do beg your advice herein, whether you will take notice of this, or whether I should write about it to my Lord President. I believe in other cases it would not be allowed by the King, that any party of men should assemble together, and take upon them to send agents, as if they were a particular body; and certainly, if the particulars were brought to me by Mr. Nugent, or any other, I could transmit them to the King, and his Majesty might grant them to such of the proprietors as he thought fit, without the clamour which such an application (as seems to be designed) would bring; and without the parties, who desire relief, being put to the expense of maintaining agents in England. If the King be of that mind, the least intimation from his Majesty would put an end to the matter which is now carrying on. I shall expect your answer to this before I mention it to any one else. I must needs say, I think the King exceedingly well served in his revenue: the Commissioners are both understanding and wonderfully diligent; and I doubt not but in a very little time you shall see every tittle of the revenue very clear. I never knew a man better spoken of by all people than the Receiver-general, Mr. Price. I am sure he appears very useful and knowing. God keep you and yours. I shall be able to inform you of more by the next. Remember, I have yet been here but three days.

XX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Has held a Council of War, and transmits particulars relating to the state of the Army.—Has pricked the Sheriffs for the ensuing year.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 16, 1685-6.

We have had no letters from England since those of the 5th; which is the more wondered at, because the wind has been very good most part of this week, though indeed very tempestuous. Upon the desire of several officers of the army, I thought fit to hold a council of war this morning with all the field-officers in town, thinking that likewise the best way to come to the knowledge of the true state of the army. Several things were proposed by the officers, which, as soon as they are digested, your lordship shall have an account of. The things which they agreed upon, and which I thought most necessary to be laid before his Majesty at present, are contained in the enclosed paper; which I offer with all submission, his Majesty knowing best what is fit for his service. Most of the officers make great complaints of the defects in their arms, and do allege that many of them may be bought here for half what they cost out of England, and better, of which I will very quickly lay some proposals before your Lordship; and I intend to write upon this matter to my Lord Dartmouth.

As to the fourth head in the paper, concerning the allowance of powder, the officers say they were lately reduced to this, of a barrel a year for each troop, and company; which they say is too little, in regard of their frequent exercising, and it being necessary to accustom the men as well as the horse to fire. The quantity they propose is a barrel and a half a-year: but I do not think fit to make any additional allowance of expense to his Majesty without an apparent present necessity, till I have received his Majesty's pleasure therein. I have pricked the Sheriffs for the next year, upon the best advice I could get in the shortness of the time, and I could not defer it longer by reason of the nearness of the term; and truly I flatter myself that the choice is generally good. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but that I am perfectly,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Will in future reply in form to his official Letters.—Respecting the mode and time of Payment of his Allowance as Lord Lieutenant.—Hopes the Sheriffs he has selected will meet approbation.—Apprehensions for the safety of the Vessel containing his Horses and Servants.—Council of War, and matters proposed by the Officers of the Army.—Sends an Abstract of the Revenue to September 1685.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 16, 1685-6.

I have, since my last, received yours of the 5th, concerning the taking Mr. Price's securities, which I have put into a way to be perfected; and you will speedily have an account of it from me, in form, as you wrote: for that is the method I think best to observe, to return answers in form to those letters which I receive in form from you. I have been informing myself concerning my own allowance, (which it is almost time for me to think of,) and how other chief governors were paid. You will see by the enclosed certificates, that the Duke of Ormond (the first time he was Lord Lieutenant) was paid from the 4th of November, 1661, and the clerk of the council certifies, that he was not sworn till the 28th of July, 1662: the 4th of November, 1661, was the date of his commission. You will find it more fully expressed in Mr. Yarner's certificate, the muster-master, upon his Grace's last commission: and by Mr. Price's certificate it appears, that, though the late Lords Justices did not enter upon the government till the 20th of March last, yet they were paid from the 25th of December preceding. It appears that these payments were made by warrants from the Lords Lieutenants themselves, without any letters from the King, except only to the late Lords Justices; and their warrants were grounded upon a letter from his Majesty. For the method of my being paid, whether by my own warrants or by the King's letter, I leave it to be as you shall judge best; though the Commissioners of the Revenue, and Mr. Price, and the Barons of the Exchequer, do all tell me I may pay myself, without any further authority: but it is most safe, I am sure, to have orders from the head; at least for me to lay it thus before you, and to do as I shall be directed. I humbly hope his Majesty will allow me to be paid from the time of my commission, which is dated the 1st of October last. It may be said for me, that I left London the 16th of December, which was much sooner than any Lord Lieutenant before me, and that my journey was more chargeable to me than to others, by going at the winter season, (which no

other did,) and by being kept longer on the way by the ill weather. It may likewise be alleged, that, by reason of my private condition before, my equipage cost me much more than the King's bounty, of which I do intend ere long to give you a particular account. Having thus laid this matter before you, if you think it best so to do, I am ready to do it in a letter of form, or as much of it as you think fit. I likewise herewith send you an account of what has been made of the wool-licences, since it has been in the management of the Commissioners of the Revenue, to the 9th of this month, by which you will see how much hath been received since the date of my commission: I know not whether it would be too immodest to beg the whole towards my charges. I would not willingly displease the King in any thing, and particularly by being thought greedy of gain to myself; and therefore I do perfectly leave the whole matter to you, to do as if it were your own case. On Wednesday I pricked the sheriffs, and, I hope, have done it to the satisfaction of all good men, of all parties; I am sure I took the best care I could, and which the time would permit; for the time was so short that I could not delay it a day longer, in regard of the term being so near. The next year, if it please the King to continue me so long, I shall be able to know men myself. I know you will be concerned when I tell you the condition of my family here. When I was at Chester I embarked all my coach-horses, and most of my saddle-horses, servants, and goods, in two ships there: they both set sail from Chester on Sunday last, (the winds were so bad they could not stir before,) in company with another vessel, called the Providence; but the storm on Sunday, in the afternoon, scattered them. The vessel, in which were my saddle-horses and plate, was driven into the Skerries, twelve miles from hence, and I got my things, and horses, and three servants hither yesterday; but the other vessel, in which are several of my servants, and my two sets of coach-horses, is not yet heard of. The Providence is cast away upon the coast of Carlingford, and but one man of all the company saved; in her were Colonel Dempsey's horses and servants, and all his goods, which, I doubt, will almost undo the poor man. The Elizabeth, of Dublin, which I freighted with my goods at London, and which sailed into the Downs about the 16th of November, is not yet heard of. If these two ships should be lost, I shall be more than half undone; but God's will be done. I held a council of war this morning with the field-officers, who are in town; of which I have given my Lord Sunderland an account, as you will find by the copy of my letter to him, and the paper of the proposals, which they made to me, to be

laid before his Majesty, a copy whereof I likewise send you. Some other things were discoursed of, which you shall have an account of as soon as they are digested. I intend to write at large upon these matters to Lord Dartmouth, which I suppose he will take well, many of them relating to his office. You shall shortly have a proposal concerning the price of arms here, many of which will come for half what they cost from England; and those who understand them, say the arms will be much better than those which come from England, from the King's stores. The storms last night were terrible, whoever was at sea. God Almighty keep you and all yours. We have had no letters from England since those of the 5th; so that you are not to wonder, if you have not answers to what you have written since that time.

I here send you the abstract of the revenue, for the quarter ending 29th September, 1685.

By the Tuesday's post I shall write more largely concerning the revenue.

XXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Outrages of the Tories in Cork and Limerick; has taken measures to suppress them.—Caution to be used in restoring Arms, or dispensing with the Orders for disarming the English Protestants.—Has appointed a Committee to report upon that subject.—Desire of Lord Granard's son to sell out of one Regiment and purchase into another.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 19, 1685-6.

On Sunday I had several accounts brought me of great insolences committed by the Tories in the county of Cork, and of great robberies in that county and Limerick; that many people were set upon in the day-time, and dangerously wounded. I immediately sent orders to Captain Boyle and Captain Carne, who are quartered in those parts, to send out parties to suppress such disorders, and have given them all necessary powers. I have likewise written to Colonel Macarty, who is quartered at Cork, to furnish those captains with such numbers of foot as they shall desire; so that I doubt not but, in a short time, to give a good account of those fellows, and put that country in perfect quiet. I have sent to the gentlemen who made the complaints, to let them know their failure, in not sending up informations upon oath against the persons of whom they complain, to the end that they may be proclaimed; for till they are proclaimed none of the officers are willing to look after them; and upon very good reason, for Captain Aunger,

who did very good service in apprehending of Power the Tory, has been threatened to be indicted for shooting him, which could not be avoided, had not the Government interposed in his behalf. When they are proclaimed, some or other of their party quickly, upon hopes of gain, discovers the ring-leaders; so that, if people do their duties, (which I am sure I will look to,) they will very easily be suppressed. One of these informations seeming to impute much of the unruliness of the Tories to the English being disarmed; I thought fit to take that occasion to acquaint the Lords of the Council here with the power the King gives me, by his letter of the 30th of November last, to dispense with the execution of the 29th article of my instructions, in such particular cases as I shall think fit, and where it may be for his Majesty's service. It is a thing of great consequence what persons should be intrusted with arms, and ought to be very well considered before any are delivered out: and since it cannot be imagined that I can as yet have any personal knowledge of what persons are fit to be so trusted, I did yesterday appoint a committee of the board to consider of it; and when I have their report, and their opinions what persons are fit to be trusted with arms, I will transmit it to your Lordship, and not dispose of any till I have your Lordship's answer.

I am very much desired by Captain Robert Forbes, my Lord Granard's son, and now a Captain in the King's regiment of Guards here, to move the King that he may have leave to sell his company, and to purchase the Lieutenant-colonel's place in his father's regiment, now enjoyed by Lieutenant-Colonel Salkeld, who is aged, and willing to retire and live in Yorkshire, his own country, as I am informed. I know very well, his Majesty does not design to have commands in the army sold, as they have been; which, I doubt, has much prejudiced the army; but whether the King may not think fit to gratify this gentleman, both upon his own account, as well as for his father's constant loyalty, I know not: my part is only to make the request from the young gentleman concerned; which I do by your Lordship's hand, and so humbly leave it to his Majesty's judgment. Captain Forbes will quickly wait on your Lordship himself, his design being to beg the King's leave to go into Hungary. I am most faithfully,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His Servants arrived safely.—Measures taken against the Tories.—Debate about arming the English.—Sir Thomas Newcomen going to England.—His character.—Captain Forbes's petition.—Abstract of the Revenue.

Dublin Castle, January 19, 1685-6. Tuesday.

No letters yet from England. My ship from London arrived well here on Sunday in the evening: and the same night I had an account, that the other ship from Chester was, this day sennight, driven into Strangford; so that, I thank God, all my servants and horses are safe: most of the first are come to town, and the latter will be here on Thursday. You will see, by what I have written to my Lord Sunderland, what I have done with reference to the Tories: and I do not doubt but in a very little time to free the country from that sort of cattle; for I begin to have pretty good intelligence concerning them. You will see by that letter, how I mentioned to the Council-board the putting of arms into the hands of some of the English again; which begat a very warm debate; very many of the Board saying, that the English could not but think themselves in great danger, when they were left exposed without any one weapon in their houses, and the Irish were all armed; and when they called to any of those Irish for help to pursue the Tories, they shut up their doors and would not stir. It was said by the late Lords Justices, that the orders they gave were only to take in the arms of the militia, and those only fire-arms and no other: it was replied, many other gentlemen, who were not of the militia, and had a case of pistols or a gun, purely for their own defence, were disarmed; which was owned by my Lord Granard, who said, it was true, but he knew not by what officiousness it was done, and he could not help it. But that which made the heat, was Sir Thomas Newcomen, who said, the English had no cause to complain; that they wanted no arms; and he hoped those who were disarmed, should not now have arms put into their hands again; that he did not believe they were half disarmed, for he could say upon his own knowledge, that there were above fifty thousand arms in the province of Ulster, and there were not brought in from thence above six hundred; so ill were the King's commands executed in that province. Upon which up stood Lord Granard, and Lord Mountjoy, one after another, and said, if the King had been ill

served, it was by himself; for that they (those two Lords) went into Ulster, and carried him with them: that they were as strict as was possible in taking up all the arms throughout the whole province; that he (Sir Thomas) acted and went every where with them, and was very much to blame for not speaking of it then, if he thought any thing amiss. I interposed, and silenced them both; and acquainted the Board that my intent in bringing the matter thither was for their advice, who (amongst them) knew most of the considerable people in the several counties, who were fit to be trusted with such quantities of arms, and in such places only, as would secure the country from the insults of Tories and robbers: and therefore I would refer it to a committee of the Board to consider of it, and to report to me what they thought fit to be done for the public service. I will have the vanity to say to you between ourselves, you would not have been displeased, if you had seen my whole part in this matter; and I hope the King will not be dissatisfied when he sees the caution I intend to observe. As soon as I have the report from the council, I will transmit it to my Lord Sunderland, and will expect the King's directions before I give out any arms. Sir Thomas Newcomen has desired my leave to go for England, and he will embark within a day or two: you know his dependance, and upon that account I did not think fit to refuse him. He hopes to get his commission of Major-general under the great seal renewed, which, he says, he first obtained by the favour of this King, when Duke. If he does not gain his desire, I shall not be sorry, nor will any body else here; for I never knew a man more hated: he pursues his brother-in-law's designs; and yet even that party do not esteem him, nor know how to believe him: he is reputed a brave man in his person, but false and treacherous to the highest degree: he is very hot and troublesome at the council board, and in all places, where he makes one. After all this, I assure you I am very civil to him; and he never fails being twice a day with me. I have promised to recommend him to you; and if he calls upon me, I will give him a line to you. You know best how far you will concern yourself in Captain Forbes's affair: I really think by my small acquaintance, that the young man deserves very well; his father owns great obligations to you, and you know I have been very long acquainted with him in times of difficulty, and I should be pleased if he were gratified; and the rather that he might see the King is not dissatisfied with him, which he much apprehends he is, upon the score of Argyle. I find he has trusted Lord Tyrconnel with that whole secret; and now he believes that Lord will not be just to him. I do really believe he is a very worthy man. I am sure he does

the King very good service in his station here. I here send you Mr. Price's weekly abstract, by which you may see the cash in his hands; but I do not yet see clearly what cash is in the hands of the several collectors: but I think I shall quickly come to the knowledge of that too. I tell the commissioners, there need be no cash in the hands of the collectors of Dublin; but that they should pay the revenue to Mr. Price, as fast as they receive it. One or two meetings more with the commissioners will enable me to say more to you of several particulars of the revenue, which I am not yet so much master of. It is said, most of the saddles and holsters for Lord Tyrconnel's regiment were cast away in the Providence of Chester: if it should be true, it will go hard with the poor soldiers; for they have paid for them. God Almighty keep you and yours.

XXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Has ordered the Forms of Prayer for the 30th of January to be printed.—Sir A. Cunningham's petition. Desires instructions about licensing Officers to go to England.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Jan. 23d, 1685-6.

I am now to return your Lordship my humble thanks for both your favours of the 12th instant, which came to me the last night, with four other packets from England. I have ordered the printing the Offices your Lordship sent me, for the 30th of January and 6th of February, that the days may be kept with that solemnity that is due. I shall give order for the discharge of John Cade and Robert Conybeer, at Cork, as your Lordship directs.

As soon as Sir Albert Cunningham brings me the King's reference upon his petition, I will make a report upon it. And as to the informing myself of the state of the Office of the Ordnance here, and of the officers belonging thereunto, I am already upon it, and shall very speedily transmit an account thereof to your Lordship. I heard lately from Colonel Macarty, and do expect him here the next week: your Lordship may be sure he shall have licence to go into England when he desires it, as I shall most punctually perform all the commands I receive from you. Upon this occasion, I beg your Lordship to

let me have the King's direction as to the giving licence to the officers of the army to go into England. Sir Thomas Newcomen and Colonel Russell are gone over with licence this week, at their earnest desires, not having kissed his Majesty's hand since his coming to the crown. Sir William Tichburne is gone upon the same errand (who is a very worthy man, and every one of his family have been eminent in the service of the crown at all times); and several other captains have desired leave to go, pretending very urgent occasions. I shall not deny any gentleman a licence, if his affairs do really require it, and that I think it will be prejudicial to him not to go: but if I do deny it to some, whose affairs I think are not so pressing, and who have not been long upon their commands, I hope I shall therein have your Lordship's support with the King; for I think it his Majesty's pleasure, that his officers should spend most of their time in their stations. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to beg the continuance of your favour to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Tyrconnel's conduct.—Complaint of the administration of the Revenue.—Mr. Hampden's and Lord Delamere's trials.—Repeats his request to have all Commissions pass through his hands.

Dublin Castle, January 23, 1685-6.

Last night Captain Coote arrived here, and brought me yours of the 1st instant; and at the same time came in five packets from England, amongst which I had yours of the 7th and the 16th. To answer them in order, I have little to say upon the first; but to thank you for your kindness to Captain Coote, because it was upon my score. I assure you he acknowledgeth your favours with all possible gratitude, not to me alone, but in his more public discourses. I know very little personally of the gentleman: but I cannot forget how his father, the first Earl of Montrath, had made his address to the late King, and engaged in his service two years before the Restoration;

and how that he would never receive any orders from General Monk, nor have any thing to do with him, till he had the King's commands how to steer himself. Upon this account, methinks, the son of such a father should find some favour, at least not severity, if some particular demerit be not more than suggested against him. As I was surprised to find Mr. Hampden plead guilty, which I take to be much for the King's advantage, so his Majesty's extending mercy to him will contribute no less to his service, in my poor opinion. Yours of the 7th being wholly upon my son's great affair, I need say nothing to it in this place. As to yours of the 16th, I received one of the same date from my Lord President and Mr. Bridgeman, with the Offices for the 30th of January and the 6th of February, which I have ordered to be printed and sent into the country, as is usual in those cases.

I wonder Lord Tyrconnel should take so much pains to have some people believe, he would have put in at Holyhead if he could, when every body here knows the wind was so fair, that he might more easily have done it than have gone to Chester. But Captain Sheldon, who went over with him, hearing him speak so much in public, the morning he left this place, of stopping at Holyhead to see my Lord Lieutenant, asked him, "My Lord, why do you say this, when we all who go with you, know that you do not intend it?" His answer was, "Prythee let me alone, I know what I say." When several persons here, Irish, asked his Lordship of me and concerning me, &c. his answer was, that he knew nothing of me more than by sight; but that he had no manner of acquaintance with me. This some of themselves here have told me, when they have heard me speak of him in discourse as one I was acquainted with: one cannot help smiling at this. His Lordship may make what complaints he pleaseth, but if they may be put into writing, and sent over hither, I doubt not but his Majesty shall have as perfect and as clear an information of every thing, and as satisfactory as if he were here to examine it himself. When Lord Tyrconnel was here, and did complain sometimes to one, sometimes to others, of the men in authority, (from whom he had always met with the same respect as if he had been their chief Governor,) and the things complained of were examined in his own presence, and all done that he himself could desire, yet he would go away dissatisfied, because there was not so much ground of complaint as he wished. How is it possible to understand such a man? As for the faults he finds with the administration of the revenue, nothing can go well in that affair, till one Mr. Hackett be Receiver-General, and all the commissioners of his putting in.

But all this is only between you and me; for I assure you I speak not of him to any one here, but with that respect which is due to his quality, and to one I have lived well with, though I cannot help hearing others speak slightly of him, which I discountenance all I can. Some few more of the extravagances he has committed between Chester and London in his last journey, will do his business. Captain Carne is not dead, for I had a letter from him some days since: and you may be sure whatever reports come thither of the death of men who are here, you shall have an account from me, if it be certain: and if his Majesty please not to be engaged till he has an account from me, it will give him much ease, for he may still do what he has a mind to. You see by my first letter to my Lord President, the method I take in recommending, which shall always be observed till all the list the King gave me is provided for: if you would have me do otherwise than I do in this, or any thing else, pray let me know it. We have had a very particular account of Lord Delamere's trial, and I am very glad he is acquitted. The account which some letters bring, that the King has ordered Saxton to be indicted of perjury, is much to his Majesty's advantage. I say nothing to my son's affair. If I may judge by Mr. Longueville's letter, which is likewise of the 16th, the proposal of the six shares will not do, and then I know not what to say: but you tell me Sir William Whitmore was to be in town: I hope that will make an end of it one way or other.

If his Majesty does at any time give a command in the army here to any one that is in England, I could still wish, (and it was so resolved) that the commission might be sent to me: it would give me credit, and would let people see the running into England would not procure their preferments sooner, than their applying to the Chief Governor here. If you think it fit, pray appear in this matter to my Lord President.

XXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Informations of supposed Plots.—Recommends Mr. R. Fleming to a vacant Cornetcy in Hamilton's Regiment.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, January 24th, 1685-6.

Some time before I arrived here, one Mr. Robert Clarke, a merchant living at Kingsale, wrote a letter to Major Lawless, who is quartered there,

pretending to make great discoveries. I send your Lordship a copy of the said letter here enclosed. The then Lords Justices gave Major Lawless directions to have Clarke examined, but he would confess nothing, and seemed to go from what he had written in his letter, and positively refused to be sworn. Whereupon Major Lawless committed him to prison, together with the others whom Clarke mentions, all except Jenkins, the preacher, who could not be found. This Clarke is said by some in the country to be mad; but Major Lawless and Sir John Mead, who examined him, have written to me, that they thought him more knave than mad. I have thought fit to send for him hither, and do expect him here within two days, when I will examine him myself, and then the whole matter shall be laid before your Lordship. I send your Lordship here enclosed likewise the copy of an information given me by my Lord Mount Alexander, of which his Lordship will give you a further account himself, he being to go for England within a few days. I have advised upon it with my Lord Chief Justice Keeting, that no time might be lost in the prosecution; but he is of opinion, that nothing should be done upon it for the present, the words having been spoken long since before his Majesty came to the crown, and there being but one witness. This Sir Robert Colvill is looked upon as a very great favourer of Fanatics, though he goes to Church himself: he is a man of a very great estate in the north. My Lord Chief Justice Keeting is both an able man and perfectly loyal, and therefore I could not advise with any one more proper in any thing that concerns the King. I thought fit to send the examination to your Lordship, that when you have considered it, you may give me orders therein, which shall be carefully obeyed. I am certainly informed, that Lieutenant-Colonel Butler's cornet in Colonel Hamilton's regiment, was cast away in the Providence of Chester, which was lost upon this coast about a fortnight since. I do make it my humble request to your Lordship, that you will be pleased to move the King to bestow the employment upon Mr. Richard Fleming, who is a very worthy young man, and will deserve his Majesty's countenance: besides the favour it will be to me, your Lordship will oblige a very good man in England, Sir Richard Bellings, to whom this young gentleman is nephew. But if any of the persons in the list which your Lordship gave me, are designed by his Majesty for such employments as cornet, then there is an end of my request, and I beg your Lordship not to make it, for I would not go about to ask any thing for a friend of mine, when I know beforehand his Majesty has other engagements,

and I will defer it till a more seasonable opportunity. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am, with all possible respect,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

XXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Proceedings of the Associated Catholics in Ireland.

Dublin Castle, January 29, 1685-6.

In my second letter of the 12th instant, I told you of Mr. Nugent's having been with me: I have since had a very particular account from one of their party, and who is at all their meetings, of what passes amongst them. He tells me, before my arrival, that those who manage affairs here have written, as it were, circular letters to their friends in the several counties; a copy of which I send you enclosed; whereby you will see the excellent grounds they go upon. They have likewise nominated agents for the Roman Catholics of the several counties, some to be sent into England, and some to reside in this city: these are to be supported by a common collection. A list of them, as far as nominated, I here send you. My intelligencer tells me, that they have not yet been able to procure subscriptions in any one county, those people being very much divided among themselves, not being only secured by the Acts of Settlement in their old estates, but likewise in great new acquisitions; and, he says, he is very confident that some of the persons mentioned in the letter to be the approvers of the agents, as the Earl of Clanricard in particular, will have nothing to do in the matter. He tells me, that on Monday the 11th instant, there was a great meeting here at Mr. Nugent's house; where it was said by some, that they did not know how safe it was for them to meet, and hold correspondences to such ends and purposes, without the knowledge of the Chief Governor; and that thereupon Mr. Nugent was sent to me to acquaint me with what they did; and that, upon his return to them, not being able to give them any encouragement from me, they dispersed for that time; and I am assured, the project is at a stand for the present; perhaps till they have new instructions from Lord Tyrconnel after the informations they have sent him from hence. But the meetings continue at

Mr. Nugent's, where it was said, that I was so very civil to those Roman Catholics who had been with me: that it was proposed to acquaint me with some particular grievances concerning particular persons, and so see whether I would represent them to the King, and to expect what return would be made to me from his Majesty. Though they came to no positive resolution at the meeting, yet I am assured that they will go this way to work: if they do, I shall receive them, and transmit them to the King with such animadversions as shall be fit for the cases; and methinks, such applications upon particular cases from particular persons should please the King better than addresses in the name of a body of people, who can have no head to authorise their commission. I am assured I shall have an account of all that is doing, which I will inform you of with all speed.

I am preparing a large despatch to you of the affairs of the revenue, which I hope will be ready to be sent to you sometime the next week: you must not think me backward when you consider I have been here but three weeks to-morrow. I can assure you I have not been idle, as you will see by the time I tell you; and as I hope you do already see by what I have written to you. God keep you and yours.

XXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Mount Alexander, his Character.—Information against Sir Robert Colville; cause of it.—Frivolous Accusations of Persons for Words spoken against James, when Duke of York.—Lord Macarty, his Views.—Petition for Reversing the Outlawries.—The Lord Primate.—The King's Letter on behalf of the Clergy.

Dublin Castle, February 5th, 1685-6.

On Wednesday last my Lord Mount Alexander went for England: he is better known to you than to me; and therefore I need say nothing to you of him, that is, not in his behalf. By the small acquaintance I have with him, I take him to be a man of honour and great worth, and perfectly devoted to the King's service. I have had much of his company since my being here, and I have endeavoured to be as civil to him as I could. I could not refuse him leave to go for England for his private occasions; and he has promised me to return in the spring. He gave me some time since an information of

one Maxwell against Sir Robert Colvill, which when I had read, though there appeared to me to be no great matter in it, I thought fit to advise with my Lord Chief Justice Keeting upon it; who is of opinion that, considering the words were spoken of the King when Duke, and several years since, and that there was but one witness, it would be best not to make any prosecution against the person. My Lord Mount Alexander tells me, there have been some little differences between Sir Robert Colvill and himself; and therefore he was very cautious in appearing against him: but believing it would come out some other way, and then that it might not be thought well in him to have concealed such an information, he thought best to lodge it in the Chief Governor's hands: and you may believe, I had no great mind to be thought the smotherer of any words which might be interpreted to be against the King; and therefore, when I had my Lord Chief Justice Keeting's opinion, which I have told you, I sent a copy of the information to my Lord Sunderland in a letter of the 24th past, which letter (because I had not then time to have copied) I now send you. This Sir Robert Colvill is a man of at least 3000*l.* per annum in the north of this kingdom, and was for several years of the Privy Council, till the change upon his Majesty's coming to the crown. This last summer he was treating a match for his son with a daughter of Sir Thomas Newcomen, niece of Lord Tyrconnel: had that gone on, he would have been a man of merit; but now that is off, he will be represented as a very dangerous man by that Lord; which was one reason which made my Lord Mount Alexander resolve to give me the information against him. There are now propositions on foot for a match between Sir Robert's son and my Lady Ellen Macarty: the portion is, for the father to be a Viscount, which my Lady Clancarty thinks she has credit enough with her friends in England to procure. I can say nothing of the gentleman, but as I am told by the different parties here; and why I did not consult Mr. Solicitor concerning him, with whom I do and shall advise in most things, Lord Mount Alexander will tell you. When the King has all before him, he is the best judge, whether he will have him prosecuted, or whether he will dignify him with any title: I shall be ready to obey in either case. As it was the practice in time of the Popish plot, for men to threaten others, whom they could not get their ends of, that they would bring them into the plot; so now, in the like manner, men are threatened to be accused of speaking words against the King when he was Duke; but these things are to be borne with, though they are very troublesome. Several informations of such kind of stuff are sent up to me

from most parts of the kingdom.* I do not think fit to reject any of them; but receive them all, and put them into the hands of Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-general, who have bundles of them already: and they shall be proceeded in as they advise; though multitudes of people are thereby harassed to very little purpose. I doubt not but accounts are sent into England of several of these informations and accusations which are sent to me; and I am resolved they shall have no just cause to complain that they stick in my hands; and as fast as any thing material ariseth from any of them, I give my Lord President an account; to whom, you see, I write pretty often. Last night Colonel Macarty came to town: he makes great acknowledgments of obligations to you, and wonderful professions of friendship to me: he says, I may believe what he says to me, for he never made any professions to the late Lords Justices, because he did not wish they should continue in the Government; but he vows he is better pleased at my coming and being here, and had rather I should continue than any other man in England. I had a correspondence with him by letter before he came to town, which he seems pleased at; and I am sure neither he nor any body shall have any occasion to

* That the reader may see how these charges were got up, the following deposition, found among Lord Rochester's papers, is subjoined:—

HUGH LYNSEY'S DEPOSITION CONCERNING THE CONSPIRACIES TO GET UP CHARGES OF TREASON IN IRELAND.

January 26, 1685-6.

Hugh Lynsey of Allenstowne, in the county of Meath, came this day before me, and upon his voluntary oath did declare that about the latter end of August last past, he and Thomas Warren, and Robert Dardisse, all of Allenstowne aforesaid, being then at Staplestowne, in the county of Meath, the said Dardisse told him the said Lynsey, that he intended to swear treason against John Chetwood, clerk and vicar of Ardbracan, in the said county, if the said Warren and Lynsey would assist him in it; that thereupon the said Hugh Lynsey and Thomas Warren promised to join with him the said Dardisse, in swearing the said treason, but the said Lynsey desired to know of the said Dardisse, what the said treason should be; that the said Robert Dardisse replied, they should swear that being all three, in June last past, with the said John Chetwood, at his house in Lascarton, they heard him say that the Duke of Monmouth had as good a title to the crown as the Duke of York; and that he the said Chetwood hoped in God that the King's head would be cut off as his father's was; whereupon the said Warren and Lynsey approved of the design and resolved to go on with it. That soon after this he the said Lynsey, being afraid of going on with the said information of treason, for fear of trouble from the said Chetwood, the said Warren and Dardisse told him that there was a common purse raised, out of which there was twenty pounds and half-a-crown a day to be paid unto every man that would give in any information of treason.

(Signed) HUGH LYNSEY.

complain of my manner of living with them. He put one great compliment upon me; speaking of my having no regiment, he desired that his regiment might be called mine, and that he might be (as he called it) my Colonel-lieutenant: you will believe I knew how to receive such a profound compliment. I have given him leave to go for England the next week, being directed so to do (when he should ask it) by my Lord President. He told me, that I might see he would always discourse freely and without reserve to me, he would tell me the true reason of his going for England. Besides that he had been a good while from thence, he did believe there would be some alterations in the army here, and some other general officers appointed than now are; that he knew Sir Thomas Newcomen was gone into England, with hopes, by means of his powerful friends, to be re-established in his office of Major-general, which the King had promised he (Colonel Macarty) should be, if he made any; and that he did not doubt of the friendship of the Lord Treasurer and Lord President in his pretensions, though he knew the other had a great friend, without naming any body; but without witchcraft one might guess who he meant. The truth is, if the King thinks fit to make such an officer as Major-general, (of which I do not pretend to be a judge,) I am sure any body would be much more grateful than Sir Thomas; and therefore, of the two, I could rather wish it should be this Colonel. But I hope his Majesty will first consider the condition of his revenue (of which you shall have a clear state laid before you within very few days) before he loads it with any new burdens; and I believe none of these gentlemen will care for the titles of offices, without good salaries with them. That you may see what the natives are aiming at, I send you a copy of a petition, which I am told will be brought to me to send to the King. I wish I could have your advice, how to behave myself in such cases. I doubt not but whatever petitions are given me by that party, will be sent likewise into England; and therefore, if this petition be brought to me, I do resolve to send it to the King in a letter from me to himself, only representing to him in general the importance it will be of to all his affairs in this kingdom, and particularly to his revenue, to have that matter of reversing the outlawries well considered; and that, in my opinion, the particular cases ought to be taken into consideration, rather than to come to a determination in the general, which will be of a vast consequence. And this letter to the King I intend to send open to you, that you may read it; and if you do approve it, you will deliver it; otherwise, send me your thoughts what you think fitter for me to do. One thing more I must mention, before

I end this letter. A few days since, my Lord Primate made me a visit, as he very frequently does: he told me how almost absolutely necessary it is that there should be a Vice-treasurer here. The state of that matter, with reference to the law, you know; and therefore I need not mention it to you: he proposed to me that Mr. Keightly might have that place, just in the same manner only as Sir John Temple formerly had upon a like occasion, and with the same salary. I suppose my Lord Primate thought to make his court herein to me, for which I made my acknowledgments to him. I think you and I both would be glad to do Mr. Keightley some good; and, if you think it proper, this office would give him an insight into the affairs of the revenue, and would entitle him to be a Privy Counsellor; and would not be inconsistent with what you did design him, when there is an opportunity for it; but I leave this matter wholly to your judgment. I here return you the draught of the King's letter, which you sent me, on behalf of the clergy for impropriate rectories forfeited; which I have perused, and consulted with the Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. Solicitor upon it, who all think it very well, and sufficient to do what is intended; therefore, if you please, let it be despatched. I think I have now tired you. God Almighty keep you and yours.

XXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Appointment of Lord Ossory to the King's Regiment of Guards.—Recommendation of Lord Clanricard.—Outrages in Munster.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 5, 1685-6.

Last night came in five packets from England, with which I received your Lordship's favours of the 23d and 30th past; in the last of which you were pleased to tell me, the King had given his regiment of guards here to my Lord Ossory, which gives as general a satisfaction here as can be imagined. Amongst the alterations, his Majesty has thoughts of making in the army here, I could wish something were done for the Earl of Clanricard: he is a man of great quality; has not only constantly served the Crown both at home and abroad himself, but at all times every one of his family showed themselves signally loyal: and I dare say there is not an Englishman would

not be glad to see him in command and to serve under him. I beg your Lordship's pardon for recommending this nobleman to you, which I have no interest in but the King's service; and I verily believe his Majesty will not be displeased with me for putting you in mind of him. About ten days since there came great complaints of fresh violences and robberies committed by the Tories in Munster: they were headed by young Power, brother to the late rebel Power: but I have ordered several small parties of horse and foot, who are quartered thereabouts, to watch them; and have got some intelligence amongst themselves: so that I do not doubt in a very little time to have all that country quiet. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to assure you that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

Colonel Macarty is now here: he came to town two days since, and will go for England the next week.

XXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Recommending Lord Clanricard.—Appearance of the King's Regiment of Guards.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Feb. 5, 1685-6.

I had last night the honour of your Majesty's of the 29th past, and do humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for the omission of a date to my former letter. I am infinitely happy in your Majesty's believing me diligent in informing myself of the true state of this kingdom. I am sure I will make it my only business, as long as I have the honour of being here; and will, with all possible speed, lay before your Majesty an account of every particular, as I can attain the knowledge of them, with all integrity imaginable. By the grace of God your Majesty shall be informed of all that I know; and your commands shall find a perfect and punctual obedience. I have presumed to move my Lord President, to put your Majesty in mind of my Lord Clanricard, who has the honour to be known to your Majesty: he has constantly served your father, and the King your brother, from the very beginning of his life; and every one of his family have at all times signally

manifested their loyalty to the Crown; and this good Lord is a little mortified, lest he should be out of your Majesty's remembrance. I beg your Majesty's pardon for saying thus much: I know you will not be offended with me for putting you in mind of men of merit.

The other day I saw your Majesty's regiment of guards drawn out; and, though I am no soldier, yet I may assure your Majesty, they exercise and perform all their duty as well as your guards in England can do: if they had the honour to be in your presence, you would have no cause to be ashamed of them. Your Majesty has now been a year upon your throne: that you may long continue to rule over these kingdoms, to the terror and confusion of all your adversaries, is the continual prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most dutiful
And most obedient subject and Servant,
CLARENDON.

XXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Proceedings of the Catholic Association.—Desires Instructions on that head for his future guidance.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1685-6.

The best way, in my humble opinion, to serve your Majesty is, to inform you faithfully and punctually of all I hear: for should your Majesty be informed from other hands of any thing which I know, and have no account from me, you might perhaps think me negligent in your service, or desirous to conceal things from you; neither of which I would be willingly guilty of: and, therefore, I shall rather venture to trouble your Majesty with stories, which perhaps sometimes may not be true, than to have it in any man's power (if they should prove true) to say, that I might have given you an account sooner. Sir, quickly after my being here, Mr. Nugent, of your Majesty's learned Council, made me a visit: he told me, he hoped I would not be displeased if I should hear of any meetings in the counties amongst the Roman Catholics; for, he did assure me, they were only in order to the choosing of agents to go into England, to solicit on the behalf of the ancient proprietors. I replied, I was very confident the Roman Catholics would have no meetings which could give any dissatisfaction to the Govern-

ment; but I did not understand what he meant by sending over agents. I assured him, as every body should have very easy access to me, so, whatever complaints or hard cases were brought to me, I would not only transmit them to your Majesty, but would also take pains to find out remedies for them. Mr. Nugent told me he would give me a further account of this matter; but he has said nothing more to me of it, though he hath been with me twice or thrice since upon other occasions. Some other Roman Catholics have owned to me, that there were such meetings for the ends I have mentioned; and that they did not like them, and had therefore refused to contribute any thing towards the support of such agents: which, probably, may have put a stop to the proceeding; for I hear it is at a stand for the present. I told those gentlemen, as I did Mr. Nugent, that whatever complaints were brought to me should be represented to your Majesty, with as much advantage and assistance for relief, as I was capable of doing; and I was confident your Majesty would receive them from me very graciously; and by this means they might save the charge of sending agents into England. Those I discoursed with, I am sure, are satisfied; and I am confident will be able to satisfy others. Some days since two papers were given me: the one a circular letter to most counties in the kingdom, advising the meeting to choose agents;* the other, a list of names, pretended to be chosen agents for the several counties, many of whom, I am told, know nothing of it. I have thought fit to send both those papers to your Majesty, that you may have all before you which I know. I have not yet told any of the Roman Catholics, (nor any others) that I have seen these papers; (except only one or two who discourse very freely with me) because I would do nothing, in a matter of this nature, without your Majesty's particular directions: though I do easily imagine your Majesty would not be pleased to see such a number of persons come over to you, as are mentioned in the enclosed list, which would make a great noise, and be a vast expense to the poor aggrieved people. Besides, possibly your Majesty might think it just to hear those, against whom the complaints may be brought, which would carry over as great a number. I might add, that the consequence would be the carrying a great deal of money, as well as numbers of people, out of this kingdom, and the unsettling the minds of men from the callings they are now engaged in. I have now laid the whole of this matter before your Majesty, as far as

* This paper will be found in a future page.

I know, with my humble thoughts thereupon, with submission to your Majesty's great wisdom. As, I am sure, none of the persons concerned can be dissatisfied with what I have said to them; so, I hope your Majesty will give me your pardon for what I have here presumed to offer, and that you will be pleased to let me have your commands for my future guide in this affair; which, in this and all things else, shall find a perfect obedience from,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful

And most obedient subject and Servant,

CLARENDON.

XXXII.

ASSOCIATION IN IRELAND FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

(Indorsement by Lord Clarendon.)

[Copy of a letter from the Roman Catholics in Leinster, to their friends in other countries, concerning the choosing of agents to be sent into England; given me by a Roman Catholic, who told me this is the letter which was sent about, and that the other long one was not approved of, and that he himself had burnt thirty of them at one time, and therefore hopes none of them were sent abroad. CLARENDON, C. P. S.]

Positions and Queries thereupon concerning a Church to be considered as highly conducing to the Public Peace.

1. Christ our Lord revealed and established a faith and law, as the universal and necessary means for the application of his blood and passion to mankind.

2. A belief and profession of this faith and law ought (at least regarding the body of Christians in general) to be conformable and adequate to all the truths or mysteries so revealed.

3. Hence this faith and law is one and the same amongst all Christians, of what different nations and under what distinct temporal government soever; the universality of which Christians, thus combined andi ncorporated in one faith and law, is that which we term the Catholic Church; and as the faith and law is one, so is the Catholic Church one.

* This is the paper referred to in the preceding letter.

4. This one faith and law thus necessary to the salvation of all, containing in it many sublime and supernatural mysteries, or truths, was delivered by Christ, the lawgiver, to the Apostles; who, as his vicegerents on earth, were authorized and commissioned by him to teach others, with a promise of divine assistance, lest they might mislead their followers into error, either by substraction from, or addition to, these mysteries or truths.

5. Accordingly this faith and law was transmitted by the Apostles to their successors, and by them in like manner to others, the successive bishops and pastors of the Catholic Church; and as the necessity of faith in its unity and integrity is always the same, so is the authority to teach and divine assistance not to misguide proportionably to be the same.

6. Wherefore, as the Apostles gathered together in the Holy Ghost exercised their authority in determining controversies of faith, and requiring a submission of judgment from others to their decisions in their time, so also the following pastors and governors of the Catholic Church, assembled in a general Council, and inspired by the same Holy Ghost, exercised the like authority in deciding the like controversies, distinguishing gospel truths from error, and requiring the like submission of judgment from believers, as occasion was offered in all ensuing ages.

Quere.

1. Whether a separation at any time whatsoever, and on what pretence soever, made by any part or member of the whole church, from the known faith and unity of the same church, be not opposite and destructive to the religion and government founded by Christ?

2. Whether the Church of England, before the Reformation, was not a part or member subordinate to the whole, and whether, by its separating in faith and communion from the Roman Church, it did not also separate from the whole then extant and visible Church. If it did, whether such separation be justifiable? If it did not, where was the ever divinely authorised and assisted Catholic Church, from the visible communion of which the Roman Church had separated, and to which the Church of England, deserting the Roman, did adjoin and unite herself in faith, sacrament, and subordination of government.

3. Whether the Church of England at the time of the Reformation, assuming the liberty of judging and determining controverted points of faith, by the rule of Scripture interpreted by herself, independently on, and with disjunction from, the judgment of all, and every other, at least then extant,

Church or Churches, (as her Book of Homilies seems to declare) did not by this assumed liberty authorize and warrant each particular party or even member of her own communion, to pass the like judgment by the same rule, independently on and with disjunction from her respective tenets in faith and doctrine; furthermore, whether such a liberty be not repugnant to the unity of faith established by Christ? Whether confusions and disorders infecting the nation for above these forty years, have not in great measure sprung from this root or principle, and whether it doth not lay open a direct and unavoidable way or passage to all manner of schisms and heresies?

4. Whether private self-interpretation of Scripture, in contempt of the Church's authority, hath not already brought many (and in all likelihood will daily bring more) of the most weighty articles of the Christian religion into question and debate, and this by an endless labyrinth of contest, without hopes of redress? and whether the same Church authority once neglected, the canon of the Scripture itself, as to its being God's word, may not be controverted, and finally the whole system of faith by degrees perish?

5. Whether the Church of England, having upon self-abstract notions and allegations of God's word made a rupture in the unity of faith and subordination of government from the Church of which she was formerly a member, doth not unduly exact from her fellow-members, either an intern or (consequently) an extern obedience and conformity to her own proper doctrine and worship? and whether justice, prudence, and common interest, do not require either that the Church of England return to the unity and obedience of the Church from whence, by open contradiction, she hath departed, or that she allow all other sects or assemblies, yea, even individual persons in their own judgment of sober understandings, dissenting from her, the free exercise of their religion, according to their several though opposite sentiments, and dictamen of conscience as to faith and worship in expounding God's word?

Such lords and gentlemen as were here this Michaelmas Term thought fit to consult how a collection might be made for employing agents in England to represent to our gracious Sovereign the grievances of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom.

In order thereunto they have agreed to request you in your county, as they have requested others in other counties, to acquaint the nobility, gentry, merchants, and others of your county, that are able to contribute with the necessity of this agency.

That some, as we are informed, are employed in the behalf of the new interested persons of this kingdom to attend the Court of England, in order to oppose what addresses will be made in our behalf; and lest our silence in not praying for his Majesty's relief would be taken to imply that either we were satisfied with our conditions, or that we were so inconsiderable as not to be able to represent the same, we thought it high time to think of such an address, that though it may be not proper at present to disturb his Majesty with applications of this nature, yet we think it fit that provision be made, so as when such an address shall be thought convenient, it may meet with no other delay than naming the person or persons who shall be approved of to be intrusted.

The method for this collection is approved and recommended to be in manner following:—

That the gentlemen intrusted in every county may receive the subscriptions of every contributor, and may choose and appoint receivers in every county, who are desired to give their collections to Mr. Luke Hore, merchant in Dublin, and to take his acquittance.

That all the nobility, gentry, merchants, and others, who have been hitherto excluded all employments, are concerned in this agency; it being a principal part of our intentions to pray his Majesty that all marks of distinction be taken from his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, by rendering them and their posterity capable of employments, civil and military, and freedom in corporations, by which means animosities will be forgot, discord and division removed, and all his Majesty's subjects in a posture of serving him upon any emergency; therefore we hope all parties concerned will freely contribute.

And whereas several natives of this kingdom are merchants abroad in foreign parts, the gentlemen intrusted in every county are desirous to acquaint them that their contribution is expected upon this occasion, which they may return to the said Luke Hore.

That whatever agent or agents are to be chosen by the respective provinces, or by the kingdom in general, shall be by the approbation of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and such others as he shall consult with of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom.

That the said Luke Hore is to deliver the moneys, and such other security for paying moneys as he shall receive on this account, to such agent or

agents as shall be approved of by the said Earl of Tyrconnell as aforesaid, which shall be a discharge to the said Luke Hore for all such sums or securities by him had or taken as aforesaid.

That the said Trustees do give in an account of the progress herein by the 1st of February, or as soon as they can.

These are the methods intended by this agency, which we desire every one in his respective county to be diligent in contributing to, as we are in these parts of the province of Leinster.

Your very humble Servants.

XXXIII.

THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

Want of Plantations in Ireland.—Contrast of Chapel-Izod with Swallowfield.—Lady Sylvius.—Mr. Evelyn's children, &c.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1685-6.

I was not pleased to see your letter, because I was just writing to you; so that now my letter must pass for a forced answer, which was intended for a great complaint that I am come into a country that you have not cultivated; not a tree nor shrub is here! though the place is fertile; the sun kind enough to it; and you are famous here. I must not rail at so new and kind an acquaintance, though I have little hope of its amendment; but sure I may justly be angry with my own country folks, who will have it that the garden of Chapel Izod is like Swallowfield, a close walk of ashes and box hedges preferred to one of your best and dearest children! But what can anger do, when I have no hopes in any thing but your prayers for my return into the garden of Eden? but I hope I shall have them for a more lasting Paradise, as you shall be sure of mine: but first I should be glad to meet you and my Lady Silvius at Deptford, as she returns from Denmark; for though she will be my near neighbour here, I do not find I am like to have her correspondence. All your children may be in Denmark for any good they do me; I have not had one word from any one of them. Now our meeting at the Cock-pit is gone, you must find some other place to discipline them in. I fear else, you will

lose your power with them, as I shall your good opinion if I detain you longer: but, after all, I must beg you to believe me,

Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

F. CLARENDON.*

My service, I entreat, to your lady and all your family.

* *Flower*, Countess of Clarendon, second wife of Henry, second Earl. Lady Clarendon was the daughter of William Backhouse, Esq. and widow of Sir William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, in the County of Berks. Mr. Evelyn mentions her several times in his Diary; and it is evident from their correspondence, that she enjoyed and deserved the esteem of that worthy man. He thus records a visit he made to her at Swallowfield, in October preceding the date of this letter:—"I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield, in Berks: this house is after the ancient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up ancient hospitality; but the gardens and waters as elegant as it is possible to make a flat by art and industrie, and no meane expense, my Lady being so extraordinarily skilled in ye flowery part, and my Lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seen a seate which shews more tokens of it, than what is to be found here; not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of one thousand golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweete shrubbs, that it perfumes the air. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchen garden, full of y^e^ most desireable plants; two very noble orangeries, well furnished; but, above all, the canal and fish_ponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river; so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carpe, breame, and tench, I never saw anything approaching it. We had at every meale carpe and pike of a size fit for the table of a prince; and what added to the delight, was to see the hundreds taken by the drage, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a piece. The waters are flagged about with *calamus aromaticus*, with which my Lady has hung a closet, that retaines the smell very perfectly. There is also a certaine sweete willow, and other exotics; also a very fine bowling-greene, meadow, pasture, and wood: in a word, all that can render a country seate delightful. There is besides a well-furnishd library in ye house. We returnd to London, having been treated with all sorts of cheere and noble freedom, by that most religious and vertuous Lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with her husband, made Lord Deputy, and went to this country house and ancient seate of her father and family, to set things in order during her absence; but never were good people and neighbours more concerned than all the country, (the poor especially,) for the departure of this charitable woman; every one was in teares, and she as unwilling to part from them."—*Evelyn's Diary. Vol. I. p.* 615. *4to.*

Sarah, Dutchess of Marlborough, in her "Apology for her Conduct," says, that Lady Clarendon "looked like a mad woman, and talked like a scholar." Perhaps her censure, arising, as it did, from pique, speaks more for this excellent woman than such praise as the Dutchess of Marlborough could bestow. She could not appreciate the virtues of Lady Clarendon.

J. & H. S. Storer del. et sculp.

Swallowfield.

Berkshire.

FORMERLY THE SEAT OF HENRY HYDE, 2ND EARL OF CLARENDON

Now the Residence of the Rt. Honble. Sir Henry Russell, Bart.

Publd. by H. Colburn. 1877.

XXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Catholic Association.—Appointment of Governors of Counties in Ireland superfluous.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1685-6.

Some days after my being here, Mr. Nugent, of the King's learned council, desired me not to be displeased, if I heard of any meetings in the counties amongst the Roman Catholics; for he did assure me, they were only in order to the choosing of agents to send into England to solicit on the behalf of the ancient proprietors. I told him, I was very well satisfied, that the Roman Catholics would have no meetings anywhere, which the Government could have any cause to dislike; but I did not understand what he meant by sending over agents. I assured him, whoever came to me to complain of any hardship he was under, by any manner of way, I would transmit his case to the King, and contribute all that was in my power towards their relief; which, I was sure, his Majesty would receive very graciously. Mr. Nugent seemed satisfied, and said he would give me a further account of this matter; but, having said nothing to me of it since, though I have seen him twice or thrice upon other occasions, and having been told by some Roman Catholics, that the meetings did continue, which they did not approve, and had refused to contribute any thing towards the support of such agents,—I have thought fit to give the King an account of the whole matter, as far as I know. I have likewise sent his Majesty the copy of a circular letter, which has been sent to most counties for the choosing of agents; together with a list of names pretended to be chosen for the several counties, with blanks for such counties as are said not yet to have chosen. I have not yet acquainted any of the Roman Catholics, except some very few, who discourse freely with me, that I have seen these papers; because I would do nothing in a thing of this nature without particular directions: though, I think, the matter has been carried further than it ought to have been without the knowledge of the government. But I am told the matter is at a stand for the present; several considerable persons having refused their contributions for the support of the agents. I believe, those I have discoursed with are satisfied that I will transmit their complaints faithfully to the King: which, I assure your Lordship, I shall do in their own words, and shall take all the pains I am capable of to offer to your

Lordship remedies for their relief; of which his Majesty will then be judge, and my part will be to obey whatever directions I receive. If I may presume to offer my opinion upon this affair at present, I should think the King would not be pleased to see such a number of persons as are mentioned in the list, come into England upon that errand; to which there may be many objections offered; but, to say no more, it would make a great noise, and be a vast expense to the poor people, who are already aggrieved. And probably his Majesty would think himself obliged in justice to hear the people complained of; which perhaps might carry over as great a number of persons, and would certainly occasion the transmitting great sums of money from this kingdom, which cannot be well spared; besides the uneasiness upon men's minds, which would draw them from their callings, and the employments they are now engaged in; and what consequence that might have upon his Majesty's revenue here, I leave to your Lordship's better judgment. I beg your Lordship's pardon for, and favourable representation of, what I have offered upon this subject, which are only my thoughts of what may be best for the King's service; which when I have laid before you with all possible submission, I shall be ready to obey all commands which your Lordship shall send me. I dare be confident, none of those who have been with me upon this occasion are dissatisfied with my deportment towards them; and by the grace of God they shall never have reason; and if his Majesty be pleased with what I have done, I am as happy as I desire to be. Several persons have applied to me to renew their commissions for governors of counties, which they had from other Lieutenants; particularly my Lord Massereen hath been very earnest to be governor of the county of Londonderry, as he was formerly; but I have refused both him and every body else. And truly, my Lord, in my humble opinion, (with submission to better judgments,) these offices of governors of counties are very insignificant, since the King hath thought fit to lay aside the militia, they having been in the nature of Lords Lieutenants: and therefore, I think it is better to grant no such commissions. But of this, as of all things else, the King is the best judge. Your Lordship sees, I am forced to trouble you almost every post; which, I know, you will forgive, it being in the King's service. I beg the continuance of your Lordship's favour and friendship to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful, and most obedient servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Professions of Friendship.—Affairs of the Ordnance and Military Stores.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1685-6.

This is to return your Lordship my very humble thanks for your favour of the 21st past, and particularly for the kind offer you make me of your friendship; which I do with all the sense imaginable embrace. My Lord, friendships founded on the principles your Lordship mentions, of kindness between parents, are the best and most lasting: a father's friend is most precious. I am old enough to remember the long friendship between our fathers, and the many kindnesses and obligations mine had to yours, especially in the time of his misfortunes; which I shall never forget. If you will please to accept of my friendship, I do assure your Lordship, you shall have it with all the possible returns of service and gratitude whilst I live; with this assurance, that I do depend more upon your Lordship's sincerity and kindness, than upon any man's next my brother: and I hope you two will do each other good. Thus, my Lord, I have ended all preambles for ever, and shall never make you a compliment, having been as little used to them as your Lordship. I expect the account and state of the Office of the Ordnance here from your Lordship, as you mention; which shall be quickly despatched, after I receive it. If I do not give you constantly an account of all things in that office, it shall be your fault; for, according to your promise before I left England, I expect your rules and directions for my guide, to enable me the better to do my duty. I shall very often pursue you with my letters, but expect answers from you no oftener than you think necessary. My Lord Mountjoy goes this week for England: I do take him to be a man of great worth and honour, and one who makes it his business to serve the King as he ought to do in his station. I am sure he has a great inclination and ambition to be a perfect servant to your Lordship; and I would be very glad if I might be a means of begetting such an understanding as there ought to be between you, which would be for the King's service. I suppose your Lordship may have seen some fire-arms which Captain Forbes carried over to show the King: those can be made here; and so can all other muskets, &c. for less money than the King pays in England; and so the exchange of the money and the freight

will be saved, besides something in price, and the hazard; all which together will be considerable. The pikes which come from England cost, by the time they come hither, each *5s. 6d.*: they can be made here, and furnished into the stores, for *3s. 10d.* each pike; for which I refer myself to Colonel Macarty. I will not entertain your Lordship any longer upon this subject in my first letter, but will speedily write to you more largely upon it; and I am sure my Lord Treasurer will be for the saving of the King's money, especially if the service can be as well performed. I think I have tired you enough for the first time, and I would not make you quite weary of me; I will therefore conclude, that I am with great esteem and respect,

My dear Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Always sends him Copies of the Letters of the King and Lord President.—His Reception in Ireland.—Affairs and Management of the Revenue.—Mr. Price.—Lord Cornbury's Marriage.—His own Allowance.—Choice of Sheriffs, and Lord Tyrconnel's dissatisfaction.—Officers of the Army.—The late Lords Justices.—Observance of the 6th of February.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1685-6.

In my last on Friday I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 25th, 26th, and 30th past; I will now endeavour to answer them particularly and in order. But in the first place, I have written to the King and my Lord President, as you advised; and have sent His Majesty a copy of the same circular letter and list of names, which I sent to you in my sixth letter of the 29th past; and I hope I have done it with all possible modesty. Copies of both my letters are here enclosed, as I always send you: when you know all I do, and all I write to others, you can the better give me advertisements and advice what I ought to do, which I am always glad to receive from you. I hope you did not expect that I should have given you a particular relation of my reception here, which I knew would go over from some one or other, as things of that kind always do. I must needs say it was as great as could be; and I have all the reason in the world to be very well satisfied with the civilities

I have received from all sorts of people here, who do and ever shall meet with equal returns from me; which I suppose is the reason that I have commonly, both at dinner and in the withdrawing-room, as many of one sort as of the other with me.

I am very glad you like what I wrote to you of the Commissioners of the Revenue: the truth of it is, I must own, that the more I converse with them, the more reason I have to say they are men of great industry and honesty. I do verily believe, they spend their whole time, as well as skill, to improve every branch of the revenue; and I do as firmly believe they are as careful as men can be, that the King should suffer no sort of abuse: but with all this, I must needs say, I cannot approve of the method of their accounts, for in truth they are in none. They showed me their ledger-books, which are as exactly kept as is possible; all the arrears, both of what was in cash in the several collectors' hands, and of what stood out from other people, being brought over from one account to the other, and so from year to year, in as exact a method as can be directed. I asked them, why they did not observe the same method in the abstracts they send to you? The answer was, they thought it sufficient to send you the gross produce of every branch of the revenue at the year's end, with what cash was in the collectors' hands, and what arrears stood out at the end of that year, whereby you might see how the revenue increased or diminished: but, since you were not satisfied with that account, they are preparing another state of this last year's account to be laid before you, in which shall be expressed, what was in cash in the collectors' hands the preceding year, and what arrears stood out then in their several districts; what is since received of those arrears, and what now remains in arrear the 25th of December last; and this, I am promised, shall be ready to be sent you within a very few days. But when you have it, it will still be only a state, or view, whereby you may in truth see the clear produce of the revenue; what has been received, what has been issued, and what remains in real cash: what in arrear, and upon whom;—but it will be no account: a method for which we are preparing to offer to you for your approbation; and for the better doing of it, I have communicated your letter of the 16th past to the Commissioners; and as soon as I have their thoughts upon the method you have there laid down, you shall have the whole matter transmitted to you, and this will be done very speedily. Upon this occasion I cannot but observe to you, that the revenue has now been just three years in management; and of fifty-two or fifty-three collectors, for so many there are

in the kingdom, only three have accounted upon oath, and that for one year only. This is the reason why I say the accounts of the revenue are in no method; and it must be a failure somewhere: the question is in whom. The Auditor says (of whose office, which is very much out of order, I will speak hereafter) there is no fault in him; and he is in the right, for there is no branch of the revenue in charge before him, not so much as the name of any one collector. Therefore I tell the Commissioners the fault must be in them; they have the absolute management and government of the revenue, and it must be their work to see every body do their business. They tell me, their part is to call the collectors to account; and, when they have adjusted every thing with them, then to return those accounts with the vouchers, to the Auditor, who is to engross them in form, and then they, the collectors, are to swear to them before a Baron of the Exchequer: but they did not know it was their parts to take care that the collectors should swear to their accounts, which, for the future, they would take care of. I told them, they had not performed even what they owned was their part to do, for they had transmitted to the Auditor the collectors' accounts of the first year only: to which they could say nothing, but that those of the two following years should be speedily sent to him. I have taken some pains; and by the help of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (whom I must commend for his industry), we have spent a great deal of time with the Deputy Auditor; and I find he hath fairly engrossed the accounts of the several collectors for the first year: but neither the deputations to the collectors, nor the King's commissions to the Commissioners themselves, are entered before him, which all ought to be, or else he knows not what vouchers will be of sufficient authority for him to allow. I have taken a state of the first year's account, ending the 24th of December, 1683, from the Auditor,* drawn out of the accounts of the several collectors; which, with the Receiver-General's account (of whom I will say more another time) for that year, must make up the account of the receipts and issues of the whole revenue for that year, and will be all that will appear upon record; which state does not agree with the account sent you of that year: but of this you shall have a very full state in the letter. I shall very speedily write to you in form, in answer to yours of the 16th, when I shall lay before you a method for the accounts of the Revenue of this kingdom to be taken in; which if you approve, I will undertake that the accounts of the last preceding three years shall be put into it in two months' time; and, within

* See Appendix at the end of this volume.

a very few days, you shall have a state sent you of the last year's account, whereby you shall see the clear produce of the revenue: what has been received, how issued, and what remains in cash, what in arrear, and upon whom; all which shall be as plain as when you have the account before you in form.* I have only said thus much now in my private letter, that you may see I am not idle, but that I spend a great deal of time (as in truth I do) with every one of the officers, who, I think, by reason of their offices, are able to inform me of any thing. The Commissioners, I must say, are wonderfully industrious, and I believe very honest; and take as much pains as ever men did: but, I doubt, they had too much a mind (at least some of them) to value their own services; and, that they might be masters of all things themselves, they would not call to any of the King's officers for help. As for instance, though there were sometimes motions of great consequence to be made in the Exchequer, they would never vouchsafe to speak one syllable to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who constantly attends in that court, and never fails, and is really a very worthy gentleman. I have him always with me when the Commissioners are with me; which, I find, at first did not please them; upon which I told them one day that, except they could make a just exception to the Chancellor, I would always have him with me. This I told them when he was not present, that they might make objections to him, if they had any; they said, truly they had nothing to say against him, but he understood not their business. I told them, the affairs of the Revenue, and the accounting for it, ought to be no mystery nor secret to the King's officers; and therefore I would have him with me, both for my assistance and justification; and yet they should be with me in private as often as they had a mind to; and I could not but wonder they would have so little regard, as in truth to slight the King's officers. And upon this occasion I asked them what was the reason they took no notice of the Accountant General; to which they replied, that Dr. Wood was a freakish man, and they did not think fit to employ him; that Mr. Boneil they did not know till since Wood's death, and therefore they thought fit to impose the old clerks upon them; and for Mr. Trumbull, they believed him an able and industrious man. But I said he had been here six months, and not yet settled in his office; to which they knew not what to say, but that he should be presently settled. These things I only hint to you; but I beg you to have a little patience till I lay all things before you, which shall be very

* See Appendix at the end of this volume.

speedily. I think I have pretty well tired you with this subject, and so will go to other parts of your letter. I have had Mr. Price with me, and pursued the method you prescribed, in first reading the paper to him, and then giving it him, and requiring him to give me his answer in writing; which, he says, he will do very speedily, and fully, and truly. I think I could do it for him in some of the articles; but I will say no more of him nor the matter, till I send you his own answer. As to what you say of my Lord Cornbury's affair, it would require more paper than this letter (which is too long) to pay you my thanks for the trouble you have had in it; but I will say nothing upon that matter at this time, for I intend very quickly to write to you something of my thoughts concerning him in a letter apart.

I come now to yours of the 26th past; to which there is little occasion of replying, more than to assure you that I am very well satisfied that you take your own time and way of giving me an answer to what I said of my own allowances. To yours of the 30th past, I do assure you I am far from being mortified that I have not the command of the regiment of guards, but am infinitely pleased it is placed in the hands which have it; and do rest satisfied with whatever rule the King makes, and so will not weary you with saying more upon that subject, than that I owe you thanks for your being mindful of me in that, as well as every thing else. As to the business of the sheriffs, if my Lord Tyrconnel is satisfied that the choice is generally so bad, he should have left me some intimations behind him; for he knew who were upon the roll, before he went for England. It cannot be imagined that I could yet know men myself; which, by the grace of God, I will do another year, if I have the honour to be here; but, upon the whole matter, I was as inquisitive as the time would permit, to inform myself; and I did neither tie myself to the roll given me by my Lord Chancellor, (for I nominated several others,) nor to his Lordship's representations; but was guided by the best information I could get from the honestest I could find of both religions; and will still believe, from what Catholics as well as Protestants have told me, that, for the generality, there has not been a better set (if I may so term it) of the sheriffs at any time. As to any being in, who have personally behaved themselves ill towards the King, before or since his coming to the crown, I am sure I know of no such; and if I did, I would not only not have made him a sheriff, but will never be a means of putting any such into any employment whatsoever. Nor will I ever be found to have a friendship with any one who has been particularly undutiful to the King at any time; which

would less become me than any man living. I think it will be very well if there be no Marshal of the Army; and in my opinion, considering the numbers of the army here, the fewer general officers there are the better. I formerly told you my thoughts, that Colonel Macarty was much fitter to be Major-General, than Sir Thomas Newcomen. He is a man of quality; for his being a soldier, according to his experience, I think, is not doubted; and he has behaved himself extremely well wherever he has been quartered, with great easiness and moderation, which every body has not done. The other, every body knows, is no soldier, wretchedly sordid, and a brute; and I never heard of any title he had to merit, but his alliance. As to the exception my Lord Tyrconnel makes upon every occasion, that the late Lords Justices were not men of business, (which is my friend Macarty's commonplace too,) I shall only say, that perhaps they would be of another opinion, if they were more men of business themselves. For the Primate, certainly he is a man of great experience, and, I will presume to say, of great knowledge too in all affairs here: I know his foible, and am aware of it. As to Lord Granard, I will not pretend to speak of his martial skill; but I pray then consider the little experience of his contemners, especially of the mighty Lord. I will presume to say, Granard does very well understand the several interests of this country, as to the principles of the several parties; and, I am sure, he is exactly honest in all his dealings, and generous to all that are under him. And of his eminent loyalty to the crown in the worst of times, (which ought not to be forgot), there are few witnesses now living besides myself.

I have now tired you sufficiently; though I know you have not much time to spare to read such long letters, yet I cannot help writing them, having so much to say, and a great deal I leave now for another time. I would not have you think, by the length of my letters, that I have time to throw away, for in truth I have not; but I would fain make haste to know every thing, and then to give you an account of all things, when I do understand them. You may expect an account of my performance on the 6th of February, which I will take care you shall have a relation of. I will only say, that I celebrated the day as well as I could, and as well as the illness of the Castle would give me leave: in a word, I went very decently to church on horseback, was attended by all the nobility in town (a great many) of both religions; Lord Clanricard carried the sword, &c., and as many dined with me as the house would hold. God Almighty keep you and yours.

XXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Recommends Colonel Macarty.—Arms can be furnished cheaper in Ireland, than by bringing them out of England.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Feb. 11, 1685-6.

This bearer, Colonel Macarty, is so well known to your Majesty, that there is no need of my saying any thing in his behalf, but what he will not give himself leave to say; which is, to give your Majesty an account how infinitely he is esteemed in all places where he has been in this kingdom, his obliging carriage having gained upon every body; which the bishop of the diocese, and several others have told me, and desired I would thank him for the favours they have received from him. He tells me he has a pretension from your Majesty's gracious promise to him, to be advanced to a greater station in the army, when you think fit to make any more general officers. I hope it will not be too great a presumption in me to say, that Colonel Macarty will be as grateful to all people here, as any man your Majesty can put into such a post: of the merits of his family, and his own in particular, I need say nothing. I have discoursed with Colonel Macarty about providing arms here for your Majesty's forces, which he will acquaint your Majesty with better than I can do. It may be done at infinite cheaper rates than they come to out of England; and the arms will be much better. But of this I will write more particularly to my Lord Dartmouth, as being in his province. Your Majesty's goodness is such, that I know you will forgive the trouble of my letters sometimes, though I have nothing to say but to cast myself at your Majesty's feet, as becomes,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, and
Most obedient subject and Servant,
CLARENDON.

XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

In favour of Colonel Macarty.—Affair of Robert Clarke, of Kinsale.—Complaints about the arms furnished from England, and about checks, or deductions from the pay of the Army.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 11, 1685-6.

Colonel Macarty must not go hence without carrying my most humble service to your Lordship in a particular manner. I need not say any thing to your Lordship on his behalf: his own merit, as well as person, is sufficiently known to you; but yet I must not omit telling your Lordship (in justice to him) how extremely he has gained upon all people, among whom he has lived. The Bishop of Cork and several others, have desired me to give him thanks for the civilities they have received from him. I am sure I need not move your Lordship to support his pretensions with the King; but I may assure you his Majesty can employ nobody, in his way, who will be more acceptable to people here. In mine of the 24th past, I gave your Lordship some account of Robert Clarke, of Kinsale: I have since examined him myself, and found his discourse very confused and perplexed, and his narrative more so; a true copy of which I here send your Lordship. I believe the man intends honestly, therefore I will take care to protect him. Most of the persons he mentions are either in prison or upon bail; and I will direct the judges (who are now going their circuits) to see them indicted and prosecuted, as far as the matter will bear. When men see they shall not transgress without being questioned, they will, perhaps, learn to keep within bounds: I am sure none shall pass unquestioned or unpunished, as long as I have the honour to be here. I have just this minute received the favour of your Lordship's of the 6th instant; for which I return you most humble thanks. I have great reason to be abundantly satisfied with the disposition his Majesty has made of the cornet's place in Colonel Hamilton's regiment, and humbly thank your Lordship for your promise of the next place to Mr. Flemming.

All the officers here do make great complaints of their arms, which, in truth, are very bad; there may be much better made here, and for less rates than the King pays at London; so that, at least, the exchange of the money and the freight will be saved, and there will be no hazard. Colonel Macarty will discourse this matter fully to your Lordship; and so will my Lord Mountjoy, who is Master of the Ordnance here, and very industrious in the

King's service. He now goes for England only to meet his son from France, and to send him into Hungary; he will be back here again in two months, unless your Lordship keeps him there, which I hope you will not. Colonel Macarty has spoken to me concerning the checks which are put upon officers and soldiers at their musters: that method has been always practised in the army here; but it is an imposition not laid upon the army in England. It does not become me to meddle with any thing I find, which is pretended to be for the King's service, without first representing it to his Majesty; but, I confess, I know no reason why it should be otherwise here than in England. I know if they are taken away, it will take away a great part of my Secretary's perquisites: but I would not have any such consideration hinder what shall be thought for the King's service; and I think the poor soldier ought to have as much of the King's pay come into his pocket as is possible. Colonel Macarty will discourse this matter fully to your Lordship; and I shall be ready to give your Lordship any further information of the matter as you shall require me. I am, with all possible respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON.

XXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

Pleasure of Corresponding with a friend.—His reception in Ireland.—Character of the people.—Royal Society of Dublin.—Recommends it to the patronage of the Royal Society of London.—The President, Lord Mountjoy, who is in England;—Begs Mr. Evelyn and the Society to notice him.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Feb. 14, 1685-6.

There is no so great pleasure in the world as the company and conversation of friends; and when one cannot enjoy them personally, to hear they are well, and to converse with them by letter, is the next satisfaction: wherefore you will believe yours of the 26th past was very welcome to me, for as I have always had a very great esteem of you, so I do assure you, I desire your friendship, and do believe I shall be the better for your good wishes. I can

say little yet of myself, being but entered upon my business, but I must needs own the great civilities I have already received from all sorts of people, all seeming alike satisfied with the unworthy choice the King has been pleased to make of me. The people, to my understanding, are very honest and loyal and industrious; I mean those about this city; for I have yet had time to see no other part; and I doubt not, by the blessing of God, but all reasonable men may be very happy. Amongst the many addresses which have been made to me, I have great reason to be proud of one from the Royal Society, who did me the honour to come in a body to the Castle; but I doubt, by the speech they made to me (which was delivered by their Secretary, a very ingenious man,) they are greater flatterers than philosophers ought to be. Though they are yet in their infancy, they have got together a company of very worthy and ingenious men; and they deserve the patronage of your Society at London, and all the encouragement you can give them: I am sure they shall have all the countenance they can expect from me. Their President is the Lord Viscount Mountjoy, Master of his Majesty's Ordnance in this kingdom; he is a man of great worth and honour, of vertu, and an encourager of ingenuity; he is very much my friend, and is now in England. I hope you will find him out and get him to Gresham College, and there own to him the honour he does the Society in being their protector here; which I know will be taken as a very great compliment by the good people here. I think I have tired you enough in my first letter, my next shall entertain you with other matters. I beg my most humble service to your excellent lady; and that you will favour me with hearing from you sometimes, which shall conclude your present trouble from,

Sir,

Your truly affectionate humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XL.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Translations proposed in the Episcopacy of Ireland.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 14, 1685-6.

The Archbishoprick of Cashell having been some time void by the death of the late Archbishop, I do humbly propose to his Majesty, that the now

Bishop of Ossory and Kilkenny may be removed to Cashell; that the now Bishop of Cloyne should be removed to Ossory and Kilkenny, and to hold the Archdeaconry of Armagh in commendam, as it is now enjoyed by the present Bishop; and that the Dean of Cloyne should be advanced to that Bishopric of Cloyne: which being but small, I humbly propose to have added thereunto, by way of commendam, the Vicarage of Clondroghid, in the said diocese of Cloyne, and now in his possession. Though there be but one see vacant, yet, for the enlargement of his Majesty's first fruits, and to make them as considerable as I can upon this occasion, I have humbly proposed these removes; if his Majesty shall think fit to approve them.* I have herewith sent your Lordship the draughts of letters for his Majesty's signature on this occasion: and, this being the usual and constant practice of the chief governor of this place, and agreeable to his Majesty's declared pleasure to me in the twenty-third instruction, I humbly presume to beseech his Majesty's favour herein, the persons here represented being of approved piety, learning, and integrity. I remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XLI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Changes proposed in the Episcopacy of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 14, 1685-6.

I have this day made a representation to his Majesty for filling the see of Cashell; which, your Grace knows, has been some time void; and, pursuant to his Majesty's directions of corresponding with your Grace in church affairs, I take the liberty of giving you an account of what I have done; which that you may see, I send you here enclosed a copy of the letter I have written to my

* This is a remarkable *motive* to be assigned by a viceroy of Ireland, but the augmentation of his revenue would be one of the readiest ways to the favour of the King; the good of the country, or the prosperity of the church, were of minor importance! The King himself was best pleased when the sees were vacant, that the revenues might be employed to favour the Catholics.

Lord President upon that subject. Dr. Otway, the present bishop of Ossory, whom I have proposed to be removed to Cashell, is a person of true primitive piety; when he was turned out of his living in our rebellious times, he was content to live in the West Indies for half a crown a week, till the King's happy restoration. He came into this country with my Lord Berkeley, and has gained reverence from all people among whom he has lived. If he be removed to Cashell, I am sure the first thing he will do will be to repair the cathedral, which, I hear, has need of it; and which he has done in one or two places already. Dr. Jones, the present Bishop of Cloyne, whom I propose to be translated to Ossory, is a very worthy man, and has done great good in the diocese he now is in; even to his own detriment, to promote the interest of the church: he was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, who will give your Grace an account of him. These two prelates I know; but the Dean of Cloyne, whom I recommend to that see, I do not know at all: his name is Fitz-Gerald; he is nephew to my Lord Primate here, who is concerned for him; and I would not have him suffer upon a mistake, there being another clergyman of that name, who, perhaps, is not so discreet as he should be. But if the King should not approve of making this dean Bishop of Cloyne; I do then humbly offer to consideration some few other persons; such as I have (in the little time I have been here) got the best account of; viz. Dr. Huntingdon, Provost of the College: he was of Oxford; so your Grace may have a better account of him than I can give you. He is a worthy man; but I find by some of his acquaintance, he would be willing to quit the station he is in, if he might be removed to his advantage. The provostship is worth near 400*l.* per annum; and the bishoprick of Cloyne is not above 500*l.* per annum. If it be thought fit to send him to Cloyne, then Dr. Pallesar, a Fellow of the College here, is the fittest man to be provost: he is of great learning, and exemplary piety; he would make a very good bishop, if it be not thought fit to advance one of the others last-named. But, if his Majesty pleaseth, he may keep the bishoprick of Cloyne a little in suspense, till the filling it be further thought on. But I hope your Grace will solicit the settling the other two, the see of Cashell having been six months vacant. Thus, I doubt, I have tired your Grace with this affair; but it is the best representation I am able to make; and I think, which of the persons soever be approved of, the church will receive no prejudice. I have written thus largely to none but your Grace, as you will see by the enclosed; therefore I hope you will take this matter into your care. I am preparing,

as fast as I can be well informed, a state of the concerns of the church of this kingdom, to lay before your Lordship; which shall acquaint you with the circumstances of persons, as well as of things. It is now high time to beg your Grace's pardon for this tedious letter, and likewise to implore your directions; which shall be carefully pursued. I most humbly beseech your benediction to,

My Lord,
Your Grace's
Most humble and most obedient servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XLII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Remonstrance about Military Commissions not passing through his hands;—and against one Jones.—Mode of paying the Army, and the Deductions.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 16, 1685-6.

By yours of the 4th instant, which I acknowledged on the 11th, I did not expect the commissions of Lord Ossory and the Earl of Arglasse would have been sent to me: nor should I have insisted on it; because, as their circumstances are, it would have been no precedent. But Mr. Bridgeman, in his letter of the 6th, sent down those commissions to Sir Paul Rycaut; which in truth, upon further thoughts, was necessary: for the parties concerned can have no benefit of their commissions, till they are entered with the Commissary-general; and in that respect, it was as proper to send them to me, as by any other way: and I suppose now, if any who are to have commands here, should attempt the getting the commissions themselves, it will be a very good answer to say, that it was not allowed in the case of those two Lords, though they were in England. I have written to my Lord Sunderland concerning the church affairs, in order to filling up the see of Cashell: copies of which letters I herewith send you. I have written at large to my Lord of Canterbury upon that subject; the King having directed me to correspond with his Grace in those affairs. I could wish, that Fitz-Gerald, the Dean of Cloyne, might be advanced to that see, for my Lord Primate's sake, to whom he is

nephew; and he does much press it: truly I do not hear any thing ill of the man; but in this you will do what you think fit. There is one Jones in England, who was chaplain to my Lord of Arran, and by him made Dean of Lismore: he has been in England near a year, gaping for preferment. I know he is recommended to the King for his loyalty, as his Majesty told me himself. I took the liberty to tell the King, I could not object against his loyalty; that I knew he was bred a clerk in the stables at the Mews, since his Majesty's restoration; that he had wit; but that I thought, by what I had seen myself, he did not live as a man of his coat and calling ought to do. When he came to me at London to bespeak my kindness, I wished him to go with me into Ireland, and reside upon his deanery; which would be a good inducement for me to recommend him for better preferment. His answer, in plain terms, was, that he would not go into Ireland, till he knew what would be done for him. I tell you this story, in hopes that you will take some care that this man might not be imposed upon me at this time, which he would look upon as a triumph. I am sure I can have no end in keeping any out, or bringing any one in, but the good of the church and the King: and, most certainly, there are not worse people in the world, than some I have known, who cloak all their irregularities (to call them no worse vices) under the shelter of loyalty. As long as they rail at rebellion in the common-place language, and talk, preach, and hector in the phrase of loyalty, they think they have a just title to be forgiven all other enormities. But enough of this. I suppose Colonel Macarty will let you know his grievances; though I have endeavoured to let him see, that I will very easily redress most of them; as you will find by the answers you will receive from me by the next post, both to some of your public letters concerning the impresting of money, and likewise to Mr. Price's affair in your private letter; whose full answer I shall have tomorrow, and I think it will be very clear. One of Macarty's complaints is, that Mr. Price sends the soldiers the Lord knows how far to receive their pay, when he has money in their quarters: to which you will find a full, and, I think, satisfactory answer, when I send you his paper; for it is among Lord Tyrconnel's articles; but in the mean time I send you an exact account enclosed of the places where his men were assigned to be paid; and of the distance those places are from their quarters. Now if it be considered, that where there is no occasion to use money (as there is not in several places of the kingdom where there are collections, and whither the revenue, when collected, is brought,) and from whence there are no returns to be had, the soldiers

must be employed to fetch the money, and to bring it to the Receiver-general; perhaps it may be thought as reasonable for the soldiers to fetch the money for their own use, as to carry it to the Receiver-general. This very last week I granted Mr. Price an order for some of the troops to fetch 1600*l.* from Sligo, because there was no use of it there. Mr. Price paid the convoy himself, and never brings it to the King's account. I likewise send you the collector's certificate, when and where the men were paid; that you may see how soon the assignments were discharged: by these papers you will be able fully to satisfy this complaint, if Colonel Macarty makes it. Another great grievance he complains of, is that there should be deductions taken from the soldier here, which are not in England; and particularly the cheques, which he says are in no army in the world but here. I told him, I could not speak as to that, being no soldier; but that the imposing of cheques had been practised in the army here ever since the King's restoration; and therefore I would not alter that practice, if I could, without orders from the King. But truly, I think there ought to be no more deductions made, than are absolutely necessary; and that there should as much of the King's pay come into the soldier's pocket, as is possible; and therefore I wrote by the Colonel to my Lord Sunderland, that I see no reason why that matter should be otherwise here than in England; that I know, if the cheques are taken away, a great part of the perquisites of my Secretary will be lessened; but I would not have any such consideration hinder what shall be thought for the King's service. I entertain you with this affair, because it is matter of money, and therefore I conceive you may take cognizance of it: and that you may be the better instructed, I here send you a little paper concerning the nature of the cheques, and the charge of taking them off, when they are imposed; which, I confess, is a little hard, in my opinion, upon the poor soldiers: but, I am assured, those fees are the same which have been paid in the times of all Governors here these five-and-twenty years. I send you likewise a paper of the several deductions, which are made from the soldier: whether they are more than are taken in England, or whether it may be thought fit to put this army upon the same foot in all things with that in England, I leave to better judgments. I have written to Mr. Blathwait to give me an account of several things belonging to the army, that I may be the more knowing. I make it my business to understand every thing, in all the offices, as much as I can; and I doubt not but in a little time I shall be pretty perfect. For the present, adieu. God Almighty keep you and yours.

XLIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Proposed changes in the Church of Ireland.—Recommends Sir T. Longueville to be a Privy Counsellor.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 16, 1685-6.

I have written to your Lordship in form concerning the church affairs, which I have taken the liberty to do in another hand, thinking it will not be disagreeable to your Lordship. As to that matter, I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that I will never recommend any to be preferred in the church, whom I do not personally know to be truly of the Church of England. The person whom I have represented to your Lordship for the archbishopric of Cashell, I have long known. He was turned out of all he had in the rebellious times for his loyalty, and was upon the matter sold into the West Indies, where he continued till the King's restoration; he came into Ireland with my Lord Berkeley, and has gained the esteem and veneration of all people among whom he has lived; in a word, he is a true primitive prelate; and I dare undertake, he will never grow rich, but will lay out all he gets upon the church and the poor. I can likewise say of the Bishop of Cloyne, whom I humbly propose to be removed to Ossory and Kilkenny, that he is a very worthy man, and does good where he lives, and will always make his calling his business. I hope, by your Lordship's means, his Majesty will be pleased to approve of these two recommendations; for, in truth, I do not know where two better men can be found. As for the Dean of Cloyne, whom I mention to be translated to that see, I cannot say (for I will always tell your Lordship the truth) that I know him; but I must do him the justice to say, that I have not heard ill of him; and I would not have him suffer by mistake, there being one of the same name, who, perhaps, is not so discreet as he ought to be. But, if your Lordship thinks not fit to advance the Dean to the bishoprick of Cloyne, that matter may be very well suspended without any prejudice, till it be further considered. With your Lordship's leave, I would beg the favour, that Sir Thomas Longueville might have the honour to be of the King's learned Council here: he is an old Cavalier, and decayed in his fortune; he picks up a little livelihood by following the law; and the character of being of the King's Council will both give him reputation and bring

him out of the crowd within the bar, where he may sit down, which will be a great ease to his old age. I am, with great respect and sincerity,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XLIV.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Will attend to his recommendation of Lord Clanricard.—Irish Guards.—His intention to bring Irish troops to England, and send English troops to Ireland.—Conduct of the Protestant Clergy, in regard to Popery, disapproved by him, and must not be suffered.—Has reprimanded Dr. Sherlock, and stopped his pension for similar conduct in England.

Whitehall, Feb. 18, 1685-6.

I have received yours of the 5th, in which you recommend Lord Clanricard to me, who deserves very well the character you give him; he is one that is in my thoughts, and as occasion offers, will let him see I do not forget him. I am glad to find you like the Foot Guards so well, I hope in some time the rest of the army will be in better order, and do design another year to make some of the Foot come over hither, and send you some from hence, to make them all rout, which will do them all good. I have heard that some of the Church of England clergy, where you are, have been as indiscreet as others of them have been in London, and have meddled with controversy more than was necessary or expedient; inveighing very much against Popery, even to stir up the people against them, which, if so, is very indiscreetly done, and what must not be suffered. The Bishops here have promised me they will do their parts to hinder any such kind of sermons, and upon that account I made your brother give Dr. Sherlock a severe reprimand, and have stopped a pension he had; and pray do you take care to hinder those where you are to continue to do the like. I have been told, that amongst others, the Bishop of Meath, even before you, took a greater liberty upon that subject than became him; let me know if it be so. I have not time to say more now. J. R.

XLV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sir Robert Colvill.—Mr. Keightley, and his appointment as Vice-treasurer.—Mr. Price, and details respecting the Revenue and pay of the Army; with answers to Lord Tyrconnel's Charges.—Colonel Hamilton obtains leave again to go into England.—Caution he observes in writing to Sunderland.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 20, 1685-6.

Last night I received yours of the 13th instant, and wonder how I came to be so negligent as to omit the date of any of my letters; I will not be often guilty of that error. As to what you say of Sir Robert Colvill, if you look upon my letter (which being marked seven, ought to have been dated the 5th instant,) you will find I tell you I can say nothing of him, but as I am told by the different parties here. I do assure you I am far from giving credit to any people here; when they give me accounts one of another, I make use of what they say only for information; and sometimes, by comparing what several tell me, I am able to find out the truth both concerning things and persons: and whenever I can say any thing, good or bad of a man, upon my own knowledge, I will tell you so directly, and the particular reasons why I think him as I represent him. I only say this, because by the grace of God I will never represent any man partially, and when you think I do, pray be so kind as to tell me so. I need not tell you I shall always put great value upon the characters the Duke of Ormond gives of persons. I am told this Sir Robert Colvill intends to come to Dublin to see me; I shall receive him as civilly as he can desire, and I shall, as occasion offers, represent him as I find him. I think you know pretty well my mind as to supporting men as far as I can possibly, without making myself liable to be represented by some as partial, to keep the balance as even as may be, with reference to a party, who, according to their temper, grow at least forward and brisk enough. As to what you say of Mr. Keightley, I do assure you I never told him or any body else, what you had in your thoughts for him: you wrote it with that caution, besides the uncertain circumstances the matter was in, that it could be of no use to tell it him, but to raise his expectation, which I do not love to do to any man. I can tell a man a thing whenever I have a mind to it, but I cannot unspeak it when I have told it; therefore it is the safest error to be silent. Of the present design to get him the nominal office of Vice-treasurer, he does know, but it is from my Lord Primate, who told it him; and who, I wrote you word, proposed it to me, and gave me the copy of the patent which I sent you. I have told him that I have recommended the

thing to you, but I will not tell him you have made me any answer upon it till you send me the thing done. If it be granted, you will remember the method is to be by a letter from the King to me; for it is to pass the great seal here, and the commission is to be drawn here. As to the two observations you make concerning Mr. Price, I cannot but wonder at the objection—that the money, which he pretends to have paid to the army, at the time of making his abstract, is in truth not paid; the truth of which is so easily to be known. But I think this matter is in a great measure cleared by what I sent you in my last, concerning Colonel Macarty's regiment. By the certificate of the collector you see where and when every company was paid; and, if you have a mind to it, you shall have the same satisfaction for the whole army. But besides all this, he could not put down the sum to be paid, if it were not really paid; for, as I have told you in some of my former letters, I suppose no man will charge himself with money which he has not received; and Mr. Price can receive none from any collector till the order or assignment, which he sends for it, be first signed by the Accountant-general, and attested by the Clerk of the Pells, that it is entered there. The soldiers know the Receiver-general can pay no money without warrants from the Chief-governor; and as they would be clamorous upon him, if he did not give them money or assignments as soon as he has the warrants, so there would be noise enough if the collectors did not pay the money as soon as they had the assignments. There has been yet no complaint since my being here, at least, of any collector's not paying money when the assignment was drawn upon him; and whenever there is, I do assure you that collector shall be turned out of his employment. Mr. Price brings me, every Monday morning, an abstract of his account for the week ending the Saturday before; a copy whereof I always send you. At the same time, I have likewise an abstract from the Office of the Pells, attested by the proper officer; which abstracts I compare every Monday, in the afternoon, with the Accountant-general's ledger; so that, except it can be imagined that the Receiver-general and Accountant-general and the Clerk of the Pells will all join together in the fraud, the King cannot be wronged. Thus, I think, I have fully cleared your first observation, but still I shall be watchful in that particular. I will only add one word more, that I am confident, after a little time, if you mind the weekly abstracts, you will see plainly that Mr. Price can never have 10,000*l.* of the King's money in his hands. As to the other thing you mention, concerning the poundage which is to be deposited in Mr. Robinson's hands, it requires some thought before I can return you a full answer to it; it

has been already in debate between Mr. Solicitor and me, as we have been considering of Mr. Price's security, which gave a natural rise to the question, and the whole shall be laid before you the next week. I here return you my Lord Tyrconnel's paper, which, I assure you, nobody has seen, nor have I so much as taken a copy of it, though I would have been willing to have done it. I gave it Mr. Price in the manner you prescribed, and here enclosed I send you his answer, which, to my apprehension, is very full and clear; most of the particulars I know to be true, they having, upon other occasions, come in my way. I need not say any thing to support Mr. Price's answer, though there are some things in Lord Tyrconnel's paper which do reflect upon the Government; but I will take no notice till they are brought as reflections upon me in particular. Only one word I will add to Mr. Price's answer to the second article I have marked in the margin. He says the Receiver-general does already (in great part) forbear impressing money. I may say, I have put a total end to it. That the soldier may have his money come clear to him, free from all deductions, other than those allowed of, I have taken order that the army shall be fully paid every three months; that is, as soon as the muster-rolls are perfected, every regiment shall be completely cleared; and in the mean time, whatever officer, for himself or men, wants any money, upon the least application to me, I will impress to them, out of the King's money, what sum they have occasion for, without any charge or fee, either to the Receiver-general, or to my Secretary, for the order. This I have already done, both to Colonel Hamilton's dragoons and others, and this I told Colonel Macarty, with which he seemed very well satisfied. I sent you, in my last, a perfect account of the usual deductions from the army, which I had from the Commissary-general; and that you may have that whole matter before you, and see how much or how little of the King's pay the poor soldier really receives, I have taken from Mr. Price an account of the deductions made in the Treasury, as well as those made by the Colonel's directions, as the usual ones. I send you that of my Lord Tyrconnel's regiment of horse, and of Colonel Macarty's and Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiments of foot: you shall have them of the rest of the army as fast as they can be written out. Pray observe, the great grievances are the Pells and the Muster-master, which, they say, are things not known in England; the Pells, you see, is 10*s.* in the 100*l.* which is one penny farthing in the pound; the Muster-master is one day's pay in the year, which, being 6*d.* per diem to the common soldier, is less than three farthings in the pound, both which sums make not full 2*d.* per pound. The deduction for the Colonel's agent is 2*d.* per

pound: so that they grumble to pay 2*d.* per pound, which has been the constant practice ever since there has been an army in Ireland, when they make no scruple of deducting 2*d.* per pound for the agent, which nobody must enquire into the reasons of; besides that, the Muster-master-general hath always had the day's pay from every soldier, ever since the time of Colonel King, grandfather to the present Lord Kingston, (as I have found) and perhaps longer, for aught I know. If you see what he has upon the establishment, and consider the number of clerks he is obliged to keep, and the great labour is upon him, you will believe the day's pay is not too much for him; and if that 2*d.* per pound to him and the Pells is taken of, I hope care will be taken that the poor soldier may be the better for it. I have troubled you with all this, that you may see, I think, here, and I hope you will do so there, before any alteration be made. This morning Colonel Hamilton came to me, and said he had some business in England, and had written to my Lord Tyrconnel to ask the King's leave, and that he had last night an answer from my Lord Tyrconnel, that the King did give him leave, and therefore he desired I would give him a licence, and that he would be back again in May. I told him he should have it, for, in truth, I knew not how to refuse him, after what he said to me. I told him jestingly, that he could not live out of the sweet town of London, for he came from thence but a fortnight before me, and I believed the King would hasten him back, because there were so many of the officers of the army in England at this time, which, in truth, is not well. I intend to write to my Lord Sunderland upon it: it were to be wished, that when officers send into England for leave to go over, it might not be granted, but that they should be directed to apply to the Chief-governor, if he thinks it fit to give them leave to be absent from their commands. I shall observe all the caution you give me about writing to my Lord President. Whenever I write to the King I enclose it to him, and, as you may see by the copies of my letters, I always tell his Lordship the subject upon which I write to his Majesty. I will not knowingly do any thing to choke his Lordship. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

I have sent two or three petitions to Mr. Shaw, which I have desired him to speak to you of when it is convenient. I would be glad to have your directions what is fit for me to do in them; the things are necessary, though they do not seem very important. The heralds coats are really very ragged, and not fit to be seen.

Amongst the several hard cases I meet with here of men who have been put out of the army, without any reason given, some of whom have always

served the Crown, I met with Mr. John Phelips: he is nephew to Colonel Robert Phelips, brother to Sir Edward Phelips; I have known him long, for he was my Esquire when I was made Knight of the Bath; he is as honest a man as lives; I need say nothing of his family; he is at this time Lieutenant to my Lord Forbes, which office cost him 1100*l.*, the whole of his younger brother's patrimony; my Lord Forbes is very well satisfied with him; but my Lord Tyrconnel told him he had received an ill character of him, and when he went hence, said he would get him turned out; but at last told poor Phelips, if he would be content to take 600*l.*, he would endeavour to get him leave to part with his employment; Phelips, as you may believe, had rather have 600*l.* than nothing, but he had much rather keep his employment. My Lord Forbes this very day tells me (of himself) for I never spoke to him of it till now, that by the last post my Lord Tyrconnel sent to him for a certificate, that Phelips was willing to part with his employment, but he says he has no mind to part with him, and likes him very well, being both honest and diligent; and that he is sure that Phelips has no mind to sell, but that he would not willingly be turned out, and lose all his money. I wish you would concern yourself in this matter, out of justice and charity to a poor gentleman, who is of a family eminent in suffering for their loyalty. Indeed, I could wish the King would be well informed of men before they are disgraced; his Majesty may turn them out when he pleaseth, but he cannot so soon restore them. Adieu.

XLVI.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The King's commands concerning the Agents and Governors of Irish Counties.

MY LORD, Whitehall, Feb. 20th, 1685-6.

The King having received the enclosed account of the sheriffs appointed for the respective counties of Ireland, commands me to transmit the same to your Excellency, that you may send your opinion upon it. His Majesty directs me also to acquaint you, in answer to yours of the 8th, that he has put a stop to the coming over of the Agents, which you mention were intended to be sent in behalf of the ancient proprietors; and as to the renewing of the commissions for Governors of Counties, his Majesty is of your opinion, that these officers are of no use, and therefore thinks fit no such commissions should be given or renewed. I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble Servant, SUNDERLAND, P.

XLVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Recommending Colonel Salkeld, who is out of favour with the King.—His time is so fully occupied in giving audience, &c. that he has no leisure to write.—Vacant Bishopricks in Ireland.—Recommends Dr. Horneck to be appointed to Elphin, and thinks it would be for the good of the Church if more of the Clergy came from England to fill the vacant Livings.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 23, 1685-6.

I must not refuse this bearer, Colonel Salkeld, leave to go into England, nor can I deny him a line of recommendation to you; his business is to justify himself to the King,' being one of the unfortunate men who are misrepresented, and not called to answer, and so like to suffer unheard, as he is told; he is one of the oldest cavalier soldiers now alive, and never served but on the right side; some part of his time he spent beyond sea with the King, who, I am confident, will remember him; and I doubt not, when he sees and hears him, will not disgrace an old faithful servant: to grow old, I hope, is no fault, but to grow old in duty, methinks, should be a satisfaction to the Prince, as well as a glory to the party. I know you will do him all the service you can. I am sure I am not idle, but time runs away so fast, and I am forced to spend so much in giving audience, that nobody may be angry, that I cannot always do all I would. This is a busy week, all the judges are going their circuit, and I have so much to say to them, and so many things to give them in charge, and the affairs are of such different natures that I must speak with them all severally, that I doubt I shall not be able to write any more letters this week; I say this, that you may say something for me, in case you hear it wondered at by my Lord President that he does not hear from me, though I have no immediate thing to give him an account of.

Here is another Bishoprick void, the Bishop of Elphin is lately dead: he was said to be so before I left London, but he died six days since; Baron Worth's brother, Dean of St. Patrick's, would fain go thither, it is worth 1200*l.* per annum. It is pretended that he is married, or fairly promised, at least, to a widow, daughter to Lord Roscommon, and niece of Colonel Werden, and he desires this promotion only, because the See lies convenient for his Lady's concerns; a pretty reason for the making of a Bishop; the deanery he already has, is worth 600*l.* per annum, besides another good living; enough in all conscience for him, for he is a very ordinary man. I do not intend to

recommend any for this Bishoprick till I have an account of the last I have written about: but I think it would be most for the good of the Church to have some more clergymen hither out of England. I confess I would be very glad to have Dr. Horneck here; I know his piety and course of life would do good in this country, and therefore I could wish that, before I recommend, you could contrive it, that he might be nominated from thence. I have written of this to none but yourself, and to you I leave it; if you can compass it, as I hope you may, pray send for the Doctor and tell him of it; I know he will go wherever he is sent by authority, upon a far less temptation; and I will say nothing of it to any whom I write to, till I hear from you. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

I speak against my own interest in what I desire concerning this Bishoprick, for if Dean Worth should be promoted, the preferments he holds would fall to my disposal without sending into England; but I am sure what I offer is most for the public good, and the service of the Church, which I will ever prefer to all concerns of my own.

XLVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.*

Apology for not writing: refers to his letters to Lord Sunderland for the state of things and characters of men in Ireland. The Judges are gone their circuits; general character of them.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 23d, 1685-6.

As I was very much troubled to hear of your late great illness, so, I assure your Lordship, I was greatly rejoiced to find by the last letters, that you were perfectly recovered. I heartily wish you long continuance of good health, without which there is no great comfort in this life. I have had no occasion hitherto of giving your Lordship the trouble of any letters, and I know you have not much time to spare in reading letters which are not of business. I have given my Lord President as frequent and as exact accounts of things, as the short time I have yet been here has enabled me to do, which I shall continue, though some of my letters may perhaps be impertinent, and though I may give very various charac-

* Jeffries.

ters of people, sometimes good and sometimes bad of the same persons. I will never say any thing of people upon my own knowledge, till I do know them; but, in the mean time, I think it my duty to lay before the King, what I hear from any probable hand, either good or bad, that so the best measures may be taken by those from whom I ought to be directed; and I will lose no time in getting all acquaintance I can, both of things and persons.

The judges are now gone and going their circuits. I have given them the best directions I can for the King's service, and I doubt not but at their return, I shall be able (together with the informations I shall have from other hands) to lay before his Majesty some kind of view of the state of this kingdom. I must needs acquaint your Lordship, that by all that which appears to me, I can find no fault with the judges; they seem by their practice in the Courts, to be zealously concerned in supporting the King's prerogative; and if some of them are not endowed with all the learning that were to be wished, I think they are all honest men, which will cover many failings. If your Lordship has a mind to have a more particular account of them, you shall have it, to the best of my observation: I am sure it shall be without partiality. But why do I interrupt your Lordship with so long a letter? My design in writing was purely to beg your friendship, and to assure you, that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XLIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Proceedings of the Catholics; their letter.—Petition for the Reversal of Outlawries.—The Judges.—D. Montgomery of Langhash, and his outlawry.—Sir Robert Colvill, his character.—Sham plots, discoveries, and accusations.—Scottish rebels; Mr. C. O'Neill will look after them.—Proposes to establish a packet boat between Ireland and Scotland.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 26th, 1685-6.

I have lately had much discourse with some Roman Catholics, very honest, sober gentlemen, who have always served the Crown, about the letter

which sometime since I sent to your Lordship, which letter, they told me, they did not approve of; and that at a meeting one time, where thirty of those letters were brought to be signed, in order to be sent into several counties, they burnt them all; but that some of the company drew up another letter, which was signed by some of them, a copy whereof they gave me, that I might know the truth of all that was doing. This copy I take the liberty to send to your Lordship, that so the King may know all that comes to me, which, by the grace of God, he always shall, by which means your Lordship will be better able to give me such directions as you shall think fit. I told these gentlemen, as I said formerly, that whatever complaints they had to make, if they would bring them to me, I would transmit them to his Majesty; and they should be judges themselves, whether I did not use all possible endeavours to promote their relief, in the method the King should prescribe: and that, as to the contributions they designed for the sending and supporting of agents in England, I was of opinion they would be defrauded of that money, as some of their friends had been formerly. The answer that was given me was, that they were pressed by some persons, who were then in Leinster, to take this method; but I am assured nothing farther shall be proceeded in without my privity, which I verily believe, because the persons who tell me so, are men of worth, and will keep their words.

I send your Lordship here enclosed, a petition to the King from my Lord Gormanstowne and my Lord Ikerin, in behalf of themselves and several other lords and gentlemen: the fathers of those lords and several others, were outlawed in the time of the Irish rebellion, and your Lordship will see by their prayer, they desire to be admitted to reverse the said outlawries. Several of the persons have served the King very well since; and by the late King's favour have been advanced to higher titles, and restored to their estates; and certainly they (as many of them as are alive at least) ought to be restored in blood, as well as to their estates. The children of many of them are in his Majesty's service, and therefore may deserve likewise to partake so much farther of his Majesty's favour; but the best way of doing it will be the question, for it is a case of greater consequence than may at first appear. I would therefore offer, with humble submission, that it may be well considered of, which I have not yet thought fit to do, by advising with any one here, till I receive his Majesty's direction, and then I do not doubt but secure ways will be found out to satisfy all doubts that may arise, both as to his Majesty's service, and for the satisfaction of particular persons. I would likewise humbly

advise, that if his Majesty should be graciously inclined to extend his favour in this case, it may not be in the lump, as the petition is drawn, but to particular persons: the doing it in the gross would be liable to more exceptions, and would, I fear, greatly alarm the English, and perhaps startle some of the Irish too, who have got new estates, which I could wish, for the King's service, may be avoided; and the doing it in particular cases would, in my humble opinion, be better for the King, because he would thereby be best informed, and it would, in a little time, be of the same advantage to the persons concerned. If your Lordship please to direct me, I will send you a list of all such, both lords and others, who were outlawed at that time. Whatever the King thinks fit to direct in this matter, shall be carefully observed. The judges are some of them gone, and the rest are going their circuits. I have given them particular directions severally in all things relating to the King's service, and doubt not to have a good return: the men, by all that appears to me, being very full, not only of duty, but of zeal in his Majesty's service.

Sir Robert Colvill (notwithstanding the information I sent your Lordship sometime since) is represented to me under a very good character, by very honest men: to me he makes all possible professions of duty and loyalty to the King, and promiseth me, upon his return into the country, to give me a good and exact account of all those parts, which I am satisfied he can do better than any one who lives in the country, and I shall quickly see whether he will do it or no. He is now in town upon the account of marrying his eldest son to my Lord of Clancarty's sister: he is a man of great estate, and a general interest in the north of this kingdom. I can say nothing of him upon my own knowledge, for I have seen him but twice; but I think it my duty to tell your Lordship all the good, as well as all the bad, of men of whom I speak. My Lord, it was once the practice in England, in my memory, to threaten men, who would not do what some desired, to bring them into the Popish plot. I am afraid there is something of the like nature setting up here now. If a man be angry with his neighbour upon any private account, he is threatened to be accused of having said ill things of the King, when Duke, four or more years ago. Two or three Tories lately taken, and who have been outlawed three or four years since, have sent to me, that if they may have their pardons, they will make great discoveries of the Duke of Monmouth's plot, as they call it. Such things as these will make all men very uneasy; but, however, I know it is fit to make all enquiry into every thing that has been spoken irreverently of the King, at what time soever, and therefore I have taken such care as it shall be done effectually,

without setting up the trade of pardoning, which was, upon other occasions, very inconvenient. I hope I shall give your Lordship such an account of these and all other matters, as his Majesty will not be displeased with.

I have had several informations of several rebels, who run to and again from Scotland into the north of this kingdom; but have had no account of the names of any; but I have employed Mr. Cormock O'Neil, (brother to a gentleman of that name, who waits upon the Queen, and who did himself formerly wait upon the late Dutchess,) a Justice of the Peace in the County of Antrim, and some other Justices of the Peace in those parts, who are active good men, to watch those parts; and I doubt not but I shall have an account of every one who goes out of one kingdom to the other. I am commanded, by the 26th instruction, to establish a packet-boat between this kingdom and Scotland, if I shall find it necessary for the King's service. I am humbly of opinion, that it would be very useful, there being no way of corresponding with his Majesty's ministers in that kingdom, but by the way of London; whereas, if there were a packet-boat, all letters would be sooner at Edinburgh from hence, than they are at London. Besides, it is said, it would bring on a trade between these kingdoms. The charge to the King for two boats will not be above fourscore pounds a year; and for that, I am sure, I can have it undertaken. If the King please to have the trial made for one year, if it does not answer expectation, the boats may be put down again.

I think I have now tired your Lordship sufficiently; for which I beg your pardon, and am with all possible respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

L.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Neglect of some of the Patent Officers.—Lands to be passed to Mr. Guy.—Dublin, a tattling town.—Reports respecting Lord Tyrconnel, and changes in the State and Army fraught with evil.—Sir Robert Colvill, contradictory reports of his character.—David Montgomery, his forfeiture.—Catholic proceedings.—Petition for reversing the Outlawries.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 27, 1685-6.

I ought to make an excuse for writing a postscript at the bottom of my public letter to you, concerning the Duke of Ormond's prisage; it being of

a subject of consequence sufficient to have been in the body of the letter; but the Commissioners of the revenue came just then to me as I was making up my letter, and I thought it of too much importance to lie any days by me, since the former contract expired at Christmas last. The Commissioners of the revenue have made a representation to me concerning the neglect of several of the patent officers of this kingdom; upon which I am advising with Mr. Solicitor General to void their patents, if they will not mend their faults; by which means much money may be saved to the King. A few days since a letter was brought me from the King concerning some lands intended to be past to Mr. Guy; a copy whereof I herewith send you: there can be nothing done upon it till the next term, and therefore there is no time lost in writing to you upon it. Though this letter be entered at the Signet-office, yet it is not countersigned by you, as things relating to land and money usually are: I do not know, therefore, but there may be a surprise, and that you may know nothing of it: now you have the letter before you, you will let me know your mind.

This is a very tattling town; and though I have lived long enough to be acquainted with rumours, which are sometimes the forerunners of truth, though commonly they are lies; yet I cannot help hearing the talk of the town, which usually is founded upon the public news-letters from England. The last were filled with matters relating to this country: some said Lord Tyrconnel was to be Duke of Leinster and Marquis of Dublin, for neither of which do I envy him; others said, that he is making haste hither to have a principal command in the army, and (which will put jealousies into men's minds till they find the contrary) that he brings over thirty commissions with him for alterations in the army, and that all the courts of justice are to be totally changed. All the answers I can give to those who tell me these things, and who seem to believe them, is, that I knew nothing of them, and that I do not believe them. And truly, I may say to you, I hope they are not true. Nothing can more unsettle the King's affairs here, than to make the minds of men uneasy, which nothing does more contribute to than the putting men out of employment, who have done nothing to deserve it; nay, who have ever behaved themselves well and loyally: it is a terrible thing to be whispered out of office. I am sure some men of unquestionable integrity have been ruined, out of particular animosities, or because others have had a mind to be in their places. I would fain hope there were an end of that trade, and that the King would not punish a man till he knows that

he deserves it. For all men in employment here, I am sure, I shall give the King the truest account I can get, and will never conceal any thing from him; and when all is done, his Majesty may put a man out of his service after he has heard all that can be said of him, as well as upon the first information, which commonly comes from a prejudiced person. But I will still hope the best, and that the King will hear all sides. I would fain have orders to quiet men's minds, and that an end might be put to this accusing one another, which will have a greater influence upon all sorts of business than perhaps some are aware of. It is a thousand pities this country should not thrive: if we may but be let alone as we are, I dare undertake (though that be a bold thing for me to say) that all should be as well, and in as good order here, as the King should desire; his revenue should increase very considerably; and, before I have been here a year, I would show him a plain and easy way how to be kind to those he has a mind to show kindness to, and whose circumstances deserve it.

Sir Robert Colvill came to town on Saturday last, and the next day he came to me full of professions of duty to the King. He told me, though he was not now in the King's service, yet he would always be a good subject; and, if I would give him leave, when he returned into the country, he would give me a constant account of all things in those parts; which, you may believe, I accepted of. He dined the same day at my Lady Clancarty's, for that match goes on, and Colonel Macarty frankly undertook he should be a viscount. I have scarce ever known a man more variously spoken of than this Sir Robert. Some very good men give him a great character; others, as good, shake their heads, and say they know not what to think of his principles: all agree that he has a great interest, that is, a great estate. Some, perhaps, envy him for that; and some hate him for the meanness of his birth: indeed, they say he is come from a very vile beginning. When I know more of him, I will give you a farther account: you cannot expect I should yet say any thing of him upon my own knowledge. Before I left London, both my Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer of Scotland severally spoke to me of one David Mountgomery, of Lanshagh, who, they said, had a small estate in this kingdom as well as in Scotland; that he was in the rebellion with the late Argyle, and was outlawed in Scotland: therefore they wished he could be found here. I have made all the inquiry I could after him since my arrival here, but could not gain any information of him, till since Sir Robert Colvill's coming to town, who tells me that this Mount-

gomery went into Scotland sometime before Argyle's landing there, and that he has not heard of his being in this kingdom since; that he lives in the same barony where Sir Robert himself lives; and that, upon that account, he is very well acquainted with him; that his estate in this kingdom is very small, and all a leasehold from my Lord Mount Alexander; who (by the way) could give no information of him, though I spoke to him about it. Such as the estate is you will find by the enclosed note,* which is a copy of what Sir Robert gave me. If you please to direct me, I will order this Mountgomery to be outlawed the next term, and so his estate may be seized. I have given my Lord President an account of this particular, that I may tell all the good I hear of Sir Robert, as well as the ill I have been informed of. You will see by my letter to my Lord President, another part of the history concerning the choosing of agents for England; they disown the long letter I formerly sent you, and say this (of which I here send you a copy†) is the true letter which was sent about. I thought fit to send it to my Lord President, lest when they know (as I suppose they will do) that I sent the other, they may think I do not deal fairly by them in not sending all; which, by the grace of God, no man living shall have cause to find fault with. The person who gave me this letter is a Roman Catholic and a very honest man. I asked him how they came to leave out the names of some of the persons who, by the other letter, were to approve of the agents, and commit the approbation of that choice only to one person? His answer was, that Lord Clanricard was against the thing, and would not meddle with it, nor have his name used; and that, in truth, most of the Roman Catholics, who were discreet, were backward enough: but those of Leinster were too hot, and they were animated by Lord Tyrconnel. But this person and another, whom I have known these thirty years, have assured me that there shall be nothing done without my knowledge and approbation too.

* David Mountgomery of Lanshagh, holds the town land of Ballybutle, being about two hundred and twenty acres, by lease, whereof there is about sixteen years yet in being, and pays yearly 4*l.*, and is worth 40*l.* yearly. £40.

He holds, likewise, the town land of Killyvolgan, being about two hundred acres, by lease, whereof there is about nine years in being, and pays yearly about 2*l.*, and is worth 30*l.* yearly. £30.

Both these two town lands are in the County and Barony of Ards.

† This enclosure is not found in the former edition: it was probably not among those from which Dr. Douglas printed. It appears to be the paper which is given in a preceding page [233,] entitled "Association in Ireland for Catholic Emancipation."

Mr. Nangle, the lawyer, a Roman Catholic, and a man of the best repute for learning as well as honesty amongst that people, hath lately brought me the petition concerning reversing the outlawries, (a copy of which I formerly sent you,) and desired me to send it to the King. I made him my objection, that I thought the parties concerned would sooner have the effects of it, if it were only in the names of the two first lords; and if the King extended his favour to them, it would be a good precedent for others to beg the same bounty: whereas to make it a general case, would both give an alarm here, (which I thought not for the King's service,) and possibly might make his Majesty take more time to consider of it than he would do in particular cases. But the answer was, "We have considered of it; and I beseech your Excellency to recommend it to the King." I told him I would, according to my promise, send whatever he gave me in his own words, and would offer my thoughts upon it to his Majesty, with as much advantage as I could to the parties concerned, as far as I was acquainted; but I could not speak of persons whom I did not know: he said he could desire no more, and so went away very well satisfied. I have sent the petition to my Lord President, and you will see what I have said upon it, of which you will give me your thoughts at leisure. Here are as great feuds and differences in opinions among the Roman Catholics as are anywhere, and might be improved if our court were in a fit temper for it; but that not being, I enter not into the discourse, and seem not so much as to be informed of it. The great difference is about the King's supremacy, which many do support. But enough; God Almighty keep you and yours.

I have just received yours of the 18th, which I have not time to reply to till Tuesday. This day Sir Nicholas Armourer died here: he has been in town ever since I came, and I thought he would have died whenever I saw him, but they say he had lived so two years: he was grown a sot. By his death the Government of the Fort of Kinsale is fallen into the King's hands; as likewise a foot company in Colonel Fairfax's regiment. For his company I have put Lord Sunderland in mind of Lord Brittas, or Captain Butler, Lord Galmoy's brother, the two first in the list the King gave me. I have mentioned nobody for the Government of Kinsale, because I doubt it will not go as I would have it. I wish it might be gotten for Colonel Fairfax, who is a very honest man; but you best know whether it be fit for you to appear for him.

LI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Recommends Lord Brittas, or Captain Butler, to succeed to the Regiment vacant by Sir Nicholas Armourer's death.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 27, 1685-6.

Since I sent my other letters to the post-house, I have received your Lordship's of the 16th and 20th instant, which I shall answer at large by the next. Having sent you so large a despatch but very lately, I did not think to have added any thing more now; but that it is fit to let your Lordship know that this afternoon Sir Nicholas Armourer died here in town. I found him here, and he has not been able since to undertake a journey. By his death the Government of the Fort at Kinsale is fallen into the King's hands; as likewise a foot company in Colonel Fairfax's regiment. Your Lordship has by you a copy of the list you gave me, of those persons whom the King intended to provide for amongst the first; and therefore I need not put your Lordship in mind of them: but give me leave to mention my Lord Brittas, or Captain Butler, (my Lord Galmoy's brother,) for the company. The first has great need of the King's bounty, being in very low circumstances; the other every body speaks well of, and he has served well abroad. I think it my duty to lay before the King those persons he seemed most inclined to prefer in the first place; in which I hope I have not done amiss. I am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

He imparts his Correspondence with Lord Sunderland to his Brother.—Approves Mr. Aubrey as a successor to Mr. Kingdon.—Reports of changes in the Army.—Observations upon the King having so many Irish hangers-on.—Surprise at the Removal of the Archbishop of Armagh from the Chancellorship, and inconveniences it will occasion.—Rumoured intention of removing some of the Judges.

Dublin Castle, March 2, 1685-6.

In my last I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 18th past, but had not then time to answer it, it being but newly arrived; and you will allow

that I might be a little weary after the long despatches I had then made. I am very glad you approved so well of all the papers I sent you in my eighth letter. I have received a letter of the 20th past, from my Lord President, in answer to what I wrote to him on the 8th, wherein I sent him the same papers: a copy of which letter I send you here enclosed. It is very short and pithy: a word to have told me whether I had done ill or well, or how the King was satisfied, would have made it very sweet too. I need say nothing to what you write of the affairs of the revenue, with reference to the good lord who is dead; and I shall now, within a few days, lay before you such a method for the accounting, which, if approved of, will be safe both for the King and all who act under him. When you have it, you will supply the defects, for nothing can be made so perfect as not to need some amendments. Since you are so well pleased with my letters to my Lord-treasurer, I mean my public letters, you shall have more of them; and those letters shall contain all things relating to the revenue, except some particulars which ought to be kept private between ourselves till they are better digested.

As to what you mention concerning Mr. Muschamp, you will find what I have done in that affair, by the answer which I have returned to the Lords of the Council, a copy whereof you have herewith; and I hope I have done nothing to deserve blame in that particular. Mr. Shaw, in his letter of the 20th past, gave me an account of your having carried Mr. Aubrey to the King to succeed Mr. Kingdon, and that that matter was settled; which I am very glad of, because I hope we are out of danger of his competitors. I am not acquainted with any of them, and therefore cannot be thought partial, especially having nobody to set up: but, upon my word, none of the three are well spoken of here, not by any sort of people: in plain terms, they are thought here, (where they must needs be best known,) not to be honest men, nor of integrity; not to speak any thing of their abilities, which may be as well judged of anywhere as here. Mr. Keightley is a little blank to find he missed of this employment; and people here, even my Lord Primate and others, came to me upon the notice of the other's death, and pressed me to write into England on his behalf; and at the same time went to him and told him, if his friends were kind to him, he could not fail of it: but I have satisfied him of your kindness, and then it is no matter what others think. I am not a stranger to Mr. Aubrey, and he shall find me very kind to him: pray hasten him over, for the number ought to be full upon the place. Poor Mr. Strong has been very ill this week past: he asked me leave to go into

Munster for his health, which I could not refuse him, for he is indeed a true drudge, and I believe wanted air: but the poor man went only one day's journey, and came back the next; his looseness, which he is very subject to, having made him very weak: but yesterday he sent me word he was very well, and had got the gout, which he never had before; and which, it is hoped, may cure other diseases. On Sunday I received yours of the 23d past, and am sorry you should have cause to suspect the intercepting our letters: I hope there is no ground for it; however, I send this under cover to Mr. Frowd. I sent you Mr. Price's answer in mine of the 20th past: he brought it to me on the 17th, and told me then he had the post before sent a copy of it to Mr. Shaw. You cannot imagine what a shoal of Irishmen come, upon the arrival of every packet, to my secretary's office, to enquire what commissions are come over: and when they are answered, "None;" they reply "That is strange; my Lord Tyrconnel has written word that thirty commissions are sent over for alterations in the army; and I have reason to enquire," says one; "and I," says another. Methinks my Lord Lieutenant should not be the last man who is to know these things; and it were to be wished that whatever is intended of this kind should be a secret, till the King's orders are sent to me. Nothing can go amiss here, but must proceed from the hot-headedness of violent and passionate men. For the English I can answer; not that I will pretend to be accountable for their honesty, but I will keep them in order; and every extravagant heat only, or idle talk, shall be questioned. But I doubt I must not do so to the others, though I will do my part, and yet not be liable to be found fault with where I would not displease. I am afraid the displacing so many men, as are now whispered about to be in danger, who have been always looked upon as honest men, and many of them have served well, and nothing now laid to their charge, will not be of service to the King: but God's will be done. Methinks the King should be weary of having so many of the Irish hanging about him: it would certainly be more easy for his Majesty to send them home, and order them to make their application to the Chief-governor. The King sees I faithfully transmit what any of them give me; and he might then do for them as he should think fit, without the perpetual importunity about him. While I am writing, I receive yours of the 25th past, and, at the same time, my Lord President's: I confess they did surprise me as to the laying aside the Chancellor;* but it is resolved, and so no reply must be made to it. To-morrow I will acquaint the good

* Archbishop of Armagh, who was removed to make room for Sir Charles Porter.

man with it; no doubt he will have heard of it from other hands, for several letters mention it. You will see what I have written to my Lord Sunderland; I hope I have not said too much in the manner I have done it. I believe my Lord Marquis of Athol will be troubled at this change, and with reason; for his cause, which has been many years depending both here and in Scotland, and has taken up thirteen entire days in hearing it pleaded on both sides since the term, was finished on Saturday last; and yesterday the judges who assisted went their circuits. My Lord Chancellor has appointed the beginning of the next term to give judgment, and it is thought it will go for my Lord Athol: and now I doubt it must begin all anew; but this is a private matter. I pray God these great and sudden changes do not prejudice the King's affairs. I might have added to Lord Sunderland the news which came from England, in the letters of the 20th, which arrived here on Friday, that one of the judges is to be put out, and one Mr. Rice to be in his room. It were to be wished that the King would enquire of those whom he entrusts with the government, concerning men, before they are removed; he may still do his pleasure, and his affairs would suffer less. I have a great mind to write a little plain to Lord Sunderland upon this head, and tell him the particular reports of some of the Irish, without naming persons; but I would have your advice first, and I doubt it is too late. God's will be done. Heaven bless you and yours. Mr. Keightley is very thankful to you for being so mindful of him; and, therefore, pray send over the King's letter for making him Vice-treasurer upon the terms you mention. The salary to Sir John Temple, as I remember, was 20*l.* per annum; and I proposed it no otherwise: to be a privy-counsellor into the bargain, I shall like as well as he.

LIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The Magennises and Tory-catching.—Manby, Dean of Derry, his infamous conduct and character.—Encloses a list of Sheriffs, in making which he has bestowed great pains.—Reports from England of intended changes in the Army, and the alarm occasioned by them.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 2, 1685-6.

In my last I acknowledged the receipt of your Lordship's favours of the 16th and 20th of the last month: I come now to make particular answers to

them. As to the first, I know of no suits whatsoever that are against either Murtagh or Daniel Magennis: it is true, there is a difference between them and Captain William Hamilton depending at the council-board, concerning Tory-catching. Each has exhibited complaints against the other; answers, replies, and rejoinders, are put in on all sides (copies of all which shall be sent over, if your Lordship please to be troubled with them); and a commission taken out for examining witnesses on both sides. And if you will have my opinion by way of anticipation, when the cause comes to be heard, I believe the contest will appear to be, who shall have the most credit in taking and killing Tories. I know of no other suits either of the Magennises have whatsoever: when I hear of any vexation they or any others are like to have, by reason of having given informations against any disaffected persons, I will be sure to hinder any such. Both the Magennises have been several times with me, and I verily believe they will own that I have done all in their affairs which they desired me.

As to Dr. Manby, Dean of Derry, with your Lordship's leave I will tell you his story. On the 18th of January he came to me, (the first time I ever saw or heard of him in my life,) and desired a licence to go for England. I told him there were too many of the clergy of this kingdom there already; that in the few days I had been here, two others had been with me on the same errand; but I had refused them both, as I should do him, except he could give me very good reasons why he desired to go; his Majesty expecting that his clergy of this kingdom should reside upon their cures. He then told me he had a suit at law at Londonderry, and desired to go into England to advise about it. I said it was very strange for a man to go into England to take advice about a suit of law in Ireland; that I doubted it was in truth to avoid a suit of law here: to which he replied, that he saw ill offices had been done him. I assured him he was mistaken, for nobody had done him ill or good offices, which was most true, I having never heard of him till that moment; and so he went away without saying any thing else, or telling me what or with whom his suit was. I have never seen him since, till Sunday the 21st past, when he came to me early in the morning, and told me he was undone if I did not help him. I asked him what was the matter; he said he would now tell me truly what his suit of law was. He said he had informed upon oath against one Mr. Norman of Londonderry, of very horrible words spoken against his Majesty, when Duke; that the Government had bound him over to prosecute the said Norman at the next assizes; and that he was

sure all that country was so ill affected that no jury would be got to find Norman guilty. I asked him if he were ready on his part to prosecute: he said he had none but his own evidence. I told him that would be enough in case of misdemeanor; and I would take care the judges should be well instructed, and a loyal jury should be found. He then told me in plain terms he would not go down to Londonderry; but earnestly pressed me to order Mr. Attorney-general to enter a *Noli prosequi.* I wished him to have a motion made in court, upon what suggestions he thought fit, to put off the trial: to which he said he never meant to prosecute the matter: now Norman was out of the commission of the peace, he had his end. I told him that was not enough: if he had spoken so ill words as he pretended, Norman ought to suffer a greater punishment than being put out of the commission of the peace. At last he told me he could not go to the assizes without hazard of his life; for going ten miles in a coach put him into fits of the stone and strangury. To which I told him it was above ten miles from Holyhead to London: to that he made no reply. If he does not appear at the assizes, he will suffer nothing but the forfeiting his recognizance, which shall not be estreated without his Majesty's pleasure, signified by your Lordship. I have not thought fit to direct a *Noli prosequi;* if I had, I am certain the first news would have been that he was ready to prosecute, but that my Lord Lieutenant would not suffer him, and had caused a *Noli prosequi* to be entered, whereby a fanatic was kept from justice. I could entertain your Lordship with a great deal more of this Dean; how, in the two times he was with me, I catched him in several lies; but I think I have been too tedious already. This Dean told me he was engaged to go to King's County, at the assizes, to prosecute another person there, for words likewise some years since spoken against his Majesty. When he returns, he shall have leave to go into England if he desires it, as your Lordship directs. I never met with any man who has a worse character than this Dean; which I am very sorry for, because of his coat. When he went out from me, the company in the next room wondered why I would be in private with such a fellow; but in truth, my Lord, I was not alone with him, nor would willingly be with any such creatures. The clergy here of the country are too much given to ramble; and, therefore, I think I cannot do better than to keep them to strict residence, according to my second instruction: and yet, by the grace of God, no man shall be hindered from his going upon his necessary occasions, if he makes them appear to be so. As soon as the trial at Londonderry is over,

or whatever the success is, your Lordship shall not fail of an account of it.

To your Lordship's of the 20th past I have nothing to reply, but that I send you enclosed an account of the sheriffs; and such a one as, I doubt not, will prove true. My Lord, I took as much care in making these sheriffs, as I could do of any thing for my life. Your Lordship knows that it was impossible for me to know people personally at that time myself; nor did I tie myself to the informations of any one man; but made it my business to be inquisitive of all people, whom I knew and might trust. If the person who gave in those objections to the sheriffs, sent them from hence; if he had made me acquainted with them, he would then have seen whether I had not hearkened to his representation; for, I do assure your Lordship, (and I do believe nobody will say the contrary,) I was very ready to receive advice from any body; and I will venture to say it is the best set of sheriffs that has been for these many years, both for loyalty, prudence, and impartiality; as I doubt not will appear before the year is out, which will be within a little more than six months. And, if I have the honour to be here then, I shall know men myself, and be able to give a good account of them upon my own knowledge; and I hope I have done nothing amiss in making these.

I have just now received your Lordship's of the 25th past, wherein you are pleased to acquaint me with the King's intention of giving my Lord Chancellor his ease. I will to-morrow impart it to his Grace, in the best manner I can: who, I doubt not, will receive his Majesty's pleasure with that submission he ought; though, I fear, likewise with a due mortification, lest he should be in his Majesty's displeasure, which I hope he is not. I beg your Lordship's leave to acquaint you upon this occasion, that the news of laying my Lord Chancellor aside, and of Mr. Porter's being nominated for his successor, was written hither from England above a fortnight since, and wagers offered to be laid of the truth of it. I told those who asked me of it, that I knew nothing of it; and that, I am sure, was true. In a letter of the 25th, from London, to a person of quality here, I saw this expression—"Last night, at the Cabinet Council, it was resolved, that my Lord Chancellor of Ireland shall be presently laid aside; who shall succeed him, is kept very secret." Now I am telling your Lordship news from England, give me leave to tell you, that upon the coming of these last three or four packets from England, numbers of people have flocked down to my secretary's office and

enquired what commissions were come over; and when they were told none, they have seemed to wonder, and said their friends sent them word that thirty commissions are sent over for alterations in the army here. I have reason to expect a command, says one; and I, says another. I only tell your Lordship these stories, (who know what truth there is in them better than I do,) that you may judge whether it be fit that they should be thus talked of, before they are sent over. I find two gentlemen, Sir Charles Fielding, and Sir George St. George, extremely troubled with the alarm they receive of their being to be removed. The first is told he will not be a loser; but I am sure he had rather be in the post he is, than in any station in the army. He is certainly as loyal as any man can be, and is come to the command he is in from an ensign. The other has served ever since the King's restoration; is known to be a brave man, and as good an officer as any in the army, by all who know Ireland: he is a fine gentleman, and I am confident, if he had the honour to be known to the King, his Majesty would be gracious to him. His brother, Sir Oliver, however unfortunate he has been in the representations that have been made of him, was one of the few men who engaged for the King in this kingdom, before the Duke of Albemarle thought of it, and when it would have cost him his life if it had been discovered. They are a numerous family here in this kingdom, very well allied, and able to serve the King, as well as willing. I beg your Lordship's pardon for troubling you thus much in these matters. I know you are so generous as to delight in doing good offices to worthy men; and I am sure you will forgive him, who is with all possible esteem and respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

And most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

In reply to the King's remonstrance about a Sermon of the Bishop of Meath, who had probably reflected upon the ascendancy of the Catholics.

SIR, Dublin Castle, March 2, 1685-6.

I have received the honour your Majesty vouchsafed to do me on the 18th of last month, and am very glad your Majesty has my Lord Clanricard

in your thoughts, which I shall send him word of, and I know it will be a great comfort to him. As to what your Majesty is pleased to tell me of the Bishop of Meath's sermon before me; it was, as I remember, the third Sunday after my being here: he is a very dull preacher; which may make me, as well as others, not to have minded him so much as we ought to do what is said in that place. But I confess I minded enough to think that he said more than he ought to do; and therefore, as soon as I came home, that very day I took notice of it to my Lord Primate, and the Archbishop of Dublin; who both assured me that they did, upon your first coming to the crown, exhort all their clergy not to meddle with controversy nor politics; and I find by my other conversation, that it is true they did so, and do continue so to do upon all occasions. The next day I sent for the Bishop of Meath to me, and told him my mind, which he promised to observe for the future. I have likewise given the same charge to the rest of the bishops, as I see them; and to all other clergymen as they come in my way, and have done so ever since my being here. And as I shall always do so, when any indiscreet sermons are made before me, so I shall likewise take notice very severely of any of the clergy who preach such sermons in other places, if I have any notice of it; as I did about three weeks since, having an account of a foolish sermon that had been then preached in the city. But, after all this, I cannot answer but some impertinent things will be said, sometimes even before me; in all such cases I do assure your Majesty those men shall never pass unreproved by me. As, very lately, a young man preaching before me, was indeed very impertinent; not so much in relation to your Majesty, as in taking notice of the King of France's proceedings towards the Huguenots: though I know your Majesty does not approve of those proceedings, yet what has any preacher to do to enquire into the actions of any prince, though not his own? I therefore sent for him the next morning, and gave him a rebuke.* I trouble your Majesty with this story, to show you that no care of mine shall be wanting to hinder all things that I think will displease you; but especially those things in which I know your mind, as I do in this con-

* This is singular enough. Lord Clarendon was sufficiently a courtier to advocate the infallibility of princes; and though he was staunch in his adherence to the Church of England, he would not even allow a preacher to advert to the persecution of the Huguenots, or make it an argument against Catholic domination. Yet it was surely within the line of his duty; political sermons are odious, but when the established church is menaced with danger, where is it to look for advocates but in the pulpits of its dignitaries?

cerning the preaching. And I beseech your Majesty to believe that no man shall commit these follies twice before me, nor anywhere else, which I have information of; and though the inferior clergy in most places are unruly, and not so apt to take advice as to give it; yet I dare undertake to keep ours here within the bounds of duty and good manners.

I beg leave to acquaint your Majesty upon this occasion, that the clergy of this city are, generally, worthy men, of learning and good lives; and several of them do preach very well, and as they ought to do. I am very sorry when any of those who pretend to be of the Church of England, do any thing to displease your Majesty, because our principle is loyalty and obedience; and, generally, all of our church have practised both. For my own part, as I study nothing so much myself as my duty to your Majesty, so it shall be my business to make all others, whom you are pleased to put under me, do theirs. I will never willingly offend you while I live; I will never conceal any thing from you, and will always tell you truth, though it were to my prejudice; which, I hope, is the best way to show that I am, with all devotion,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, and

Most obedient subject and servant,

CLARENDON.

LV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO COLONEL MACARTY.

Rumours of great changes in Ireland.—Expresses his desire to forward the Colonel's pretensions.

SIR, Dublin Castle, March 2, 1685-6.

This is to thank you for your favour of the 25th past, which is this very minute come to my hands. I am very glad to find by it, that what I proposed for his Majesty's service was thought reasonable by my Lord President; I am sure I shall never have any thing in my aim but the King's service and interest to the best of my understanding: which will always be submitted to better judgments. There are, as you mention, rumours of great changes to be here, and several letters in the three last packets from England speak of them, but none to me; by which, I suppose they were not then resolved. As to your pretensions, I am so far from being against them, that I should be ready to the utmost of my power to advance them; and, if

justice be done me, you will find that my Lord President and my Lord Treasurer will both own that I mentioned your concerns to them: though I knew it was not needful so to do to either of them, but only that you might see how ready I should be to take all opportunities of expressing my service to you. Your Lieutenant, Fitz-Gerald, has made good his undertaking, and brought in his namesake, and the two other Tories into prison at Cork. I have nothing further to give you an account of, but shall be always glad of an occasion to show you, that I am, as much as any friend you have, and with very great esteem, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

CLARENDON. C. P. S.

LVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

Lord Peterborough's project relating to Scotch pedlars.—Encloses the list of Sheriffs, with answers to the animadversions made upon them.—Apprehensions entertained by the people upon the report of the intended changes; wishes measures were taken to quiet them.—Lady Clarendon's indisposition.

Dublin Castle, March 2, 1685-6.

I have lately had a letter from my friend my Lord Peterborough, to acquaint me with the progress he had made in his project concerning the Scotch pedlars, which he had carried so far as that he had a Bill for the King's signature from Mr. Attorney; which Bill, he tells me, he had carried to you for your approbation, and he has desired me to recommend him and the matter to you. If the thing takes, I am to be very rich, for I am to have a share, which I believe will come to as much as my interest did formerly in the patent for digging coals in Windsor Forest; but pray let not his Lordship know what a mean opinion I have of it. Do what you please in it, but I beg you to own that I have recommended it to you when you see that Lord; for I would not willingly lose my credit with him, he having always been very obliging to me. I send you in this packet a copy of the return I have made to the animadversions upon the list of the present sheriffs.* I will venture all I am worth, that my answers are truer than the ani-

* LIST OF THE IRISH SHERIFFS SENT ME BY (THE) LORD PRESIDENT, WITH ANSWERS TO THE REFLECTIONS THEREUPON; SENT TO MY LORD PRESIDENT, MARCH 2, 1685-6.

DUBLIN. Henry Fernley, a weak man, and Whiggish.

Answer. A quiet, sober, ingenious man; a very good justice of the peace, of very loyal principles, os far from being a Whig, that he is a constant Church of England man.

madversions; and I hope it will be considered, that there may be as much belief given to my informations, who make it my business to get the best, as

Wicklow. Sir Robert Kennedy. If to be judged by his intimates, extremely Whiggish.

Answer. An honest gentleman, descended from loyal parents, who were in the Usurper's time sufferers for their loyalty; and himself an active justice of the peace.

Wexford. Robert Carey, an ensign, son of an old Oliverian.

Answer. Never a soldier; descended but meanly, his father and mother being mere Irish and Roman Catholics, their former name M'Cream. He has an estate of 800*l.* per annum, got by purchasing soldiers' debentures, and thought by some to be a Roman Catholic.

Kildare. Sir Arthur Jones, cornet of horse, and public railer against Papists having power; for the new interest, and of Cromwellian race.

Answer. A cornet of horse; but in his humour not apt to rail against Roman Catholics or any others. His estate is all new interest, granted to his father, Sir Theophilus Jones, for his early loyalty, and activity in the late King's Restoration.

Catherlogh. William Brereton; for monarchy, but very partial to Cromwell's interest.

Answer. Ever for monarchy. His father a very loyal man; an officer in the King's army under the Duke of Ormond, from 1641 till he died, and it is not probable he should be partial to Cromwell's interest, that county where he lives being generally the property of the Earl of Thomond and Earl of Arran, and some other old English proprietors.

Kilkenny. Sir William Evans, Cromwell's baker's son.

Answer. His father was a baker before the war in England, who made his fortune near Kilkenny. His son having married Captain Richard Coote's daughter, was made a baronet, and since a justice of peace, which office he has discharged very honestly.

King's County. Edward Baggot, reputed dishonest, but loyal.

Answer. Very loyal, though once questioned for favouring Tories, but acquitted. Some think him to be a Roman Catholic.

Queen's County. Thomas Owen, a very honest, loyal man, and son to an old Cavalier.

Answer. This gentleman deserves that character, and therefore was put in.

Westmeath. John Phelips, of very ill reputation, and sheriff last year.

Answer. Mr. Phelips is so far from being of a very ill reputation, that there is not any man in the county, nor in the army, under a better character. He is son of a very loyal gentleman, Colonel Edward Phelips, and brother to Sir Edward Phelips of Somersetshire; a family that has deserved well of the Crown, and for whom I will be responsible at any time, having particularly known him ever since the King's Restoration. But, after all, he is not sheriff this year, but one Colonel William Murray, brother-in-law to my Lord Granard, who served the late King in his army in Scotland, and was persecuted by the Remonstrators there for his loyalty.

Longford. Fergus Ferrall, honest and loyal.

Answer. He is not sheriff, being now in England, but one Arthur Ahmotye is, whose father followed my Lord Granard in his service to the Crown, in all the wars in England and Scotland ever since 1641, and is a very loyal gentleman.

Roscommon. John Mahon.

Answer. Of very good repute, and descended from a loyal father.

to those who make it their whole business to object against all that is done by others than themselves. I have had thanks from people of both persuasions,

LEITRIM. James Wynne, of Cromwell's race and principles.

Answer. It is true his father was a Captain in Cromwell's army, and died, his son being young. But it is as true, that this gentleman, ever since his appearing in the world, has shown himself very zealous and active in the King's service, and has that reputation in his county.

SLIGO. William Parks, such another.

Answer. By all people whom I can meet with reputed very honest.

MAYO. John Bingham, sen., loyal.

Answer. He is, without dispute, a very loyal, honest person, and his family great sufferers for their loyalty.

GALWAY. John Morgan, reputed an ill man.

Answer. This gentleman was recommended by my Lord Limerick, with great importunity, to be Sheriff, and it is the first time he was reproached with being an ill man.

MEATH. Lanc. Dowdall, a factious, caballing Whig.

Answer. This gentleman is of an ancient, old English family in that county, where he behaves himself with great sobriety, and is so far from being a favourite of the Whigs, or caballing with them, that they are dissatisfied with his being sheriff, concluding him a friend to the old natives of the county.

CAVAN. Samuel Townley, rather worse, if possible; and between man and man, very dishonest.

Answer. This character seems to be given out of some particular pique, or want of knowledge of him, for he has been always loyal: never served Cromwell, but having lived privately till the late King's Restoration, soon after was put into the commission of the peace, in which he has done his duty with integrity and diligence; and particularly has been very active in the severe prosecution of Tories, robbers, cow and horse-stealers, with which sort of people the county of Cavan very much abounds.

FERMANAGH. Sir Michael Cole, weak and Whiggish.

Answer. A sober, loyal gentleman, and no bustling man, but of a very good understanding, and no Whig: all his fortune is old interest, and his father and grandfather were very loyal men.

DONEGAL. John Forward, a zealous Protestant, and famous priest-catcher.

Answer. This gentleman is a very good Protestant of the Church of England, and very loyal, but never was a priest-catcher; and the occasion which draws this reflection upon him is, because at a Quarter Sessions held at Raphoe, the 24th day of April, 1684, he, with other justices of peace then upon the Bench, was active in putting in execution that statute made in this kingdom, the second of Queen Elizabeth, for the uniformity of the Common Prayer, which the said justices intended principally against the nonconformist Protestants, who swarm much more in that county than the Roman Catholics.

TYRONE. Henry Mervin, a loyal good man.

Answer. A proper and true character of this gentleman.

LOWTH. Sir Thomas Fortescue, a creature of the Chancellor's, but loyal.

Answer. I hope it is no crime to be a friend of the Chancellor. A very worthy gentleman; but

for several of the sheriffs which have been made, and most certainly it is as good a set, and as few in it who are liable to any objection, as has been at any time.

being an officer in the army, has left his residence in the county, and is not sheriff, but Norman Garston.

DOWNE. Mountgomery, loyal as Lord Mount Alexander says.

Answer. The gentleman deserves this character; and though living out of the county was chosen sheriff, as an indifferent, impartial, and just man: it being a very difficult matter to have found one living in the county, who was not engaged on the one side or the other, in the controversies now depending there between the Earl of Ardglass and Mr. Dennis Muschampe; and upon that account has promised me to reside in the county this year, having a good estate there.

ANTRIM. Thomas Knox, a Presbyterian Scotch Whig.

Answer. The character must be given out of prejudice and particular pique, for there is not the least shadow of truth in it; this person being notoriously known to be a constant frequenter of the church, and never resorted to any conventicle since he lived at Belfast, where he is the most considerable merchant.

ARMAGH. Arthur Brownlow, a loyal honest gentleman.

Answer. This requires no answer.

MONAGHAN. William Barton, of his father's principles, collector of London under Cromwell.

Answer. What his father's principles were, or whether he was collector in London under Cromwell is not known in Ireland; where he resided not long, having been dead many years since. But this gentleman is known to be a very honest civil gentleman, and has as fair a character as any one in the county, and for aught has yet appeared, very loyal. And in truth he has no temptation to be otherwise, for all his concerns in that county are old interest, where he is only tenant to the Lord Weymouth and the Lord Ferrers. And though he is very wealthy has not made purchase of any new interest.

WATERFORD. Sir Boyle Maynard, loyal, unless altered by his Protestant zeal.

Answer. Certainly a most loyal gentleman, and therefore designed to be sheriff, till he produced the King's letter to me, dated the 16th of October last, to exempt him from being sheriff in any county in Ireland; and one Richard Christmas is sheriff, a very loyal, worthy gentleman.

LIMERICK. John Stepney, of his father's principles, unjust to his prince, and to his neighbour.

Answer. This gentleman has hitherto a fair character, though he has the misfortune of a father who deserves the worst. And it is to be hoped he will be warned from splitting on the same rock: and is no Fanatic.

CLARE. Henry Cooper, no very good man.

Answer. It is to be presumed the son is mistaken for the father, who is a whimsical fantastic man. But the son is a very worthy young man, kinsman to the Earl of Thomond; his mother a Roman Catholic.

CORK. Laurence Clayton, a caballing Whig.

Answer. It is not reasonable to conclude this gentleman a Whig, his father being a very loyal old Cavalier and sufferer for the crown, and was condemned to die in Cromwell's time: at the King's Re-

It is impossible to tell you what the apprehensions are which men generally conceive upon the report of the great alterations which are said will be made here: nothing but time can satisfy them, and the finding some of the reports not to be true. The last news from England, which some of the wild Irish report, is that the Lord Tyrconnel is presently to come over, and that he brings all the new commissions with him, and is to dispose of them, and is to have a commission himself independent from me. I confess I cannot yet believe this, it being more for the King's disservice to have it thought he has one here whom he will not trust, than it will be to my disrepute. Whatever the King does, I wish men's minds might be at ease that there will be no more changes; and I could wish that something like an act of grace might be passed, (I mean such a proclamation as was discoursed of, and, I thought, resolved on, before I left London,) for putting an end to all accusations for words spoken against the King when Duke, several years since. God keep you. I have been abroad this afternoon to take a little air, and coming home and finding the packet not gone, I have had the opportunity of sending you this supplement. My wife gives you many thanks for yours of the 25th: she will be sure to follow the rule you give her: she cannot write to you herself, having been very ill of a cold, with that violence as she kept her bed for two days, and was brought very weak; but, I thank God, she is much better, and able to sit in the afternoon in the withdrawing-room. The lady arrived here this morning; I have yet taken no notice of her, but my wife, having an acquaintance with her, sent to see her after her journey, &c. &c. I will carry myself so as not to offend the Queen. Adieu.

storation, in reward of his services, he was made a trustee and register for the officers who served in Ireland before 1649; and out of the lands set apart for those old Cavaliers made his fortune, which is since descended to his son, who has not yet by any public actions discovered any inclinations to cabalting against the Government, or Whiggism.

KERRY. Henry Stoughton, accounted loyal.

Answer. This is conc.sed, and requires no answer.

LVII.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The King's command for postponing certain trials.

MY LORD, Whitehall, March 8, 1685-6.

The King being informed that Cornet Johnson is to be tried at the next assizes, for killing Archibald Hamilton; as also that Sir John Magill, —— Dempster, Robert Little, —— Norman, of the County of Derry, and Captain William Hamilton, are to be then tried for misdemeanors, his Majesty commands me to acquaint your Lordship that he would have you direct the respective judges whom it may concern, to put off the trials till further order; and that, in the mean time, the parties accused give sufficient bail to answer what is objected against them. I am,

My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND, P.

LVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Removal of the Primate from the office of Lord Chancellor.—His character.—His successor.—Reports of changes, and of Lord Tyrconnel's influence with the King.—That Lord's general conduct.—Case of Boswood, a Collector of Customs.—Has almost made an end of the Tories.

Dublin Castle, March 9th, 1685-6.

On Thursday last I acquainted my Lord Chancellor here with the King's pleasure to give him his ease, and with the kind concern you had expressed towards him; of which you will find how sensible he is, in a letter he hath written to you himself. I did not intend to have broken this matter to the good man so soon; but finding so many letters from England speak of the change that was to be made, five or six whereof I saw myself; and some mentioning that the King had directed my Lord Lieutenant to be acquainted with his pleasure in that particular by the post; I thought it best to make no longer delay in telling him of it. He received the signification of his Majesty's pleasure, like a wise man, with great submission, and without showing the least surprise or dissatisfaction. He told me, he had several times had thoughts of making it his request to give up the Seal; but then again he

thought it would not have looked well in him to have quitted (as it were) the service, whilst the King appeared to be in any difficulties; as, God knows, he was under too many of late years: that he had made it the whole business of his life to serve the Crown, and would continue so to do, though he were only a private curate; and that he did most cheerfully acquiesce in his Majesty's good pleasure; but that it would be a very great mortification to him, if he thought the King were any ways dissatisfied with him; and the rather, because, he says, he can give many instances of particular graces which he has upon many occasions received from his present Majesty, and never yet found that he was in the least under his displeasure. Indeed, I hope care will be taken to let the good man know that the King is not displeased with him; however convenient he may think it to his service to make the present change. I will not enter into this good man's particular failings: no man is perfect; but every body here, who is acquainted with the affairs of this country, must own him to be an able man, and to have done the Crown good service in the worst of times. As he is a man of very good estate, so I have been here long enough to find that he has a very considerable interest upon that account, separate from any dependants upon the score of his great office; and is a man very well beloved. For his successor,* you and I know him and his talent every way; therefore I will say nothing of him but this, that he will be mistaken, if he thinks to make his fortune by the employment. The King's allowance upon the establishment is 1000*l.* per annum; and the office does not bring in besides above six, or, at most, seven hundred pounds per annum; which is no great matter for a man who has but a very small estate of his own, considering the figure he ought to make. The primate lives as nobly, and as much like a gentleman throughout, as ever I knew any man in my life. But the change is resolved; and there is an end. This, and the reports from England of the many changes that are to be in the army, makes the Irish very foolish in setting out the mighty power of Lord Tyrconnel: for it is most certain, before he went hence, he did openly brag what

* It may not be amiss here to place before the reader Burnet's character of Sir Charles Porter, and his view of the motives for appointing him to the Chancellorship:—"The Archbishop of Armagh had continued Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was in all points so compliant to the Court, that even his religion came to be suspected on that account. Yet it seems he was not thorough-paced. So Sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the King proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor of Ireland."—Vol. iii. p. 52, *8vo edit.*

alterations should be made, both civil and military. By his discourses one would have thought that he had the absolute dominion to get the King to do whatever he proposed. As to the Chancellor, one day Lord Tyrconnel discoursing with some of his friends, and railing at the Chancellor, (which, it seems, he gives himself a great liberty of doing against any one he does not like,) a gentleman in the company, a Roman Catholic, said, "My Lord, what can you say against him? He carries himself well in his office; and, when any of us Irish come before him in his court, we find justice with despatch." To which Lord Tyrconnel replied, "That is true; but that is his craft to be civil to us; but I know he does not love our countrymen, the natives; and, by God, I will have him out, you shall see." To which the other said, "I doubt, my Lord, this way will not serve the King." To tell the stories that go up and down here of Lord Tyrconnel's behaviour in this kingdom, the insolence he showed to some, the courtship he made to others, and the contempt he used most people with, would make one who knows him wonder: certainly he is a man of monstrous vanity, as well as pride and furious passion. But, as I cannot sometimes avoid hearing extravagant stories of him, I do assure you I make no reflection upon them; and never mention his name, but when occasionally discourses bring it in: nor shall there ever any thing be laid to my charge upon the account of my ill conduct towards him, whether present or absent.

There is one particular which I think proper enough to mention in a private letter. Here is one Boswood, sub-collector of the port of Dublin under Mr. Genew, who, upon the account of his health, hath by leave been absent near a year. This Boswood does all the business; and is indeed, by all that appears to me, and by the character the Commissioners of the Revenue give of him, a very honest and diligent man: he was a great friend of Mr. Kingdon's, and brought in by him, and for that reason is like to suffer. A bill of exchange for 300*l.* was drawn by Mr. Kingdon upon a merchant here, some weeks before his death: the merchant would not accept it; which Boswood hearing, to do honour to his friend, he pays the bill; which being done voluntarily, without any orders from Mr. Kingdon, he despairs of ever recovering that money, except the King will allow Mr. Kingdon the quarter's salary, which would have been due at Lady-day next: that sum will make the poor man but a little loser: you know best what is fit to be done in this matter. I have discharged myself in making the request; and if you would have me do it in a public letter to my Lord Treasurer, it shall be done upon your signification. We have

had no letters from England since those of the 25th past; which makes me have the less to say from hence: though still, methinks, I make a shift to make my letters to you long enough. I thank God, I have almost made an end of the Tories; in which Captain Boyle hath done very good service: he is a very brisk man, and minds his business. I am now making a full despatch to you in answer to several directions I had from the Treasury chamber, which I could not complete sooner, by reason of the term; when the King's council were not so much at leisure as they are now. But I doubt not you will be very well satisfied, when you have my letter; which will be within a very few days. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

P.S. I hope my Lord Primate will be continued of the Privy Council here.

LIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Has acquainted the Lord Chancellor of the King's pleasure in regard to him.—Recommends some conciliatory expressions to be inserted in the Letter informing him of the appointment of his successor.—Desires to know whether the army in Ireland are to encamp.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 9, 1685-6.

In obedience to the commands I received from your Lordship, I have acquainted my Lord Chancellor here with the King's pleasure in reference to him, which he received with all possible submission; and desired me to acquaint his Majesty, that, as he had made it the business of his life to serve the Crown, so he should continue to serve the King to his death, to the utmost of his power, with the same zeal, though he were only a private curate: that there is but one thing that can trouble him, which is the apprehension of being in his Majesty's displeasure, which would be a very great mortification to him; and the rather, because he says he has received many instances of his present Majesty's favour, as well as of the late King's; and he never heard that his Majesty was dissatisfied with him. I suppose your Lordship will put such expressions into the letter which will come by Mr. Porter for the delivery of the Seal to him, (for I think that is the form usually observed in such cases,) as may be a comfort to the old gentleman after so many years' service. He has a very good interest, which, I dare undertake, he will always employ as he shall be directed for the King's service.

We have no letters from England since those of the 25th past, which will

make your present trouble the shorter, having no commands from you to give you an account of. Finding in some of the late letters from England that the King has appointed a good part of his army to encamp this summer upon Hounslow Heath, I beg your Lordship that I may know his Majesty's pleasure, if he will have his army here encamp likewise, which will certainly do the troops good. If the King's pleasure be that they do encamp, I shall desire to have particular directions, whether the whole army, or what numbers of them, and at what time, and how long they should continue together. I should humbly offer that June would be the best time for them to meet: several things are to be thought of in order to the encamping; but the most necessary thing is the providing of tents for the soldiers. I have presumed to send your Lordship here enclosed an estimate of the charge for making tents, which, I believe, your Lordship will find much cheaper than they can be afforded in England; besides that the freight and the exchange of the money will be saved. It being matter of money, I have sent a copy of the estimate to my Lord Treasurer. I would beg to know the King's pleasure in this particular as soon as your Lordship pleaseth, that things may be put in hand, if his Majesty will have the army encamp this summer. I have nothing to trouble your Lordship with further at present, but to beg the continuance of your Lordship's friendship, and to assure you that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LX.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Apprising him that every branch of the Services, Civil and Military, in Ireland, was about to be recomposed; and demanding his personal assistance in forwarding the King's intentions.

MY LORD, Whitehall, March 11, 1685-6.

The King has for a great while thought it absolutely necessary for his service to make alterations in Ireland, both in the civil government, and in the army; which he thinks can be no longer delayed without great prejudice to

his affairs, as well here as there; and therefore he has resolved, upon serious consideration, and after having received very particular informations from persons of all sorts and professions, that those changes should be now made. His Majesty would, before the doing thereof, have advised with your Excellency, if you had not so lately come to that Government that it was impossible for you to give him so good an account as he has already received, from persons of undoubted integrity and zeal for his service, and it would be of the greatest inconvenience to his Majesty that what he has now resolved should not be immediately put in execution. I have already acquainted your Excellency with the King's having nominated Sir Charles Porter to be Lord Chancellor of that kingdom (who will be ready to go in a few days), and I am now commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that he has resolved to remove Sir Richard Reynolds, one of the justices of the King's Bench, Mr. Robert Johnson, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and Sir Standish Hartstonge, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; but he has not yet fixed who shall succeed them. His Majesty thinks it also for his service, that some Catholics should be admitted into the council, and to be sheriffs and justices of peace, and have the same freedom and privileges in all corporations as his other subjects have; and has directed letters to be prepared for the same accordingly. As to the alterations in the army, his Majesty has settled them all, and has ordered the new commissions to be forthwith despatched. I have your Excellency's of the 14th and 16th past, upon which his Majesty commands me to let you know, that he intends to keep the Archbishoprick of Cashel in his own hands, and that the revenue of the same should be brought into the Exchequer, as also of the Bishoprick of Elphin, if it be vacant, as the King is informed it is; and his Majesty would have you give the necessary orders therein accordingly. I am further directed by his Majesty to tell you, that he is given to understand that certain papers or letters of news are printed at Dublin, which he thinks fit should be prohibited; and therefore recommends the same to your care. I am,

My Lord, &c.

LXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Conduct of Lord Tyrconnel in regard to Mr. Price.—Ingratitude of the Lord Chief Justice.—Sends him his Correspondence with the King and Lord Sunderland.—Alarm created by the rumours of changes in Ireland, unreasonable, but still very great. If it be necessary to have Roman Catholic Judges and Officers, they should be English, not Irish.—Recommends another Commission of Grace as a conciliatory measure.—Sir Charles Porter.—Printed News Letters, their scurrility.

Dublin Castle, March 14, 1685-6.

Since my last I have received your's of the 2d instant, and at the same time had letters of the 4th likewise. I am very glad you were so well satisfied with Mr. Price's answer to the charge against him: I think it very sufficient to satisfy any reasonable people, who are not possessed with prejudice against a man. Not long since, my Lord Chief Justice Keating asked my Lord Longford, sitting with him, whether he knew what my Lord Tyrconnel had done about the charge which he carried over with him against Mr. Price. My Lord L. answered, he never heard of any such thing: "Yes," says the Lord Chief Justice, "Lord Tyrconnel showed it me, and said W. Ellis had drawn it; and he desired my opinion upon it:" to which the Lord Chief Justice replied; "My Lord, I cannot give an opinion in it till I speak with Price; for possibly he may make very justifiable answers to many of these particulars." To which Lord Tyrconnel answered, "By God I will accuse him when I come into England, and will have him out."—When Lord Longford told me this, he told me at the same time, that he found the Lord Chief Justice was become a perfect creature of Lord Tyrconnel's, which he, Lord Longford, thought very ungrateful in him, considering who raised him. I am extremely sorry to find by your letter, that you were not then well: I pray God send you long life, and health, without which there can be no comfort in this life. For the news, which our last letters brought us out of England, I refer you to my letter to my Lord Sunderland, which I send open to you, that you may read it; and if you do not approve of what I have written, both to him and to the King, pray burn both the letters; if you do think them fit to go to their hands, then you will seal them with a head, or a seal of your arms before you had the garter; and let them be delivered, as if you thought they were put up by chance in your packet. I likewise send you a copy of the last letter I had from my Lord Sunderland, that you may see all. Truly, I thought, considering all

circumstances, that it became me to say something, that it may appear I did my duty in representing the true state of things, as well as in obeying; and I hope I have written nothing amiss, but with all possible duty and submission. And when all is done, do what you think fit with the letters. Certainly I am very impertinent, or else the frequent long letters I trouble my Lord President with, might deserve some other kind of answers. It is impossible to tell you the wonderful damp has been upon men's minds for about a fortnight, occasioned by the hot alarms out of England, of changes and alterations that are to be here. I know two men (not in wanting conditions) who, since the time I speak of, have sold considerable parcels of their estates, and remitted the money into England: others, who are traders, talk of calling in their stocks and withdrawing themselves. Very little business has been done this last week upon the Exchange; but men look dejectedly one upon another. I know all this is unreasonable; and, as nothing the King does ought to disturb men's minds, so, in truth, no alterations that can be made, can have that influence upon the affairs of the nation, as these jealous apprehensions do suggest; for men are secured in their properties, and their religion too, by very good laws. And, whatever officers are put into the army, or judges upon the benches, right will still be done, and oppressions will not be permitted when complained of; as they will quickly be, for real grievances cannot be long concealed. I have got some acquaintance with some considerable men of this city: I send for them, and this is the language I talk to them in, which I know is my duty; and that, by the grace of God, I will never fail in to my utmost. But all men are not reasonable; and there is no curing a general jealousy otherwise than to let time show men that there was no cause for their apprehensions; as, in truth, I hope there will not be. However, I am really afraid, that these fancies, (to call them no other) which men have taken up, will have an ill influence upon the revenue; but it is too early to speak of that yet to any body but yourself. If there must be Roman Catholic officers in the army, and judges of the same religion, it were to be wished they were Englishmen sent out of England; and not Irish, who have all their interest here, not to say any more of them. And the King himself seemed to me to be of that opinion, that the great contention here was more between English and Irish than between Catholic and Protestant, which certainly was a true notion; and therefore one would wonder the more at what is doing. Nothing, in my opinion, is more for the King's service, in order to the settling the minds of his subjects here, than

the letting them think themselves secure in their properties; which nothing could more effectually compass than another commission of Grace, in the same manner as the last was, which ended by the death of the late King. I do not speak this rashly, nor can I have any interest in it; but purely for the King's service. A confirmation to men of their estates from his present Majesty would be a security beyond doubt; and, though the commission were not to compel people to come in, yet I dare say there is not a man in Ireland, even Irish as well as English, (and the first are very many,) who would not come in. Most certainly it would raise a very great sum of money; for I have some reason to believe that men would give money for a confirmation of their estates to which they have a legal title, as well as for what may be defective. Pray think of this, and, if you are satisfied, propose it where you think proper. I verily believe the talking that such a thing would be (if it may be talked of) would do a great deal of good here, and fill men's minds with something else than their melancholy apprehensions. But it were to be wished then that the commissioners might be English; the money which would arise hereby, would abundantly enable the King to gratify the Irish to what degree he thought fit. I do fully agree with you in what you recommend to me concerning Sir Charles Porter, and you may be most confident, though I did not know him, my conduct shall never be found fault with towards any one whom the King employs in any station.

The common news letters, which come from England, and which very often contain very scurvy things, have, ever since July last, been printed here; one of the latest is here enclosed, and these run about the kingdom as if they were published by authority. And therefore, by order of Council, I have caused the prohibiting any books or pamphlets whatsoever to be printed, without licence from proper persons thereto appointed; which, I hope, will not be found fault with. God keep you and yours.

You will allow me to be inquisitive after the success of Mr. Price's answer, what satisfaction it gives to the King, and what the accuser says to it. I leave it to you, whether you will put my letter to the King in my Lord Sunderland's cover, or deliver it yourself to his Majesty. I think I have said nothing in either of the letters but what becomes me, and yet with duty and submission,

LXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Advises that all Roman Catholics designed for Military or Civil Offices in Ireland, should be English, and not Irish.

SIR, Dublin Castle, March 14, 1685-6.

I have presumed, upon some late news from England, to write at large to my Lord President; to which I humbly beg your Majesty's favourable construction, when you read it. I have said nothing but what I thought my duty, in reference to your Majesty's service, that you may be fully informed of the true state of things, especially of matter of fact; and, when I have done that, all your commands shall be as punctually obeyed by me, as by any one. When I had the honour to discourse with your Majesty upon the affairs of this country, you were pleased to say that you looked upon the differences here to be rather between English and Irish, than between Catholic and Protestant; which certainly, Sir, is a most true notion. And upon that account, if I might presume to offer my humble advice to your Majesty, (which I will never do in any thing but as if it were for my life,) it should be, that whatever officers, military or civil, you shall think fit to employ in this kingdom, of the Roman Catholic religion, (for the present at least,) might be Englishmen from England. I know I ought to say this to none but your Majesty; nor do I; and to you I offer it, Sir, with all possible submission, without any disrespect to those very worthy persons who are of this country, as a thing that would be extremely for your service. I do most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for what I have presumed to say in this letter, and in my Lord President's. Nothing in either, I hope, can displease you; I am sure I make it the business of my life to serve you to the best of my understanding, and will always obey you as becomes,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, and

Most obedient subject and servant,

CLARENDON.

LXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Reports of changes in the Army, and among the Judges in Ireland.—Observations thereon, and upon the expedience of admitting Catholics to be Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace.—Complains that he is not consulted in all these changes, and that the report of them first reaches him by common rumour.—Case of Sir Charles Fielding.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 14, 1685-6.

On Thursday last arrived here three packets from England, among which I had the favour of your Lordship's of the 3d instant; for the kindness of which I give you my humble thanks, and hope I shall never deserve other from you. By the last expression of your letter, you put me in expectation of speedily receiving orders from you upon several subjects. I have, in some of my late letters, entertained your Lordship with news from England; and, though I am no great believer of common reports, yet when some of them, and of no small importance, prove true, one cannot help hearkening something to them; and upon that account I take the liberty to acquaint your Lordship, that the last letters from England have filled the town with great changes that are to be here, not only in the army, but likewise amongst the judges. Several letters to people here I have seen: some say thus—"You will have great alterations in the army of Ireland; many officers put out, and new ones put in: I have seen the commissions signed at the secretary's office, but cannot say how many there are:"—And so names several to be put out; many of whom are very good men, I must needs say, and, I am verily persuaded, would not be displaced, if the King were rightly informed of their persons and merits. Other letters mention several of the judges to be removed, and say they believe it because such have told it them, and they name for their authors persons eminent about his Majesty. The persons named to be removed are, Sir Richard Reynolds, Justice Johnson, and Sir Standish Hartstonge; those said to succeed them are, Mr. Rice, Mr. Nangle, and Mr. Nugent. I beg leave to observe to your Lordship that I am required, by the fourth instruction, to enquire into the behaviour of the judges and ministers of the several courts of judicature; and, if your Lordship considers the time of my being here, I hope I shall not be accounted negligent for not having given an account thereof hitherto. My Lord, I have not been backward in my enquiries, nor in my observations; and I do not doubt but at their re-

turn from their circuits, shall be able to make such a representation of them, as I shall not be ashamed to justify, be it in their favour, or to their prejudice. I have very little acquaintance with any of the men, and I am sure I can have no temptation to inform any thing but the truth, of every one.

My Lord, I am directed by my thirtieth instruction, to give my opinion concerning the putting the Roman Catholics into the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace, &c., as they have been heretofore. I have not been without thoughts upon this matter, but still, considering how short a time I have been here, I hope it will not be wondered that I have not thought fit to give a rash judgment in a matter of that importance. For, in truth, I did desire to advise with men of different persuasions, which is the best way to form the most impartial opinion; and it would not have been long before I should have laid such an one before your Lordship as I would have stood by, whatever it had been. But since I am not ready yet for that, however, that I may not be blamed for not laying before his Majesty the matter of fact as it stands, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the statute made in the second year of the Queen, chapter the first; which directs that all civil and temporal officers, as well as ecclesiastical, shall take the oath of supremacy. I will not take upon me to deliver an opinion upon this law, but leave it to the more skilful. It cannot be denied but that, before the rebellion, several Roman Catholics (but generally those of the English pale) were sheriffs, and in the commission of peace; but I am assured that all the commissions (and some I have seen) required the oath to be administered; how it was connived at I know not, for the returns do not appear. I am likewise credibly informed that there never was, since the making of that statute, any Roman Catholic a judge in any of the courts of judicature. I have thought fit, according to my duty, through your Lordship's hands, to lay this whole matter thus before his Majesty, with all possible submission; for which I hope he will not be offended. The King is the best judge of all his affairs, and when he is thoroughly informed of things, he shall find as ready an obedience from me as from any one. My Lord, I shall be able to do the King more or less service here, according to the credit and countenance the world finds I have from his Majesty. If these great changes, both military and civil, are true, how very little must it make me (which is not to be valued, if my being so in this station did not influence the King's affairs,) to know of nothing but by letters to other people, or common news letters. Certainly it would not be to the prejudice of the King's service, to have the Chief-Governor a little

consulted with; especially since whatever characters or representations I make of things or persons, the King is only thereby the more fully informed of all particulars, and may still do what he pleaseth. And since his Majesty knows that I will, as well as must obey him; let me beseech your Lordship, upon whose favour and friendship I have so much reason to depend, that you will be pleased a little to consider the 22d, 23d, and 28th of my instructions; the observation of which would make me more capable to serve the King; and not put any thing less in his Majesty's power, (which God forbid it should do,) nor more in mine.

Having, in mine of the 2d instant, mentioned Sir Charles Fielding to your Lordship, I should not have said any thing more of him, but that he has acquainted me that he had a letter by the last packet from a friend of his at London, which tells him that he is certainly to be removed, and to have Colonel Russell's regiment. Sir Charles has earnestly desired me to represent his case to the King, which I beg leave to do by your Lordship, and humbly to beseech his Majesty that he may be continued as he is. He says, the being removed from the station he is in to a regiment, is not a preferment to him. Indeed he is a very good man, and has always served the King well; I do heartily wish the King may think fit to gratify him in this his request. I do beg your Lordship's pardon for the great trouble I have given you in this letter; but it is according to the freedom your Lordship gave me leave to use towards you, which I will endeavour to deserve by all the testimonies that can be given of respect, by,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Requests the place of Collector to the Port of Dublin, for one of his Father's Servants.

Dublin Castle, March 14, 1685-6.

Mr. Shaw tells me, in his letter of the 4th, that he hopes you design him the Collector's place of this port, void by the death of Mr. Genew in France; and I find you have written to the Commissioners of the Revenue here, not

to dispose of it till they hear further from you. I am very glad you design it for Mr. Shaw, who, I doubt, would have been found not to have got much if he had died in his last sickness; and, indeed, we should do what we can, and as soon as we can, for those who were my father's servants. The salary belonging to this office is 150*l.* per annum; the perquisites, as I am informed, may be 100*l.* per annum more. I would not have Mr. Shaw leave you for this place; I hope his being about you is more worth: but, if you please, I would propose that somebody here may be found out who is fit for the employment, (and a fitter cannot be found than Boswood, in all respects, who was deputy to Genew, if the poor man be not crushed by his frank honouring bills of exchange, drawn by Mr. Kingdon upon other men, who protested them,) and who shall give security to the King, and be put into the office upon his own account, having first given security likewise to pay Mr. Shaw the whole salary. This will avoid the objection which some men will make, and perhaps throw in your dish, of such places being executed by deputy, which I know you do not encourage; but if a man of such a rank be put into it, as is fit to execute it, he may well be content with the perquisites, which will make him the more diligent, and the King will have the advantage of his diligence. I have said all I can offer upon this matter, and therefore I do expect your resolution; which I hope will be in favour of Mr. Shaw. God keep you and all yours. I send you herewith an account of the deductions made from the other regiments, out of the three months' pay, ending the last of September last; so that now you have the whole army before you, by which you will see how much kinder some officers are to their men than others; which, I am sure, in time will prove inconvenient, I mean if some of the soldiers have less pay than others. I know not why you may not own having these papers, if you should think it convenient.

LXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Commending a particular distress, that of the family of Major Salwey, to his interposition; and desiring his good offices for effecting, if possible, the marriage connexion he wishes for his son, with the daughter of Sir Stephen Fox.

Dublin Castle, March 14, 1685-6.

This printed paper is what I have mentioned in my other letter, and was forgot to be put up in that. The letter for yourself is from our cousin Ivy,

at Jamaica, which his son, who is here with me, gave me. Major Salwey is lately come to an untimely death: he was one my father was always very kind to upon some old scores, and he saved and always protected him, when others of his principles (for he was a perfect Independent) were for security (as they were now and then) clapped up. When any thing was hatching amongst the factious, he always gave my father notice of it; and, in a word, kept his faith punctually with him. His son, whom I know not, has applied to me, as you will find by the enclosed letter,* which I think fit to send you; you will best judge whether there be ground or room for you to show any compassion.

It is time for me to say something to you concerning my son, since the last proposal for the widow Whitmore is at end, which was the only treaty I was ever engaged in about him; and that that ended without any

* A Memorial of John Salwey to the Lord Lieutenant, praying his interposition, with that of the Lord Treasurer, his brother, to stop an unjust and oppressive suit that threatened the last stroke of ruin to the afflicted family and numerous survivors of Major Salwey.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Ludlow, Feb. 27, 1685-6.

My Lord, having heard by some friend that your Excellency has been pleased lately to mention the misfortune of my late father, with some concern for him, I presume to give you this short and true account of it; and humbly to implore your favourable recommendation to your brother, my Lord Treasurer, if, in your Lordship's judgment, you think it deserves it. The occasion of his distraction, may it please your Excellency, was through the failing of my second brother, a merchant, in whom he had not only placed his affections, but caused me, and two younger brothers more, to repose so great a trust in him, whereby we have sustained the loss, well nigh of all that fortune God had blessed us with, for the maintaining of ourselves and numerous offspring. The thoughts of which, together with the unexpectedness of the thing, did so perplex his mind, knowing that what estate he had of his own was little enough for to sustain him and my mother, that his continual cry was, he should want bread, so long as he had his senses; which outward affliction, falling upon a person whose family is subject to distraction, (he being the third that in my memory hath so died,) will, I trust, in some measure take off the obloquy of his being found drowned in a pool near his habitation, through the carelessness of his servants. And though upon the Coroner's Inquest, by a sufficient jury and full evidence, the verdict was given in, *non compos mentis;* yet so it is, may it please your Excellency, that one Captain Cornwall, a neighbour and relation, hath begged that remnant of an estate that is left, to support well nigh thirty of the family, of his Majesty, and prosecutes the distressed with such violence and potency, and by indirect means (as is feared,) that nothing less than your Excellency's interposition can save our distressed family from utter ruin, which is most humbly begged by my disconsolate mother, and,

May it please your Excellency,
Your Excellency's most humble, most devoted,
And most distressed Servant,
JOHN SALWEY.

dishonour to my family, I am obliged to you. You will believe I would be very glad to have him married, and the sooner the better, whilst I am in some seeming credit; for methinks, by my Lord Sunderland's letters, I know not whether any of my actings here be approved of; and so God knows whether I am long lived here or no: what pleaseth God. Where to think to fix my poor small family I know not, considering my circumstances, but I wish it might be with Sir Stephen Fox; I had rather there than any where I can think of: and methinks, if it were well proposed to him, he might think it of advantage to him. The giving him a little honour might, I believe, go far, and has been as undeservedly bestowed; you can manage it better than any one, if you approve it, and to you I leave it, not having mentioned it to any one. I am well satisfied that when I left England there was nothing of what you told me, that his daughter was to marry Lord Feversham. Pray give me your thoughts upon this. God keep you and all yours.

LXVI.

THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

The friendly intercourse between her Son, the Lord Cornbury, and Sir Stephen Fox's daughter, which it was desired should mature into a family alliance, and her raillery of the scandals sent from Dublin to London, and returned with improvements.

Dublin Castle, March 15, 1685.

I know your dear Lordship has not much time to bestow upon me, and am resolved to expect very few letters from you. But though I knew you did not read mine, I should have some satisfaction in the writing them; it will be a little like conversing with you. Your advice I shall be sure to follow; but first, I am to inform you that the meetings here in the Castle are very frequent, free, and look as if every body were fond of one another; and the lady is already in this city, though I have not made her one visit: but she lives as if she liked the place and company. I hope she will be discreet, for she says nothing of any body whence she came, and is commonly the first at church in a morning; she may, in time, make a very good Irish saint, if our preachers do not make her despise them. She has been a little near quarrelling with my Lord upon want of ceremony; but if he uses my Lady Orrery and Lady Tyrconnel no better at their arrival, she

will forgive him. I believe you would be willing to know something of my Lord's own concerns here, which I cannot be very particular in, because my health at present is very much disturbed, but, I thank God, not so much as to hinder any part of my business, and I can assure you it is like to prosper very well in my hands, beyond what I could have believed. Sir Stephen Fox has helped us with admirable servants, as well for credit as profit.

I hope, when you hear of news from hence, you will be so prepossessed with what I write, that nothing but truth will gain credit with you; but here are so many pens at work that I am in continual fear I shall want to be justified at Court, for I have already found out that news is made here and sent to London, and is returned hither with great interest and credit. I begin to think our forefathers very wise in not giving their daughters the education of writing, and should be very much ashamed that ever I learned Latin, if I had not forgotten it. I have no ambition so great as to be thought a sufferer this way, and not an actor, and so, dear brother, believe me that I am ever

Yours.

LXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Reports respecting changes, and the greatness of Lord Tyrconnel—Boswood's case—Affairs of the Revenue—Influx of Controversial books from France.

Dublin Castle, March 16, 1685-6.

We have no letters from England since my last, by reason of the very high and contrary winds; but the Irishmen at the coffee-houses do every day produce new letters from England, from great people at Court, confirming all the changes I mentioned in my last, and adding much more to the greatness of Lord Tyrconnel, and with what large powers he comes endowed; which to sober men seems very ridiculous: though the young Lord Dungan, and others of quality (of that nation) vouch and publish the reports. I know not what to think of them; but I have no mind to believe that the King, after the gracious manner of his sending me hither, and the very many most generous and obliging expressions he was pleased to make to me, will put a disgrace or mortification upon me, by giving any man a power intrenching upon what he has been before pleased to grant to me; and I hope my friends

there will not think it unreasonable to appear for me in that point, since it is but what every man would expect for himself in the like case.

I wrote to you in my 13th of the 9th instant, in the behalf of Boswood the sub-collector of this port, who, by the death of his principal Mr. Genew, and Mr. Kingdon together, is like to be undone. It is said likewise here that Mr. Bridges the commissioner is like to smart by Kingdon's death; but that will not concern the King. Bridges was, I am told, brought into the employment by Kingdon, and so was the collector Henry Genew. These three, when all here, drove a subtile trade; and Mr. Genew constantly made use of 2000*l.* a quarter of the King's money, which the Commissioners of the Revenue (though some of them suspected it) could not detect: but now, upon the death of Genew, Boswood has laid open the whole commerce to me, by showing me the original accounts of cash between him and Genew, and between him and Kingdon, all which was taken out of the King's cash. Upon the whole, I find Henry Genew is indebted to Boswood, by account stated the 25th of December last, the sum of 556*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; and that Mr. Kingdon is indebted likewise to the said Boswood the sum of 386*l.* 14*s.* 10*d*; so that they both together owe Boswood 943*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, which sum Boswood owes to the King's cash. Boswood excuses himself for making use of the King's money by saying that he was servant to Mr. Genew, and was to do as he directed him; Genew being the person who was accountable to the King. For his making use of the King's money to answer Mr. Kingdon's occasions, he can say less; but only that he thinks Mr. Genew's verbal directions to him, to answer what Mr. Kingdon should draw upon him, will justify him. Upon this occasion Boswood showed me a letter he had from Genew, dated the 1st of September last; I read the original, and send you a copy of it for the extraordinariness, that you may see the distrust Genew then had of Kingdon; and yet, after all this, that Boswood should pay 700*l.* for Kingdon upon bills that were not drawn upon him, as I am satisfied he has done, is very strange. Upon the whole, Boswood did owe the King on Saturday night last, the 13th of this instant March, the sum of 943*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, which sum Genew's security must make good, they being to answer for all that was done in Genew's time; and the news of his death came not hither till the 10th instant. Henry Genew's security to the King are his brother and Mr. Bridges, who are in London: if you please to send to them (the latter is likewise one of Kingdon's executors) to pay in the said 943*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the King will not lose a farthing. I believe they will not much dispute it, having 2000*l.* security

from Boswood, which he gave Mr. Genew, from whom they may recover what money they pay for Boswood; whereas the King ought to seek his money of none but Genew's security. Lest Boswood's being thus much in the King's debt should reflect on me, I think myself obliged to give you an account of the care I have endeavoured to take. From my first arrival here I have never failed to spend one afternoon in the week with the commissioners and other officers of the revenue, and very many times oftener, as I have thought there has been occasion: I have not contented myself with the accounts they gave me, and with Mr. Price's weekly abstract, which I constantly transmit to you, and whereby you see whence the money comes, which he has in that week received; but I cause an account to be brought to me of the produce of every branch of the revenue of the port of Dublin within that week, by which I see what the Collector has received, and what is unpaid, either by bonds from merchants according to the statute, or in arrear in the hands of the retailing brewers. The bonds I see myself; and I caused an enquiry to be made, about a fortnight since, whether all the brewers are really in arrear as much as is set upon them; so that, whilst I continue this course, it is impossible that the Collector can have any money in his hands; and I am sure I will continue this method, as long as I am here. You will then wonder how Boswood could cover or conceal such a sum as he now proves to owe. Why truly, I can only say that he robbed Peter to pay Paul: he was a man of a very honest reputation. Mr. Strong has trusted him with his quarter's salary two months at a time, till he had occasion to use it: many of the other officers of the port, at the quarter's end, give him acquittances for their salaries, and leave their money in his hands to the value of 5 or 600*l.*, and call for it by 5*l.* or 10*l.* at a time: by these moneys he would make up his weekly payments of the produce to the Receiver-general, and pay his creditors out of the produce of the following week, as they called for any little sums. This is a tedious discourse; but I know not how to make it shorter, that you may be as fully informed as I would have you in this and all other particulars relating to the revenue: which I will very shortly have in that method, that I will know by the 20th of every month, what was in cash in each collector's hands, and what in arrear, and upon whom, the last day of the preceding month. The bonds from merchants upon the imported excise I found here lodged in the collector Boswood's hands, which I did not think proper: they are made payable to Mr. Price at three months, according to

the statute; and, as all money ought immediately to be paid to the Receiver-general, I have therefore ordered the bonds to be put into his hands as cash; and he shall give me an account weekly of what he receives from them, as of his other receipts. I keep a list of the bonds likewise by me, whereby I see the time when any of them become due, and so can make my enquiries accordingly. It would be better for the King, if the merchants would pay down all their money, and take an abatement of 10*l.* per cent. for their yearly payment, as the statute allows; but most of the eminent dealers here are only factors, and are not so well provided with ready money; but their bonds are good, and the King will have no loss, if they are duly called upon; as I am sure they have been, since I have been here. I thought it better to put all this that I have said into my private letter, because nobody reads those letters but such as you have a mind to: when you have it, you may make what use you think fit of what I write. Here daily (that is, very often) come in odd books from foreign parts, from France: they are of course stopped at the custom-house, and I order them there to be kept. You will see what I have written to my Lord President upon that subject, which I hope is not amiss. I do not send him any of the books, which may be done, as he shall appoint; but I send you one of each, and I wish you would direct your Chaplain, or somebody, to give you an account of them; and then you will be able to tell me whether I have done well in stopping them, and justify me there in so doing, if you hear it spoken of. "Pax vobis" was seized about ten days since: the two other little ones but yesterday. God keep you and all yours, &c.

LXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Circulation of printed News-letters with foolish stories and lies.—Books of controversy and libels imported from France.—Petition to print the papers found in the closet of King Charles II.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 16, 1685-6.

Whenever any packet comes from England, there come with it several news letters, such as are sent up and down in London to the coffee-houses; in

which, your Lordship knows, there are very often ill things written, and most commonly very foolish stories told; and, for the most part, lies. These are presently printed here, and so dispersed about the kingdom, and are thought to be published by authority. This has been the practice ever since June or July last: whereupon I have thought fit by order of council to forbid the printing of any books or pamphlets whatsoever, without licence from the proper persons; in which I hope to have your Lordship's approbation. Here come very often books out of France, which ought not to be given out of the King's warehouse till first examined by the Archbishop's chaplain. I have directed no notice to be taken of Breviaries, or Hours of Prayer, or such books as are for people's devotion. But for books of controversy, truly I take the liberty to stop them, till further order; and my directions are to stop those which come on either side, which I hope will not be disallowed of; if it be, I can easily order the books to be freed. About ten days since, in a vessel from Rouen, there came a parcel of books, which I have caused to be stopped. The title of the book, is "Pax vobis; or, Gospel and Liberty against Ancient and Modern Papists. By E. G. Preacher of the Word. Dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lord Halifax." It is a very ill book, and nothing but controversy.

Yesterday, in a ship from France, came a parcel of other books; which I have likewise caused to be seized. The title of one is, "The Bleeding Ephigenia, &c.;" of the other, "A Ponderation upon certain branches and parts of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, passed Anno 1660." These are not concerning religion, but the state: and in truth, are libels upon the late King, and his Government; and tend to the stirring up people against the Settlement here.

Two days since a printer of this town petitioned me to have liberty to print the papers, which were found in the late King's closet, as they have been in England; which I thought not fit to grant at present, till I know his Majesty's pleasure; which I desire to have from your Lordship. I am sure, it is the safest way, not to err, to do nothing without direction and order. I have nothing further to acquaint your Lordship at present, but to assure you, that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complaints made against men in Ireland by Lord Tyrconnel and others, to be duly examined, and received with caution.—Will himself report the characters of those in office as soon as he can discover them.—Successor to Mr. Genew, as Collector of Customs.—Reports of great alterations, and of Lord Tyrconnel's coming over.—Alarm at the Bishopricks being kept vacant.—Will shortly send an account of the appointment of the Judges, drawn from records.—Will endeavour to become acquainted with all that relates to the revenue of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, March 20, 1685-6.

This day, about noon, came in four packets from England; which brought letters of the 6th, 9th, 11th, and 13th instant; among which, I have received yours of the 6th, and 13th. I am very glad to find by the first of them, that the King had the patience to hear read the long papers concerning Mr. Price, and that he judged so rightly of them. I will presume to say, would his Majesty be pleased to cause those complaints and representations, which are made to him against men, to be duly examined, he would not be offended with so many of his subjects here as he seems to be; and, for my own part, I will be content to undergo the severest punishment, when I make any partial character of any man living. I shall be very well pleased, if you can preserve poor John Phelips, who is his uncle Robert's own nephew; and I need not say more of him. As to the King's giving credit to the informations my Lord Tyrconnel gives him of men, I only say, that in a little time, I am very confident, his Majesty will find that most of them ought to have been weighed and considered. As to the alterations like to be among the judges, I wrote so largely upon that matter in mine of the 14th to my Lord President, which I enclosed in one of the same date to you, that I need add nothing to it. As to the advice you give me of sending over the best informations I can get of people here, and as soon as I can, I do purpose to follow it; but really, should I have sent over ill representations of any in office here, I must have been thought partial, and committed the same error which I find fault in others for. I have not been informed of any thing to the prejudice of any of the judges, as to their principles or affections; and I thought their going this circuit would have been of use in order to my information; and assure yourself, there go those in every circuit who will watch them; and, I will venture to say, those whose informations against them are believed, know as little of them (as to their own knowledge) as I do, and, I fear, are prejudiced by the informations of

others. Most certainly, as soon as I discover, and I am like to find it out as soon as another, any one in place, whom I do not judge proper for his station, I will, according to my duty, represent it. I hope what I said to you in one of my last letters will satisfy you concerning Mr. Genew's place; and that you will agree it shall be disposed of in the manner I mentioned; if not, I hope you will not take it amiss, if I object to Samuel Bridges having it, at least till I hear again from you. I have seen your instructions to the Commissioners, and do not find but the 7th article—'That they should put in no officer for favour,' &c. has been well observed; though perhaps some other particulars have been more remissly executed than they ought to have been, of which you shall have an account in due place. I pretend, that the Chief-governor has something to do in putting in officers into the revenue; that is, they are to be approved of by him. For my own part, I shall be advised by the Commissioners; but, in places of importance, it will not be amiss sometimes to let them see that I will concern myself; and in these cases, I will give you an account, and keep the place void till I hear fully from you. As in this present case, Boswood, Mr. Genew's deputy, is continued by the Commissioners to look to the collection of this port till further order, and pays in the money weekly; for the due performance of which he has given sufficient security. As to Mr. Samuel Bridges, pray remember he is brother to one of the commissioners, which I do think will not be convenient. The commissioner himself (to whom I would not do a prejudice, though I must shortly say something to you of him) is thought to be dipped with Mr. Kingdon: if that should be true, judge then how fatal it might be for him to be master of the cash of this port, which he would certainly be, if his brother be in that place; and so the two brothers will be able to continue the trade, which was driven on by Mr. Kingdon and Mr. Genew, and which I would fain put an end to. Here is another brother Bridges, a Captain in the army and Governor of Culmore Fort, who is indeed a very good sort of man, and of a very good understanding; not that I would have him in this office. But I can have no great reverence for the abilities of the commissioner, nor can I forget the dishonesty of the other brother at London, who cut out the leaves of the chimney-books. For this Samuel you mention, I know him not, and so can say nothing to him. As for Nobbs, he depends, it is true, upon Mr. Ellis, secretary to the commissioners, but I hear nothing extraordinary of him; I will enquire after him. And you may be sure, the best man shall always be preferred, and, as you advise, always an Englishman rather than any other, and without any favour, affection, or money: but, as to this

place now in question, nothing shall be done in it till I hear fully from you. I am very glad to find by your's of the 13th, that mine of the 2d instant, and all my others before that, were come safe to you; so that I hope the fear of their falling into ill hands is quite over. Captain Forbes arrived here with the packet, and came immediately to me: he tells me the report is great in England of alterations that are to be made here; but he protests he knows of none in particular, though he says he was told at the Secretary's office, that all the commissions were sealed. He says that Lord Tyrconnel was so reserved, that he would not own what command he was to have himself, nor that he had thoughts of coming quickly over; but his own letters to his servants bid them make ready for him, at his own house, about ten miles off, for he shall be there speedily. These last letters say, my Lord Granard is to be President of the Council here, an office not known in this kingdom; many other stories they tell: one is, that I am called home. Some letters say, there will be an alteration among the judges, but that men will be sent out of England to fill their places, and that none of the natives will be admitted: I wish that may be true. The not filling the bishopricks does more amaze people than any thing else. I have lately seen a letter to a friend of mine here, out of the country, about forty miles off; which says, that the priests there do report that the King has sent to the Pope about filling the see of Cashell: you may easily imagine whether such stories will not raise apprehensions in men's minds. Your telling me, that the King was well pleased with those letters which my Lord President read to him, is the only cordial I have had, whereby I have found that what I do was agreeable to him. As soon as I receive his directions from my Lord President, (which I have not yet done) they shall be pursued. I will very quickly send over a list of what judges have been here for many ages, which is taken out of the records; whereby, I am told it will appear that none of the natives were allowed to be upon any of the benches, even before the difference in religion, but of this I say nothing, till I send my evidence. I am glad the King sees I take pains: indeed I do, and you know I can do it, and do intend to value myself upon thoroughly understanding every tittle and nicety of every branch of the revenue of this kingdom, if I am let alone; which, I am sure, will not be to the King's disadvantage. I am sure it will increase, if men are not frighted out of their wits; and I am sure I do all that lies in me to keep up their spirits. If the King had a right representation of the several interests of this kingdom, (which, I will presume to say, he will scarce have from a native,) I am sure all would do well; and such a one he shall have (as short

drawn as may be) as soon as it is possible for me to collect it. I think I have now answered both your letters, and will speedily send answers to those I have received from the Treasury-chamber. The packet goes away again to-night (for I keep the Postmaster to his days) if the wind be good, so that I shall write no other letters by this post. By the Tuesday's packet I shall answer all the other letters I have now received. God keep you and yours.

LXX.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The King recommends the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops to Lord Clarendon's patronage and protection.

MY LORD, Whitehall, March 20, 1685-6.

Dr. Dominick Maguire, the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Primate of Armagh, being now going for Ireland, his Majesty commands me to recommend to your Excellency the said Archbishop, and also Dr. Patrick Tyrell, Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore, and the rest of their brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic communion in Ireland, for your patronage and protection upon all occasions wherein they shall apply unto you, or may stand in need thereof. And his Majesty being also informed, that divers of the inferior clergy have of late been frequently disobedient to the injunctions of their superiors, being encouraged therein by some factious persons, his Majesty would have your Excellency give order that no such inferior clergymen be countenanced or heard till their superiors have been made acquainted with the complaint, that they may inform the magistrates, before whom the complaint shall be brought, of the state of the matter. His Majesty would likewise have your Excellency recommend it to the archbishops, bishops, sheriffs, and justices of the peace there, not to molest the Roman Catholic clergy in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions amongst those of their own communion. I am,

My Lord, &c.

LXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complains of the interference from home with his administration of justice in Ireland; and of other vexatious reports and indignities, through Lord Tyrconnel's influence.—Will, however, preserve his temper.—Case of Mr. John Phelips.

Dublin Castle, March 23, 1685-6.

You will find by the enclosed what letters the last post brought me from my Lord President, and likewise what answer I have written to him, which I hope is modest enough. I am sure all the matter of fact I mention is true. Good God! that all the little trials must be informed of there, and directions sent me for the putting them off, without leaving it in the least to my discretion; who, if I have done any thing of my duty, (notwithstanding the ignorance I am thought to be in by my late coming hither,) must know more of the state of those matters than those who desired to have the proceedings stopped. This Norman, mentioned in the letter of the 8th, I know nothing of; but he is prosecuted by Dean Manby, of whom I gave a character in a former letter to my Lord President, as far as I could give it upon my own knowledge: which, if I am believed, methinks should not gain him much credit. He told me, that he was sure I should have directions to put off the trial: and it seems he has very good friends, who can prevail that the information of a person unknown, in his own case, shall gain credit to have the Chief Governor be directed to put off trials downright, without ever inquiring into the justice or injustice of it. I have said nothing of this particular, you see, to my Lord President, because he should not think me angry; though, in truth, such things would move one. But I will not be angry: no, though my Lord Tyrconnel should bring down the commissions for the officers of the army, (as some people here credibly report he will,) yet I will not be angry. Nay, let him, when he is here, carry himself, as it is generally believed he will, and feared by some of his wiser countrymen; yet I will not be angry: nothing shall provoke me to be out of temper. And I will have the vanity to tell you, (though a man ought not to brag of his virtues,) that it is not in any man's power to say he has seen me in the least passion since my being here: though, perhaps, I have had some provocations, which other men would not have been so silent in. But, by the grace of God, I will not be provoked to be angry with any body, come what will; which, perhaps, will make some people fret. This morning my Lord Forbes showed me a letter from Captain Sheldon, wherein was written to this effect:—"My Lord Tyrconnel says, my Lord Treasurer tells him, that your Lordship says, John Phelips has no mind

to part with his employment under you. My Lord Tyrconnel desires your Lordship will signify, whether Phelips did not desire your Lordship that he might surrender it to Arthur." Upon which my Lord Forbes told me, after great commendations of Phelips, (of which you may see a certificate, if you please, in Colonel Phelips's hands, both from his Lordship and Lord Granard,) that it was true, he had desired him to be a means that he might surrender to Arthur; but that it was because he saw my Lord Tyrconnel would have him out; and thereupon he showed me Phelips's letter to him to that very effect, dated, as I remember, the 11th of December: I am sure it was in that month. I advised my Lord Forbes to tell the whole truth, and to send over that letter; which he said he would: so that, when my Lord Tyrconnel speaks with you again upon that matter, you may call upon him for that letter, and you may confidently assert to his Lordship, that he had no intention to part with his place; (as may be easily believed, when he was to quit that for 500*l.* which cost him 1100*l.*) but because his Lordship told him he should go out, and he thereupon thought it better to secure something than to lose all his younger brother's fortune. I am quite weary of making these complaints to you, and I have nothing of other matters to inform you of at present: I will therefore end here, and go to the answering of some other letters I had by the last packet; which came in on Saturday from the Treasury-chamber. Pray think of what I said to you, in mine of the 14th past, concerning a commission of Grace: if it be thought fitting, it would do me credit if it came, or was talked of, upon my proposal and advice, rather than from the opinion of men of other principles. God keep you and yours.

LXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Has received instructions for putting off the trials of persons for words spoken against the King.—Had given previous instructions to the Judges for the Counties of Down and Londonderry.—Hard case of the accused.—Complains of changes made and meditated in the government of Ireland, without first advising with him.—Removal of three Judges;—his advice respecting their successors.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 23, 1685-6.

Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 8th instant, directing me to take care for the putting off several trials, which were to be brought on at these assizes. My Lord, the assizes for the counties of Down and Londonderry were held on the 18th instant, where most of the considerable persons your Lordship mentions were to be tried. However, I doubt not but things are gone as they ought to do: for before the judges went out of town,

in the charge I gave them, I particularly directed them to take all possible care in the trials of all such as should be indicted for words spoken against the King; and, in whatever cases the King was concerned, if his Majesty's counsel said they were not ready to go on, (and some are appointed in every circuit to be of counsel for the King,) all such trials are directed to be put off till the next assizes; nay, even though this be the second assizes since the men were indicted; which may be thought hard, and may not be agreeable to the strict rules of law. And this has been observed in such cases as have hitherto happened; as particularly at Trim, where the assizes were held the 25th past, and where one Mr. Meredith was to be tried for words. Because that matter has made a great noise, and the gentleman is well spoken of by people of both religions, (I never saw him myself,) I desired Mr. Nugent, of the King's counsel, to go to Trim, being but twenty miles from hence; which he did, and brought me word that, upon his motion and allegation that he was not ready, that trial was put off; and he much commended to me the carriage of the judge, Baron Hartstonge. When any trials are put off, the parties do all give bail to appear at the time; which they have all hitherto (whom I have had an account of) been very ready to do. But, indeed, the accusers have not been so, but have thought it very hard to be bound to prosecute: and yet that must be, or the judges and justices of the peace will be sufficiently blamed. As soon as the judges return, I intend to lay before your Lordship a perfect account of all the indictments that have been preferred these assizes, throughout the kingdom, relating to his Majesty; together with the evidence and proofs, and what has been done thereupon, and what are put off, and why.

I have received your Lordship's of the 11th instant, to which I shall not presume to say any thing; for, no doubt, the King is the best judge what alterations to make in all parts of his government, and of the times of making them. As to the King's not advising with me first, before he resolved upon any of those matters, I look upon his Majesty's declaration of the method he intends to have observed in things of that nature, to proceed from the opinion he has, that the best information is like to come from his Chief Governor, and, as he is pleased to say in his instructions, to enable his Chief Governor to serve him the better. I am sure no one information has been given me which I have not transmitted to your Lordship; and shall ever do so, and obey the orders I receive from you. But I beg your Lordship to give me your pardon, if I make use of that freedom you gave me leave to write to you in, depending so much, as I have reason to do, upon your friendship;

and, therefore, you will excuse the moan I make to you in laying before you how little I shall be made in the opinion of the people here, without some support from your Lordship, when so many and great alterations are made here, and I know nothing of them but from common fame; and especially since some letters which bring the news of changes (and many of those reports are true, as your Lordship finds by some of my letters,) take care to say, that this and this is done and my Lord Lieutenant knows nothing of it. My Lord, I would have the King pleased in every thing, and my ambition to be best able to serve him, makes me make this complaint to your Lordship, which I leave perfectly to your judgment, who very well know that all men are more or less able to serve the King according to the countenance his Majesty is pleased to show them in their employments. Here is nobody that I can have any concern for; and if I had, by the grace of God, I will never be found to give other than a just and true character; as, I am sure, I have done hitherto in all the representations I have laid before you.

As to the three judges your Lordship says the King has resolved to remove, I shall say nothing but in my own defence. I beg leave to assure your Lordship that I have not been backward in endeavouring to inform myself of them, as to their principles as well as to their public behaviour in their stations; and, upon my word, I do indifferently advise with Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants, as I do refer myself to themselves for the truth of what I say; and if I had been informed of any thing amiss concerning any of them, your Lordship should certainly have had it from me. And I may a little wonder, that nobody should tell me any thing of them, as well as send informations into England, since they would have had the same effect of being laid before his Majesty. Whoever his Majesty shall think fit to put in their places, if I may humbly offer my advice (which I do with all submission), they should be men sent from England, which I am sure the King will find for his service. As to the putting some Roman Catholics into the council, and the commissions of the peace, and to be sheriffs, it cannot be denied but several of them were in those employments before the Rebellion. The only statute against them I mentioned to your Lordship in mine of the 14th, wherein I laid before you the matter of fact, and the practice that has been all along observed when they were in those commissions, all which I humbly submitted. Who should be put into the commission of peace, ought to be well considered, but that is our business here when the King's letters come; for I do assure your Lordship, there is great difference between Irishman and Irishman, and as many feuds and animosities between them as be-

tween any people in the world. As to the suppressing the printed news letters here, I gave your Lordship an account in mine of the 16th of what I had already done in that matter, and of some other things, in which I hope I have not done amiss. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with, but to assure you that I make it my whole business to serve the King, in all his affairs here, to the best of my understanding; and I do not doubt but I shall very speedily give such an account of them as will be to his Majesty's satisfaction; which as they will come before your Lordship, so I shall beg your favourable representation of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Delay of his Letters.—Captain Forbes' and Lord Mountjoy's journey into Hungary.—Measures relating to the Financial Department.

Dublin Castle, March 27, 1686.

If you look upon the copy of my Lord President's letter of the 8th instant, which I sent you in my last, you will find that it came to my hands on the 22d, which was two days after I had my other letters, which came by the said packet. Lest I should be thought backward in giving the necessary orders for the particulars mentioned in the said letter, (though it would have been too late if it had come to my hands on the 20th with the other letters,) I have been inquisitive of the Postmaster, who is a very honest man, to know how that letter came not to be brought me with the rest of my letters from Whitehall. After some inquiry at the office, I find it came enclosed from one at Chester to a clerk in the post-office here, (a very honest man too,) who by some chance or other did not send it to me so soon as he ought to have done. I send you a copy of the letter which enclosed mine, by which you may be confirmed that those orders were procured by some Irish solicitation; this Magennis belongs to the post-office at Chester, and is not at all known to Standish at the post-office here, though he directed my letter under cover to him. The other letters he desires Standish to deliver, were two; one to Mr. Nugent of the King's counsel, the other to one Magennis, who keeps a public-house in this town. I have taken care to have an account of this Magennis at Chester, and then you shall know more of this matter. I tell you truly, I do

not like such fellows being in the post-office anywhere. Those of that name here are very busy people; two especially, who live in the County of Down, where some of these trials were to be. I know not why I tell you this story, but that I would have you know every thing; and you may at one time or other, perhaps, make use of these little hints. Yesterday Captain Forbes returned for England, in order to his journey into Hungary: I did not write by him, having no occasion. Indeed I could wish my Lord Mountjoy were not suffered to make that journey, from which, methinks, his circumstances should excuse him: and really, if I might be heard in the case, I am of opinion, that his being in his employments here is necessary; especially if the King will have his army here encamp this Summer, then sure the Master of the Ordnance ought to be present. We have no letters from England since those of the 13th; and must expect none, as long as the wind sets as it does. I have written you a long letter to the Treasury, concerning a method for the accounts of this revenue to be put into, in answer to what you wrote to me upon that subject on the 16th of January. I should make an excuse for not having done it sooner, but really it required so many conferences with several persons, that it could not well be despatched much sooner, considering the other things I had likewise to do; for I am sure I have never been idle since my arrival here. I have stated every thing as fully and as plain as I can, and the whole is with submission: I hope it will not be thought I have arrogated too much power to my Lord Lieutenant, when you consider that I desire no more power for him than what was given him by the first constitution of the Commissioners of the Revenue; and when it is likewise considered, that God knows how little a time I am to be here. When I discoursed with the Commissioners of the very large, and, in my opinion, unfit powers given them by the last commission, which made the Chief Governor in that respect subordinate to them, (for he was only to approve of the quarterly establishment for their officers' salaries, and they, the Commissioners, were then to draw warrants for payment,) their answer to me was, that that additional power was first procured by the representation of my Lord of Arran, with whom Mr. Kingdon had a mighty interest; and that Mr. Kingdon would never have been quiet, nor have returned hither again, till he could one way or other have got into the management of the cash; which they say, had he been here, he would in some measure have done by virtue of that last commission. They say further, that Mr. Kingdon was a man of that imperious governing temper, that there was no living with him without submitting to him. When I asked them, as I have done all

severally, why they did not represent some of his irregularities, or domineering proceedings to the Treasury in England, their answer was (every one single) that you had so preached union and agreement to them, that, whatever representation they had made, they believe you would have looked upon it as coming from some animosity, and would not have given credit to it. This I do not take to be a good answer; but Kingdon is dead, and there is an end: there can be no more inconveniences upon that account. If I do my duty, as I hope I have hitherto done, my frequent conferences with them, and the constant accounts they give me of all their proceedings, will keep every thing right. Mr. Strong tells me you have given him leave to go for England, but I have prevailed with him to stay till Mr. Aubery comes; for, indeed, three are too few to be upon the place, especially considering the time of year, when one ought to be going into the country upon a circuit. I think I am never to write you a short letter, and therefore I will end here for fear of running out too far. God Almighty keep you and yours.

In a box which is this day gone to my sister, I have sent the copies of the commissions I have mentioned in my other letter, because they were too large to go by the post. And in the same box I have put a roll, which, by mistake of my servant, is directed to the King. I desire you will open it; you will find it a map of Ireland for quartering the army; under the title you will find distinguished the several quarters of foot and horse, and likewise the places where the several collectors live; by which you will be able there, upon any complaint of any of the troops being sent too far for their pay, to see it as well as if you were here; if you think the King will like it, you may give it him; if not, you may keep it for your own use, upon those occasions, or any others which may happen upon the affairs of this country; it is very exact.

LXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE QUEEN.

Complains that he is lowered in the estimation of the people of Ireland by the King's apparent want of confidence in him.—Sends the Queen a piece of crimson velvet.

Dublin Castle, March 27, 1686.

In obedience to your Majesty's commands of the 3d instant, I write this without any ceremony; which nothing but your positive command could justify. Sure your Majesty forgets yourself when you go about to make excuses for not writing to me; and I never thought to expect it, but when you

have any commands for me; of which, I doubt, you will find none for me in this place. To hear from my sister Rochester that I live under your Majesty's protection, will be cordial enough, without putting your Majesty to the condescension of writing. The most gracious expressions your Majesty is pleased to use in your letter, give me the confidence to make an humble supplication to your Majesty, that I may not be rendered contemptible in the opinion of people here by being thought to have no trust from the King. There are several alterations in employments here; and the first news I have of them is by letters from people in England to their friends here; some of which I have seen, and have given account thereof to my Lord President. Your Majesty knows very well, that all men are more or less able to serve their masters, according to the countenance they are found to have from him; and if men are put out of, and into offices here, upon representations made in England, without any the least communication with the Chief Governor here; your Majesty may easily imagine, he that has the honour to be in that station must needs appear very little to people here. My ambition to be able to do the King as much service as any one else, makes me beg your Majesty's protection herein. I hope I have not displeased his Majesty in any thing I have done since my being here: I am sure I have given the most just and most impartial accounts, both of things and persons, that I could meet with; and I shall ever continue so to do. When the King knows every thing that can be said, he is the best judge; and I hope both your Majesties believe that your commands cannot meet with a more ready obedience from any one living than from me. I can have no interest in this world, but to serve the King to his greatest advantage; which, I am sure, ever has been, and always shall be my study to my utmost capacity. He shall never find me partial: I will never conceal anything from him, be it never so much to my prejudice; and I will always tell him truth, and ever obey him: and as long as I do so, I hope I shall not want his nor your Majesty's countenance for my support.

I have presumed to send your Majesty a small present of a little piece of crimson velvet: it is not worth your acceptance, otherwise than as it is the first fruits of a manufacture lately set up in this your kingdom; and in that respect may claim to be your Majesty's due. It is only a pattern, for you to see what an industrious people can do, if they have any encouragement. If your Majesty had occasion for a quantity of any colour, it may be afforded

much cheaper than you can have it in England. I most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for all this presumption; and that I may be owned, as I am with perfect devotion,

Your Majesty's
Most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant,
CLARENDON.

LXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Result of the Assizes at Londonderry, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 27, 1686.

Though I cannot give your Lordship a particular account of what has past generally at the assizes in this kingdom, in matters where the King was concerned, till the return of the judges; yet such things as come to my knowledge I think fit to impart to your Lordship for your entertainment, till I can give you more particular relations. At the assizes at Londonderry, one William Baird was indicted for seditious words, and was by the jury found guilty, and by the court fined in 500*l.*, and to be imprisoned. This short account I have by letter from one of the witnesses; by which I am very glad to see that some good juries are to be found even in those North parts of this kingdom: but I do not doubt they will always be to be had, if the same care be taken as has been this time.

I have likewise had a short account from Down-Patrick; where Cornet Johnson was tried for killing Archibald Hamilton; and the jury brought him in guilty of chance-medley: by which I presume there is no great harm done.

I have had a letter from an Irish lawyer, who went the Leinster circuit, infinitely commending the behaviour of Judge Johnson. I doubt not but after the circuits to give you a perfect account of every thing. I have no more to trouble you with at present, but to beg the continuance of your favour and friendship to,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affair of the Outlawries: upon which he has not yet received any orders.—Baron Hartstonge going to England.—Mr. Kingdon's Appointment.—Rumours of Changes; Lord Granard to be removed from the Army, and made President of Council, &c.

Dublin Castle, March 30, 1686.

This morning came in five packets from England, among which I received yours of the 16th, 20th, and 23d instant; and by Mr. Bridges, who came in the same boat, I had yours of the 15th; for all which, ten thousand thanks to you. I can only now acknowledge them; for the packet goes off again the next tide. I have never yet stopped any, (though it has been heretofore frequently done,) nor will I without urgent occasion for the King's service. I hope you will be satisfied with what I wrote to you in a former letter, concerning Mr. Bridges' not having the collector's place of this port: however, nothing shall be done in that matter, till I have your answer to that letter. Though you wrote me word in yours of the 13th, and likewise in your other of the 16th, that my Lord President had order to write to me about the outlawries, yet I have not received those orders. I had a letter from his Lordship by these packets, of the 23d; but it was upon ordinary affairs, and not one word of that matter. I do not say this that you should speak to him upon it; but only that you may make your own reflections upon his not having sent me those commands: I can truly say, when I am called upon by any of the parties concerned, that I have yet received no orders upon the petition; and the hint you have given me will prepare me the better; which, I assure you, is all the use shall be made of it. I have received to-day a letter from my Lord Chancellor of England, which, if it be not sincere, is at least very civil, and seeming kind: I here send you a copy of it.* By the next packet I intend to answer it; which you shall likewise see.

* THE LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

MY MOST HONOURED LORD, London, March 25, 1686.

I received the honour of your Excellency's of the 23d of the last month, about five days since, at my country-house, where I had leave to retire for some time to regain my strength, which was much impaired by my late long and severe fit of the stone, which as yet I cannot be so happy as to be quite rid of; however, I do most heartily return your Excellency my thanks for your good wishes, and humbly desire the continuance both of them and your friendship, which I do assure your Excellency shall be returned with all the sincere acknowledgments and hearty services that I am capable of.

Baron Hartstonge is returned from his circuit, and goes to-morrow for England; which I had promised him leave to do before he went the circuit, he having really business there; and will make no stay there, whether he loses his employment or not: if he be put out, he will return to his practice. By all the account I can get of him, he is an honest man: every body knows he is able, and certainly has carried himself very well in his post. These last letters have filled the town with much news: that which makes most noise is, that Lord Granard is quite out of the army, and to be president of the council; which people laugh at strangely, there having never been any such office here, nor rank for him. All that I say (for my withdrawing-room is full of the discourse) is, that I know nothing of these matters. My next will be a longer letter: in the mean time, and ever, I beseech God Almighty to bless and keep you and all yours.

I have received the King's letter for constituting Mr. Kingdon Vice-treasurer; but not any order to make him of the council, which might have been in the same letter; but since it is not, there must be another letter for it. I have the King's letter for the renewing the commission of the Revenue, and inserting Mr. Aubery's name in it; but I think not to make haste in passing it, till I receive your answer to mine of the 27th, to the Treasury. I shall take care, as you direct, concerning Mr. Kingdon's salary.

And now, my good Lord, give me leave to assure your Lordship, what I am persuaded your Excellency has had already from better hands, that I have not as yet observed any account that your Excellency has hitherto given his Majesty of his affairs in Ireland, but what have met with his Majesty's good approbation and commendation too; and I am sure I have not, nor shall not be wanting, as often as opportunity offers, to do that right to your Excellency that I am sure every honest man ought; and I doubt not, by God's blessing upon your Excellency's prudent endeavours (which I shall always heartily pray for), that kingdom will be settled both to his Majesty's entire satisfaction, and to your Lordship's renown and comfort. As for the judges, I presume ere this your Excellency has had an account of his Majesty's being dissatisfied with two or three of them, but I know not their names nor persons: but the King mentioned one Johnson, if I mistake not, and has already ordered one Mr. Ingleby, a Yorkshire gentleman, to be put into his place. His Majesty, some few days since, spoke to me to find out one or two more, in case he should find any occasion to send over thither; but if I can learn whom he is displeased with, I will give your Excellency an account; but would be glad to receive your Lordship's commands how to steer myself and those affairs as may be most suitable to your Excellency's inclinations, which shall be punctually and faithfully observed; and so, my good Lord, shall other commands that your Excellency shall lay upon me.

My most honoured Lord,

Your Excellency's most entirely devoted Servant,

JEFFREYS, C.

Mine and my wife's most humble duty to my good lady.

LXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Captain Colt's Petition.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, March 30, 1686.

Captain Colt's petition having been referred by his Majesty to my Lord Treasurer, and by him to me, and I having made a large report to his Lordship thereupon, I need not give your Lordship any trouble in it: but the poor man, going into England himself to solicit his own affairs, is very earnest with me to recommend him to your Lordship; which I cannot refuse to gratify him in. The truth of it is, his case is very sad, and his services are very well known to persons of unquestionable integrity in England as well as Ireland. All that I can say is, that I have not met with one of Captain Colt's condition of a better character. I know the King would not have a man suffer, who has served the crown so long. This poor gentleman must be ruined, if the King be not graciously pleased to extend his compassion some way or other towards him. I know I cannot leave him better than to your Lordship's generosity, who love to help those who have need of it. I have troubled you sufficiently upon this occasion; for which I ask your pardon, and am with all respect,

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most faithful, and most humble servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Contract concerning the Prisage.—Patent offices voidable.—The Auditor-general a weak man.—Lands to be passed to Mr. Guy.—Mr. Legge Governor of Kinsale.—Mr. Muschamp.—Boswood, his iniquity.—Lord Primate to be of the Council.—Mortification at Lord Cornbury's proceedings.—Has resolved how to conduct himself toward Lord Tyrconnel.—Boswood's affair.—Matters touching the Excise and Plantation trade.

Dublin Castle, April 3, 1686.

I come now to make more particular answers to your letters, of which I could only acknowledge the receipt in my last. And first to yours of the 16th past: I did by the last packet receive the King's letter for renewing the contract for the Duke of Ormond concerning the prisage. The last week

Captain Matthews was in town, and would fain have contracted with the Commissioners of the Revenue for that duty during my Lord Duke's life, for which he demanded 2200*l.*, and would have taken 2100*l.* But I think it is best to continue it now at the rent of 2000*l.* for this year; and then, if things go well, you may think, about Christmas next, what will be fit to be done. I do not doubt but I shall give you a good account of the patent officers. I have consulted with Mr. Solicitor particularly, upon the statute of 10th Henry VII. chap. 2; (you have the Irish statutes by you) which says expressly, that no manner of officers accomptants shall have any authority by patent in their such offices, but only at the King's will and pleasure. Mr. Solicitor thinks, that by virtue of this clause, the patents of such who are accomptants may be voidable; which will bring in the customers of the several ports, if there be not a *non-obstante* in their patents.

You shall in a little time have a full account of this matter: in the meantime I would be glad, if you please, that you would send me the list you mention of eight or ten such patent officers, who, you think, may have done things whereby to forfeit their employments; which would be a good light to me. As for what you say of the Auditor-general, he is no doubt a pitiful weak man; but the grant of the office is to himself, or sufficient deputy; and whether the ill conduct of a deputy will make the principal forfeit his right in the office, will at least be a question, especially since the Government may appoint what deputy shall be fit, and such, and as many clerks as shall be necessary. And perhaps it may be better for me to take that care of the office, than to endeavour to avoid Mr. Ware's patent; since, if it should be void, Mr. Deering will come in by his reversionary grant; who, I am told, is a young man never bred that way. But I will thoroughly consider of this matter; and you may be sure, whatever you wish shall be done in it. I am very well satisfied in what you say concerning the lands to be passed to Mr. Guy, and will put it in a forwardness. I thought the informality was, that, since it related to the passing of lands, it was not countersigned by you, as others of that nature are. I am glad with all my heart that William Legge has the government of Kinsale, and that he will come over. I hope he will continue here: I will make as much of him as I can. I have spoken again to Mr. Muschamp to hasten over: if it be rightly considered, his not going sooner cannot reflect on me; for I could not send him over in custody, nor was I directed so to do: and I am confident nobody here can charge me with partiality in that, or any thing else; and trust me, they never shall. To yours

of the 20th, which was in answer to mine of the 9th, if you consider the letters I have written to you since, you will find the mystery of iniquity between Boswood, &c. was not then revealed to me; and you shall hear me speak no more in his behalf. I shall let him know he is not to expect the quarter's salary due at Lady-day to Mr. Kingdon; and I have directed the Commissioners to leave it out of the establishment, when they bring it to me for my approbation; and then you may be sure the King will not pay it. I say no more to you concerning my Lord Primate's being of the council: it is best, as you say, that matter be not stirred. The King's letter for dissolving the last council, and constituting that which is now in being, makes the Primate (amongst others in the like manner) for the time being of the council; so that he will continue there, if he be not by particular direction left out. I have given Mr. Price the admonition you advise, for which he is very thankful; but at the same time he protests he never said any thing in his life disrespectful towards Lord Tyrconnel. The man, by what he appears to me, does not seem to be of a talking temper. I have no acquaintance with him but since my being here, and have no conversation with him but upon the public account. As concerning the deductions from the army to the Commissary-general and the Pells, I am prepared to make a true representation of that matter when I am called upon. I say nothing to you now concerning the collector's place of this port, or Mr. Shaw, because I have written fully to you upon it in my former letters, to which I expect an answer before the place shall be filled. I say no more to you of Salwey, you being the best judge what is fit for you to do in such cases. I have written to my son as effectually as I can, and so has my wife too. I can but be sorry, and that I am sufficiently, that he does not do all things I would have him. Nobody is without their mortifications; and it is none of the least which I have, when I consider his temper and proceedings. I have nothing in particular to reply to your little note of the 23d, but my thanks. I told you in my seventeenth letter, how I resolved to live with Lord Tyrconnel; which resolution, by the grace of God, no man, nor provocation shall make me break. If you do not find that the letters to the King and my Lord President, which you caused to be delivered, have done me harm before this time, I hope that apprehension is over. I find by my Lord President's letter to me of the 27th, that he had received it; but his letter is very short, only two lines, to tell me that he had received mine of the 14th, with an enclosed in it for the King.

Yesterday came in a packet from England, which brought me yours of

the 27th past. If the money due from Genew deceased to the King here, be paid by his security in England, you will take care to have it certified in some kind of form hither; that it may be brought regularly to account. Pray do not think I intend to continue Boswood in the employment; surely it will not be fit, if it were only for the example, that a man who had made use of the King's money should be found after detection in the same station. What was done was only for the present, which for several reasons was fit, till I have resolved how the office should be disposed of; and for this temporary continuance he has given 1200*l.* security; which is sufficient, considering the weekly account I take, and it is a sign he himself is thought here no ill man, when he could get fresh security in the midst of his misfortunes. This Boswood drew bills upon Mr. Kingdon for 1200*l.*, which he accepted about a fortnight before he died: if those are paid, he will be whole. I am not surprised at any ill thing which is discovered of Kingdon; because I never had a good opinion of the man, knowing so much of his father and of his own beginning as I have done. But there is an end of him; and I know you had nothing to do in the bringing him into the service: I very well remember what interest did that. It is always best to employ men who have generally good reputations; for those who have been once faulty, are more apt to be so again, when they have opportunity, than others. I doubt not but I shall give you a very good account of the bonds for the imported excise. I think it will do very well, if the matter relating to the plantation trade be brought before the King and Council; where, I presume, Sir Dudley North will not have the same predominancy as amongst his brethren of the Custom-house. I wish his *opiniatreté* in some things have not prejudiced the trade of England. I never in my life knew a man so wedded to his own opinion, as well as interest, as he was. Witness the business of the Turkey Company, against whom he (very unhandsomely in the opinion of several of my Lords) appeared at the Council Board; and which, I doubt, that profitable trade and beneficial to the kingdom yet feels. Whatever resolution shall be taken in it, will equally satisfy me. When I have fully represented any thing, I have done my duty, and so leave it. As concerning my son I can say nothing more at present, but that I think you pitch upon the best man to propose that matter. I think him fully of weight enough; and I am sure he will do it both heartily and faithfully, just in the method you direct him. God Almighty keep you and all yours, and make your days as happy all of them, as you yourself do wish.

LXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAYT.*

Affairs of the Army and Ordnance stores.—Arms can be purchased for less in Ireland than in England.—Thinks it would be better to encourage the trade of Ireland,—and especially the trade in Tobacco with the Plantations.

SIR, Dublin Castle, April 3, 1686.

On the 30th of the last month came in five packets from England, among which I had yours of the 18th, for which I give you many thanks, and for communicating to me the accounts you receive of affairs from the Plantations, which I beg you to continue to me. By a letter I lately received from my Lord President, I find his Majesty will not have his army here encamp this summer; so that nothing more needs be said upon that matter at present. I intend very speedily to send you a perfect scheme of this army and quarters, and of the pay of the officers and soldiers, as you desire; it is preparing for you very exact.

Yesterday I received yours of the 27th past, with the copy of the order of council for regulating the payments of the forces and garrisons by the colonels and governors; for which I return you my thanks, and shall be very glad to receive your answer to my other queries when you are at leisure.

When my Lord Mountjoy has put in his answer to the officers of the Ordnance paper, against his proposal for making arms, &c. here: I desire you will procure me copies of all, and send them to me for my instruction. If the King be satisfied, I have no more to say; but, as I am at present informed, it is very plain that all arms may be made here, as good at least as those the King's troops have in England, at less rates than are paid at the office of the Ordnance in England, from whence all the arms are furnished for this kingdom: so that, besides what will be saved in the price, which in a quantity comes to a good deal, there will be no hazard of the sea in the case; and the charge of exchange in remitting the money will be likewise saved, which is very considerable. I am none of those who would not have the King draw money from hence: on the contrary, in God's name, when the charge of the Government is defrayed, whatever can be spared ought to be in his Majesty's coffers, where he thinks it most useful for him. But whatever

* Mr. Blathwayt appears to have been at the head of the War Department. See note on a letter of December 30th, in vol ii. See also Pepys' Diary and Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 85, 4to edit.

necessaries must be bought for his Majesty's service, certainly it is most for his Majesty's profit to have them at the cheapest rates, if the things are the best that can be had; and if those things can be made here as good as any where else, and cheaper, certainly it must do his people good to employ them, and will improve his revenue; whereby his Majesty will have the more money to draw into England as he pleaseth: but what the King thinks fit will be the best. I hope I shall not be blamed for wishing the country where I am, to thrive, especially since it is his Majesty's. Sometime the last month I wrote to my Lord Treasurer about some things concerning the trade of this island to the Plantations, and sent him a representation made to me by the Commissioners of the Revenue here: if you speak to him, I believe he will show you both. I should be very glad of your opinion, whether you think what I have proposed can be to the prejudice of England: I am sure it will be much to the benefit of the Plantations, especially of the tobacco trade, as well as of this kingdom: I fear Sir Dudley North will be stiff in this matter. I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to thank you for your other intelligence, which I hope you will continue, to the great satisfaction of,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His mode of acting with the Commissioners of the Revenue.—Mr. Bridges implicated with Mr. Kingdon in misapplying the King's Revenue.—Captain M. Bridges, his character; another brother a knave,—as is also Mr. Trant.—Mr. Kingdon, what is best to be done to bring him in.—Mr. Strong.—Major Dorington, his intrigues to have Sir C. Fielding's place.—Abuses in the Army.—Earl of Limerick, and the patent of his honour.—Lord Dongan's son gone to England in the Yacht, with other persons of consequence.—Revenue account for the year.—Lord Mount-Alexander, his petition and discovery of concealed rents.—Sir Paul Rycaut, his character.

Dublin Castle, April 6, 1686.

The packets from England now come in thick, for on Sunday I received yours of the 30th past, and I believe you now want as many from us as we have done from you at other times, for which there is no remedy; the winds will always blow where they list. I find by your letter that I was very unhappy in some expressions I used in mine of the 20th past; as if I pre-

tended more than I ought to do, to the power of putting in officers into the revenue. I meant it only thus, that if the Commissioners put in any, against whom I had just causes of exception, they should see they were under control; and that I did expect to be advised with in the matter, which I thought for the King's service. I never intended to put in any one into any office directly, nor to do any thing of that kind, without referring it to, and advising with them; of which I could give some instances already, as I dare say the Commissioners themselves will testify. The truth is, the practice hitherto (since the management) has been thus: the Commissioners have put in and put out as they have thought fit, without ever advising or conferring with the Chief Governor; but, at the end of the quarter, they brought their establishment, for all the salaries and allowances to their under officers for that quarter, (their own included,) to the Chief Governor for his approval, in the manner mentioned in the enclosed paper; and underneath the Chief Governor used to write, as you will likewise find in the enclosed. This used to be done of course; and if any thing happened amiss in any of the officers, the answer the Commissioners gave was, that the establishment was approved of by the Lord Lieutenant. At the same time, the Commissioners owned to me, that the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Deputy (you know who they were) did always approve of the establishments, when they were brought to them, as of course; which I do not think fit to do without letting them see that I enquire into the men; and the Commissioners and I have never yet had any thing like a contest, and I verily believe shall not. We may differ in opinion without quarrelling; and when we do so it is submitted to you, as you see by mine of the 30th to the Treasury; that matter of taking the accounts of the revenue, and the power which is given them by the last short commission, being the only things in which we have differed. And even in those cases there was nothing of warmth nor heat; and they themselves have since owned to me that all things may be done without any difficulty, as I have proposed, since I take so much pains in the revenue. But the whole matter lies before you, and which way ever you determine it, I assure you we shall be here alike good friends. I have never in any of my letters said any thing, as if I had a mind to have Mr. R. Bridges put out of the commission: a man may not be the ablest man in the world, and yet not deserve to be put out of employment. I told you it was feared he was dipped with Kingdon, but that would not concern the King. I told you that there had been a subtle trade driven here with the King's money, which, as soon as I can

clearly discover, you shall have an account of; and that I shall be able to do in a little time. I must not make too much haste, for fear of losing instead of making the discovery. For Captain M. Bridges, I have a very good opinion of him, by what I found by him in my journey, and he was perpetually with me for a month together. I take him to be as good a sort of man as I have known; and methinks it should be a strange thing (if any thing were so,) that it should be imputed as a fault to a man for attending his General to his command: but let that pass. For the other brother Bridges, who cut out the leaves of the chimney-books, I am inclined to have no more charity for him than for his principal, Mr. Trant; who, I hear, comes over hither with Lord Tyrconnel, in order, I suppose, to be somebody. I shall live with him as I ought to do, though I hate him for your sake: and those two, Bridges and Trant, are a couple of knaves, and will be ever so. This S. Bridges, who is lately come over, I know not at all, and gave you only my opinion, why I did not think fit to put him into the employment he pretended to, just at this time, both for the King's service and for your sake. I have not proposed making any one of the Commissioners' places vacant, nor shall I do it without such sufficient cause as will bear the examination. And you may be sure I will never be without the caution you justly give me concerning Mr. Kingdon; for I doubt not the good-natured people would not want both saying and believing, whoever I should represent as fit to be put out, that it was to make way for my brother-in-law. But I will disappoint them in that, by making no such representation but upon the terms I have told you, when it is for the King's disadvantage to have it concealed. Probably somebody may die, or give out; which will be a better opportunity of bringing Mr. Kingdon in than the other. Mr. Strong, who will go hence after the yacht returns with my Lord Chancellor Porter, if he cannot get his health, (which in truth he much wants,) I doubt will not care to return: but pray do not hearken too easily to him in that, for he knows the business here, is very industrious and diligent and useful. And now, pray do not believe that I desire to have Mr. Bridges put out of the commission till I tell you so plainly, and give you my reasons for it.

Before I leave off this matter, I must acquaint you of a little thing between the Commissioners of the Revenue and me at this time; which is this. I arrived here on the 9th of January: their establishment for the salaries of the under-officers, for the quarter ending the 25th of December before, was not signed by the Lords Justices, who now refuse to do it, being

out of power, though the service was done in their reign. I, to appear as careful of myself as their Lordships are, have refused to sign it, because it was done before my time. The money is all paid; but if the book be not signed by some Chief Governor or other, the money will not be allowed upon the Collectors' accounts. I have no objection to any thing in the book, and am ready to sign it if you think it proper: for I would not be more scrupulous than I ought to be. And now I think I have done with all things relating to the revenue at this time. I find Major Dorington makes himself sure of Sir Charles Fielding's place, though we have no formal notice of it here as yet; but he has sent over to know what the Adjutant and Quartermaster of the regiment will give to be continued in their places, which Captain Forbes will give an account of if he be asked. I had it not from him, but from as sure a hand as can be; and I only tell it you, that, if you think it convenient to have such practices laid open, I may offer you an opportunity of doing it, by having Forbes asked what he knows of it, without bringing any fending and proving in the case. At one time or other the King will have an inconvenience in his army here, by the officers having power to dismiss men when they please, without giving any reason for it; for by that means, as soon as a muster is over, they may disband half their companies, and not take in men again till some short time before the next muster; which, I doubt, has been too often done,—of which I shall know more; and money is, I fear, taken by the officers for giving men leave to quit the service, and for taking others into it, even common men.

The Earl of Limerick's patent for his honour, is not yet passed the seal, for want of money to pay the fees at the several offices. My Lord Chancellor offered to remit his, but it seems money cannot be found to carry it through the rest, which is some sign that the report of the world is not totally untrue, of his being very low in his fortune. He has been very ill ever since two days after my being here, having been in a dying condition, but he is now pretty well recovered: he and his family have lived very civilly with me, as I must needs say every body has done. He sent to me three days since, that I would give his son, my Lord Dongan, leave to go into England, upon urgent occasions of his; which I did not think fit to deny him, being upon his father's request, and considering his alliance. The young Lord went last night in the yacht, in which are gone a multitude of people, and many ladies, as my Lady Clanawly and her two daughters; Captain Robert Fitz-Gerald's lady and her two daughters; one of which is married to Mr. Allen, whose father is one of the most

substantial citizens of this city, and as wise a man as you shall meet with of that rank. He is a very great dealer, but I doubt he has thoughts of quitting and retiring; he is very honest. I fear more of our best men have the same thoughts; I assure you I have done and will do all I can to divert them. My Lord Forbes is likewise gone over, for a very little time, as he says, upon his father's occasions and his own. In my last letter to the Treasury I sent you a view of the year's account ending the 25th of December last; which is as you shall have it at the end of every year, and every quarter; but you shall hereafter have it much sooner. It is only to show you in gross, whereabouts the matter will be; and I dare say at the year's end there will not be 1000*l.* difference one way or other: but the exact particular account you cannot have, till all the Collectors' accounts are declared, and likewise the Receiver-general's; which you shall have as soon as is possible, and hereafter by the end of March, for the preceding year.

I had a letter from you from the Treasury, of the 16th past, with the copy of a petition from Lord Mount Alexander, pretending to make a discovery of some concealed rents. I suppose he will be like the rest of the world, angry if I do not make a return in his favour; which truly I doubt I cannot do. The case stands thus. There were certain old composition rents in charge before the year 1641: they are still in charge for the province of Connaught and County of Clare, and are brought into the King's use. The Commissioners of the Revenue think the King has the same right in the provinces of Leinster and Munster; they have had several conferences with me upon it from my first coming hither, and I ordered a case to be made of it, which has lain before the King's Council a great while for their opinions; and it shall very speedily, with my report, be transmitted to your Lordship. How, therefore, it can be called a discovery, I know not; but you shall quickly have it in form. You will see by the enclosed what I have received from my Lord President, and what I have written to him. Pray contribute what you can towards the preferring of Rycaut, by whom I must write a line to you. What I have said of the merit of his family, and of himself, is true: he has the good fortune to be very nearly related to my Lord Sunderland; so I hope he may succeed in his pretensions. The truth is, I would be very glad to be, upon a fair occasion, rid of him out of my family; where he is very inconvenient upon the score of his religion. He is a hot-headed, troublesome man: you understand me. God Almighty keep you and yours. This day the packet from England of the 1st instant is come in; which brings me none from you: so that your trouble will not be lengthened upon that account, and you will say, it needs not.

LXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Is giving the necessary orders in favour of the Roman Catholic clergy, according to Lord Sunderland's commands: but none of them have been hitherto molested, and all people seem disposed to be quiet and loyal.—Proceedings at assizes, Cork.—Clarke's business.—Duel between Captains Twisleton and Butler, and death of the latter. By this event two companies vacant: recommends Sir P. Rycaut for one of them.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 6, 1686.

Since my last I have received your Lordship's of the 23d and 27th past; and am very glad that his Majesty is pleased to approve of what I had done concerning printing, and in stopping the books from beyond seas; which I will see strictly observed, and hope I shall be so happy as to do nothing here but what the King will like. The Portsmouth yacht sailed last night for Chester, to wait for my Lord Chancellor Porter. On Saturday night your Lordship's of the 20th past was brought me by the Roman Catholic primate and Bishops of Clogher and Kilmore; to whom I shall perform all the offices they shall desire upon all occasions. I told these Bishops, that I had not heard that any of their inferior clergy had made any complaints or applications to any of our magistrates; they told me they could not say there had been any since my being here. I assured them I would give effectual orders, that, whatever should happen of that kind, the parties should not be countenanced, and their superiors should have notice of them; for I was too well acquainted with the mischief that sort of loose clergy had done, who would submit to no authority; of which there were too many in all religions. I am giving the necessary orders your Lordship commands, to our Archbishops, Bishops, Sheriffs, &c. that the Roman Catholic clergy may not be molested in the exercise of their functions; and I must upon this occasion beg leave to say again, that there has not been the least disturbance given to any one of them since my being here. If there had, I am confident I should have heard of it; for the Roman Catholics (with whom I discourse as indifferently as with others) know I would have done them right; and for this I appeal to themselves. Indeed I must needs say all people here seem infinitely disposed to be quiet; and it is not possible for men to make greater professions of duty and loyalty to the King, and long for opportunities to show it. Though I have some accounts of the proceedings at several of the assizes, yet I think it better to say nothing of that matter till I can lay the whole before your Lordship; which will be very speedily, but

I am very confident for the most part the King will not dislike the proceedings in the country. Last night I had a letter from my Lord Chief Justice Keating at Cork, where the assizes now are; in which he tells me he is like to find more trouble from Clarke's business, than from all the rest that is before him. I sent your Lordship sometime since a copy of his long information; Colonel Macarty can give your Lordship some account of him. My Lord Chief Justice believes the fellow to be mad; but of this you shall have a full account with the rest.

Here is lately happened a very unfortunate accident in the country, a quarrel between Captain Twisleton, a Captain in Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, and Captain George Butler, a Captain in Colonel Fairfax's regiment. Butler was killed upon the place, and Twisleton is taken. I am sure exemplary justice shall be done. I cannot yet give your Lordship an account of the particulars; but as soon as I have it from Colonel Fairfax and Lieutenant-colonel Anthony Hamilton, whom I have directed to inquire into it, it shall be transmitted to your Lordship. By this means there are two companies void; which the King will think of supplying. If it would not be too great a presumption, I would beg your Lordship's favour to intercede for one of them to be bestowed upon one of my gentlemen, Mr. Rycaut. He hopes he may have some pretence to his Majesty's bounty, his family having always served the Crown; he himself was Consul for the late King at Algiers; and last summer, in the new levies, had a commission to be Captain of the Horse to Sir Edward Carteret; which troop was afterwards disbanded, and it had cost this gentleman above 100*l.* He came over hither with me, hoping I might be able to do something for him in time. I know him to be honest, and make no difference between such, of whatever religion they are; for I have several Roman Catholics (of which he is one) in my family. Your Lordship knows every body loves to advance those who depend upon them; and if I can obtain this request by your Lordship's means, I shall take it for a very great favour and obligation, though nothing can make me more than I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And most humble servant,
CLARENDON. C. P. S.

LXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Respecting the characters of the Irish Judges.—Character of Judge Johnson.—Mr. Ingleby, his successor.—Sir Richard Reynells and Sir Standish Hartstonge.—Thinks that Englishmen are best fitted for Judges in Ireland, and that it should be a step to the English Bench; then more ability and learning might be had.

MY NOBLE LORD, Dublin Castle, April 6, 1686.

I have received your Lordship's favour of the 25th past with great satisfaction, in two points especially; the one, that my endeavours here, and the accounts I have given of the affairs in this kingdom, were satisfactory to his Majesty; the other, that your Lordship is so friendly and kind as to afford your assistance in making a favourable representation of them, which I shall beg the continuance of, with this assurance, that as I have hitherto, so I shall while I have the honour of being here, make it my whole business to understand thoroughly every particular thing of this kingdom, and will, as fast as I can, and as opportunity offers, give a true and impartial account of all, nor shall anything be concealed. When the King knows all, he will be best able to judge and direct what he thinks fit: my business is, in the first place, to give true and entire informations, and in the next, to obey. Since your Lordship is pleased to command such advice as I can offer relating to the judges, I will do it with all faithfulness; and in order thereunto, as soon as they all return from the circuits, and that other people come to town upon whose informations I can depend, I will send your Lordship a perfect character of every one of them, from the best advice I can get from indifferent persons, and likewise from my own observations. In the mean time, as to the person your Lordship mentions, Judge Johnson, I am very sorry he is under the King's displeasure, as I shall be for any man who falls under that great unhappiness. He came into Ireland with my Lord Chief Justice Smith, when he first came hither one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, and under his favour and countenance he grew up. He is the eldest judge in this kingdom, having sat sixteen years upon the bench. Whatever faults he may be guilty of, I dare say disloyalty was never yet laid to his charge; his whole conversation hath been so remarkable with people of the best principles, and his behaviour so eminent these last untoward eight years, even

towards his present Majesty. It is well known he has had some private differences with one or two persons, but it is impossible anything of that kind can be brought with prejudice to the King. As for the person your Lordship mentions the King has appointed to succeed Johnson, Mr. Ingleby, I do not know him, but I very well remember he was one of those who suffered, with other worthy persons, under Oates's usurpation and imposition, for which he ought to be esteemed by all honest men, and I shall pay him all possible regard upon that account, if there were no other reason for it. As for other judges here whom his Majesty is displeased with, my Lord President has named to me Sir Richard Reynells and Sir Standish Hartstonge. For the first I can say nothing knowingly but what all the world knows, that he is a very able man. He came over hither a young man, five or six years before the King's restoration: he has got a very good estate, purely by his practice in the law: before he was a judge, since the King's restoration, he was of counsel as much with the Irish as the English, and so he will again when he is out, in all probability. In his station as a judge, no man can carry the prerogative higher than he does: he pretends to blame his friends in England, and thinks he fares the worse for their sakes, who are not so good as they ought to be: no man can make greater professions of duty and loyalty to the King than he does. He is not returned from the circuit which he went with Lord Chief Justice Keating, whom all parties will own to be a good man, and to him I refer for an account of the other's principles, they being very intimately acquainted. As for Sir Standish Hartstonge, I can say nothing but from my own observation of his behaviour in the place he is as a Baron of the Exchequer, where the King is more immediately concerned than in any other Court; and he certainly understands the business there perfectly well, and by all that appears to me, does his duty very well. As to his principles, I have never heard anything amiss: he has a very good estate, the bulk of which is old interest, he deriving from Sir Thomas Standish, who was his grandfather. If I might advise in this matter, I could wish that, by your Lordship's means, to be a judge here might be a step towards preferment in England; then probably men of better abilities and more learning would be judges here, than have sometimes been: and I am sure it would be infinitely more for his Majesty's service to have all those places supplied with men from England, than by any who are here upon the place.

When your Lordship considers that I have given you this trouble by your

own command, you will forgive the tediousness of it, and believe that I am, with all possible respect, My noble Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

LXXXIII.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

His employing Catholic natives.—Act of Settlement.—Intends gradually to bring Irish regiments over to England, and to send others in their room.

St. James's, April 6, 1686.

Last week being a time of devotion, hindered me from letting you know I had yours of the 14th of March, and have seen yours of the same date to Lord Sunderland, which he answers. As to my employing some of the Catholic natives of the country, I do not see how that does any prejudice to what is the true English interest there, so long as the Act of Settlement is kept untouched, which it must always be, though many ill and disaffected people are secured in their possessions by it; which makes it the more necessary for me to secure myself and the Government against such, for you cannot but be sensible that there are but too many of the old leaven amongst the English there; so that I must be sure of my troops, and will by degrees see all the foot that are there, and to begin even this year before the summer be quite over, by bringing over two regiments from thence, and sending two from hence in their room, and so by degrees to see them all here, which will do good to the foot of both kingdoms. As for the regiment of guards, I do not intend to have any of them come over this year, and shall give you timely notice when I have resolved which they shall be: which is all I have time to say now. J. R.

LXXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Reform he has effected in the mode of paying the Army: diminishing the deductions and suppressing other abuses.—Lord Ossory's reform in respect to clothing the Army.—Other Lord Lieutenants had a Troop or Regiment, he has none, and therefore hopes the young men in his suite may get commissions.

Dublin Castle, April 10th, 1686.

A man must not brag of his merits, but yet I may to you, that you may as opportunity serves, when you find others endeavouring to do me ill offices,

(which is never wanting from men who have a mind to the employment which another is in) lay before the King my good deeds. I came hither on the 9th of January, at which time the warrants were not issued for paying the army the quarter which was due to them the 29th of September before, so that there was then actually six months' pay due to the whole army. The first thing I did was to sign the warrants for the September pay. I likewise ordered the Muster-master-general to send out the Commissaries to muster the army for the quarter ending the 25th of December last; and as soon as they were returned, and the rolls made up, which was by the 20th of February, (for the Commissaries cannot be less than a month abroad,) I issued the warrants for the pay of that quarter likewise, and the whole army was paid by the 10th of March; so that, in truth, the whole army have received six months' pay in less than three months' time, for I have been but three months here this very day: and there is nothing due to the army, but the quarter ending the 25th of March last, which, God willing, shall be entirely paid to them before the 16th of May. I dare say no army in the world is better paid. What may be thought now I cannot tell, but at another time the paying so much money in so little a time, and the keeping the army so even, would not have been thought a little thing, nor ill service. This quick paying of the army makes the money circulate and does the revenue good, and, in a great measure, will put an end to the occasion of impressing money from the Treasury. But, however, I have put an absolute end to that if the officers please; for I have declared, whoever has occasion of money, if they will acquaint me with it, I will order the impressing of what they desire, for which they shall pay nothing to the Receiver-general; so that I am sure there ought to be no more complaints of that. Another thing that I have done is this: quickly after my arrival, complaint was made to me by several officers of the foot, that the deductions for clothes and accoutrements were so great, that the soldiers could not live, they having, in some regiments, but 2*d.* a day to live upon; and some collectors told me they were offered 600*l.* by tradesmen to have the clothing of their regiments, which they thought a very unconscionable thing, to get so much money into their own pockets out of the poor soldiers' bellies. I confess I thought it very hard that the King should allow 6*d.* a day, and the poor soldiers have but 2*d.* of it. I called a council of war, where were present all the field-officers in town, both horse and foot, and they agreed to a

rule, and upon every particular that should be furnished to the soldiers, and that each man should have 4*d.* a day in money for every day in the year. I know some of the officers are dissatisfied at this order, though by far the major part agreed to it. I am sure the soldiers are pleased, and I hope the King will not be offended. It would certainly have been of ill consequence to have had some of the army been paid 4*d.* a day, others 2¾*d.*, and others but 2*d.*, which was the case: it is nothing to me.

Speaking of the clothing of the army puts me in mind to tell you of a particular. My Lord Arran (who loved to get money) left the clothing of the regiment of guards to each particular captain to take care of his own company, which got him the perfect love of the officers. My Lord of Ossory has ordered it otherwise, and sent orders to the Receiver-general (at least it is come in his name), to pay the deductions no more to the Captains, but that he will appoint one to take care of the clothing of the regiment. This makes a loud noise among the officers, and I doubt it will not be represented in England to his advantage. I know you are concerned for the welfare of that good Lord, and so am I, and therefore I thought fit to tell you this, that you may take what notice you think fit of it. Having nothing more to tell you at present relating to the public, I will entertain you with a little relating to myself, not to give you any trouble, but to lie by you, and to improve, as you see occasion, at any time. It may, when that time happens, be represented to the King that I am here with less benefit than any of my predecessors. Not to speak of my not giving the commissions to the army, (which I know is not to be touched upon,) the Lord Lieutenant always had a troop, or regiment, the pay of which was something towards his entertainment, and all his gentlemen at large rid in the guards, which was a maintenance to them. I will presume to say, I, who have none of these advantages, do live as handsomely as any of my predecessors, as much to the King's honour, and am as well and as creditably attended: which I hope may one day, as opportunity falls, be taken notice of, at least so far as to get some preferments in the army for the young men about me, who I would be glad should fare the better for their dependance on me. I have said enough of this matter, and ask your pardon for saying so much. God Almighty keep you and yours. Yesterday Colonel James Dempsey brought me yours of the 28th. I have long known him, and take him to be a very honest man, and shall make good use of him, with-

out entering at all into matters relating to my Lord Tyrconnel. I have written you a long letter to the Treasury by this packet, representing the state of the revenue here, and the charge upon it. I suppose you read those letters yourself, before anybody else does, so that, if you do not like anything I say, you may send it to me back again, and I will alter it as you direct.

LXXXV.

THE LORD PRESIDENT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

In answer to his complaints that he was neither consulted nor informed in relation to the changes proposed in the Establishments, Civil and Military, of Ireland; which had become matter of "common fame," before the Government had apprised him they were in contemplation.

MY LORD, Whitehall, April 10, 1686.

In my last of the 27th past, I acknowledged the receipt of your Excellency's of the 14th, and have since received yours of the 23d, upon both which his Majesty commands me to tell you, that it proceeded not from any unkindness, or want of confidence in you, that you were not advised with beforehand about those alterations his Majesty has thought fit to make in that kingdom; but that his Majesty considering how short a time you had been there, he believed you could not so well give him such an account of the state of affairs as might be necessary. Besides, his Majesty thought it might have looked as some hardship put upon you, to have made you, upon your entrance into the Government there, the instrument of so great changes as his Majesty thought requisite for his service. As to your Excellency's complaint, that you knew nothing of these alterations but from common fame, I can only say, that as soon as his Majesty had resolved to make them, I gave you an account thereof in general in mine of the 11th past; and I know, as to the reports and idle discourses you mention, your Excellency's prudence will not mind them, and the rather, because I can assure you, you will find all the countenance you can desire from his Majesty in your station, which I am persuaded you will believe me ready and desirous to promote upon all occasions for your service. I am only further to acquaint you, that the King has pitched upon Mr. Nugent to come into the King's Bench; Mr. Daly into the Common

Pleas; and Mr. Ingleby into the Exchequer; and that his Majesty has also resolved to give the Earl of Tyrconnel a commission as Lieutenant-general, and to make Colonel Macarty Major-general, and Colonel Richard Hamilton Brigadier of the Army in Ireland.

I am, my Lord, &c.

LXXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Dongan, speculations upon his going into England. His character, and that of Dr. Moore, a Catholic, who accompanies him. Major Billingsley alarmed at the report of his removal,—his character.

Dublin Castle, April 13, 1686.

Before this you have my Lord Dongan with you, of whom I gave you some account in my last. His going over makes a great discourse here, as in truth most things do, for some or other will comment upon all that is done. Those officers of the army who are lately come out of England, say he is gone, upon his uncle Lord Tyrconnel's direction, to kiss the King's hand for a troop of horse, which, they say, he is to have upon the changes: and truly that seems very likely. But others will have it that he is become a statesman, and that he is gone upon some deep matters relating to the Catholic cause; which suggestion comes from those of that religion, and is grounded upon Dr. Moore (a physician) being gone with him, who is a man of great account among that party, and is looked upon to be so subtile and designing a man, that he would not go over purely in a compliment to that young Lord. It is nothing to me what he is gone about, but it is no harm you should know what is talked; and if it come in your way, you may the more observe what you hear there of this Moore and of the young Lord, who is a very prattling, impertinent youth, and forward enough, and is so looked upon here. You will think me very much at leisure that I entertain you with these matters: though I have not much of importance to tell you, having written so largely to you of late, both public and private letters; yet I cannot let a post depart without a few lines to you. What you mentioned in two of your letters, that my Lord President had orders to write to me concerning the outlawries, I find yet nothing of; for though I have had three letters from him since that time that you first told me so, yet he has not

in any of them said one word to me of that matter: which I do not tell you that you should say any thing to him upon it, but that you may see he does not always make haste in answering letters, though there may be sometimes matters of concern in them, as, I assure you, that affair is of no small one. However, by what you told me, I am the better prepared to advise and consider of it. And now, that I may keep my word in writing but a few lines to you, I will end here with my prayers for you and all yours.

Since my last, Major Billingsley has received an alarm that he is to be removed, and to be Lieutenant-colonel of some other regiment: which he seems much troubled at. He says, to bring a Major of a private regiment over his head to be Lieutenant-colonel of the Guards, and to make him Lieutenant-colonel of a private regiment, is neither for his reputation nor advantage; that to be Major of the Royal Regiment of Guards is better and more honourable than to be Lieutenant-Colonel of any other regiment. Whether I do him good in telling you this I know not; but I am sure I do him no harm. When I left England, I remember the King had a very good opinion of this gentleman, and truly I do not know that he deserves the contrary; he is certainly a very honest man, and all who know him, of all sorts, say he is an excellent officer.

In this letter I sent a petition from the company belonging to the Portsmouth yacht.

LXXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

Affairs and Regulations of the Army in Ireland.—Promises a Scheme of the Trade of that Kingdom.

SIR, Dublin Castle, April 13, 1686.

I have but little to add to what I wrote last, more than to send you the scheme of the Irish army and quarters, as it was taken for the last December muster; and every quarter you shall have a fresh one, when there is any considerable change, either in officers or quarters. We are fain to change the quarters, of the horse especially, oftener perhaps than is done in England, but it is for the conveniency of the troops. As, for instance, when a troop of horse have eaten up all the hay in the town where they are, I am fain sometimes to remove them to another place fifteen or twenty miles off, where there are good provisions: which does good to the country. And

sometimes both horse and foot are removed, and sent abroad in small parties to look after the Tories, which employment has taken up many of the army since I came hither, and by that means the whole country is almost in perfect tranquillity: of which I shall very speedily send over a full account, with a list of all those loose people who have been taken since my being here, and how many of them have been executed. In the scheme of the army, you will find not only an exact account of all the officers and private men who were mustered, but likewise, in a column by themselves, the number of common men who have been entertained since the preceding muster. I likewise send you a view of the number of new men who were entertained in the army at the last September muster; by which you will see clearly what new men have been admitted into the army since his Majesty's coming to the crown; for before the September muster there were very few or no men discharged. The bulk of the new men mentioned in both musters, are in the rooms of those discharged, there being not many dead, and but few run away. That which I observe the most is, that those who are discharged out of the army do generally go for England, which I am the more troubled at, in regard that the main thing wanting in this kingdom is people. I would be glad to know the method which is practised in England, concerning the putting men out of the army; whether the colonels or captains have liberty of dismissing men out of pay, whenever they think fit, at their own pleasure. Where you find blanks in the scheme, those officers have never appeared, at least the most of them; and I am told they stay in England to expect better commands, which certainly is not well. But all that I can do is, not to take off their checks, which I shall not do without very good ground. You now want the pay of the officers and soldiers of this army, which is transcribing for you, and you shall have it in my next. I shall very speedily send you an exact scheme of the trade of this kingdom, both of the export and import; which, I believe, has not yet been seen in England. Since my last, my Lord Treasurer has sent me an answer from the Commissioners of the Customs in England to the representation of the Commissioners of the Revenue here, concerning the Plantation trade, which I mentioned to you. I shall shortly send a reply to it, and then I will trouble myself no more in that controversy. You see I am now entered into a correspondence with you: I hope you will keep it up. I am,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

I have lately sent my Lord Treasurer an exact map of Ireland, with marks to distinguish which are horse quarters, and which foot, and where the Collector of his Majesty's Revenue lives in each county; so that it may appear where all the King's concerns lie in every county: perhaps he will present it to the King.

LXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Arrival of Sir Charles Porter, the new Lord Chancellor.—His declaration that the King will have the Acts of Settlement preserved.—Its effects.—Reports about changing the Judges.—W. Legge, Governor of Kinsale.—Sir John Ivory.—Appointment of Mr. Aubery.—Lord Mountjoy.—Encampment of the Army. -Outlawries.—Mr. Kingdon, and Mr. Price, &c.

Dublin Castle, April 17, 1686.

On Thursday, at six in the morning, I had notice brought me that the yacht was arrived at Dunleary with my Lord Chancellor. I immediately sent my coach to attend him; he came straight to the Castle, and was with me before ten o'clock. He gave me the King's letters, the one constituting him Lord Chancellor, upon which I presently gave order for preparing his patent; the other to my Lord Primate, directing him to deliver me the Seal, which was done, and yesterday before noon the patent was sealed in my presence. I appointed a council at three o'clock in the afternoon; where, according to the directions of the King's letter, Sir Charles Porter took the oath of Chancellor, and the usual oaths, and then I delivered the Seal to him, so that he is now in full possession of his office, and there has not been one minute of time lost in executing the King's commands. He keeps the first seal this morning: he dined with me the day he came to town; and I dare say he will own to be satisfied with my treatment of him. As I shall live as I ought to do with whomever the King sends hither, according to the station he is in, so to those I have been obliged to upon the score I was to Sir Charles Porter, I shall be less reserved than to those I do not know. He has already had opportunities to declare to above forty people the King's resolution not to have the Acts of Settlement shaken, which does much please people here, for such discourses run like wild-fire through the town, and I verily believe it was written into all parts of the kingdom by the Thursday's post. The declaration does me good, for now all the discourse of the town is—"You see my Lord Lieutenant told us true; and the King will have the Acts of Set-

tlement preserved, notwithstanding what the Irish talk of their interest at Court." My Lord Chancellor has said to those who have asked him whether there would be any alteration of the judges, (which, he told me, have been very many,) that he knows nothing of it; that he had heard it spoken of in England, but that it was not resolved upon, and he did believe there was some stop in it: and yet he told me he had been assured here that Mr. Nugent had made his robes, to which I said nothing, but smiled. But it is very true, when I wrote to my Lord President of the reports here, and named Mr. Nugent in that letter, he had then actually made his robes; if the word may be taken of the draper who sold the cloth, and of the taylor who made them. There are those here who have been so inquisitive as to inform themselves thus narrowly: and about a fortnight since, a Roman Catholic (who told me of it himself), being in company with Mr. Nugent and five or six others, said, "I wonder we have heard nothing out of England, by the late packets, of the changes amongst the judges, which all the former letters were so full of." Nugent answered, "I believe that matter is at a little stand for the present. It has been much debated, and our people are mad; some that might be judges will not, but whatever is done I am sure I shall be a judge this next term." After this I leave it to you to consider of his wisdom, and even his abilities too. I have received the King's letter by William Legge, for the making him Governor of the fort at Kinsale, which I have already despatched as far as is in my sphere. I think I need say nothing to you of my kindness to him, when you consider the friendship that was between our fathers; in a word, I will leave it to him to make report of me. Last night came in two packets from England, in which I had yours of the 8th and 10th instant, which I do now acknowledge, and will in my next answer whatever I now omit. I need say nothing in reply to that part of yours of the 8th which relates to our new Chancellor; only by what I have said, you see there are no alterations in the civil government brought by him, which perhaps will make you gaze; though a wise man can wonder at nothing that is done, or left undone. As for what you would have done in case Mr. Rice should be made a judge, you may be sure it shall be done, though you had not said half so much as you have done upon it. Sir John Ivory has been with me, and I will do him all the kindness that is in my power. I shall, in my next to my Lord President, represent to him that it looks strange that William Legge, being Governor of so considerable a fort, should not have a company, which all former governors have had. When I do it, (which you will

find by my letter,) you will, I am sure, do what lies in you towards the advancing his request.

As to your's of the 10th, I shall say nothing to what you mention concerning what I wrote to you in mine of the 27th past to the Treasury, till I receive your full answer to it; and then, if it be not as I desired in mine, I will pass the commission for inserting Mr. Aubery, that the King's business may not stop, and will dispute the business (if I am not satisfied with your answer) with you afterwards. The controversy can do no harm: it will be only between us two, and purely upon what is most for the King's service, without any self-concern on either side, and reason must carry it, which, I am sure, I will submit to; for I think I am never obstinate where a third is concerned. A man may propose things, which, according to the apprehension the proposer has of them, may really be reasonable, but, upon full deliberation with others, may be found neither reasonable nor fit; and I am sure I will never insist upon a thing because I have proposed it. And so I hope I need say nothing for my own justification, till you tell me I vary from what I profess, which I hope you will do. I must own my Lord President has sent me word, since I wrote to you about Lord Mountjoy, that the King will not have his Irish army encamp this summer; but of the outlawries he has not yet said any thing, so that I may conclude between you and me, that either he has forgot it, or somebody else has influence upon him to make him delay sending orders when he is directed; but I need say no more to you of this matter than I did in my last; I only repeat it often, that you may know as much as if you and I were talking every day together. I will say no more to you of Mr. Kingdon, because it is against my principle to find fault with men who cannot answer for themselves; and what I did say to you, I thought I could not avoid, the Commissioners telling it me upon the occasion they did. But I must do Mr. Price the right to assure you, that to this minute he never mentioned Mr. Kingdon to me; nor has he ever, in any discourse to me, seemed to aim at the getting the entire management into his own hands; nor can it be, if I am rightly understood, as I will endeavour to be, when I come to reply to the answer I expect from you. I often send for him to me, but he is very seldom alone with me; and I am so aware of him, that I resolved at first to have no commerce with him upon my own particular account; because, in all events, it is best not to put one's self into the power of any man who is under one, if it can be avoided. God Almighty keep you and yours.

The copy of my ninth Instruction should have been sent in my last letter

to the Treasury, but was by chance omitted.* By the last packet I had a letter from the King, of which I here send you a copy, as likewise of what I have now written to his Majesty. You will perhaps wonder that I have said any thing (after what you had replied to me) of a Commission of Grace; but upon discourse with my Lord Chancellor, he says the King told him that as he would not have the Acts of Settlement touched, so his Lordship must help him to find out some way to relieve the hard cases here which might deserve compassion from him; which is just the same language he used to me. This of a Commission of Grace is almost in every body's wish; and if the Chancellor should mention it, who comes three months after me, perhaps the King may think I have no mind to help those poor people, which God knows is far from me. When I have offered it, I have done; if it be not approved of, that is not my fault; if it be allowed to be considered of, it will then appear whether the methods which may be proposed are reasonable, and probable to succeed, which may be done without much noise; but really, as I stand at present informed, from all the discourses I can have with all sorts of people, I do really believe such a commission would bring in a vast sum, perhaps I should not be much out if I say at least 100,000*l.*; and between you and I, it were better to attempt any or forty ways of getting money, than to have a Parliament here yet, which I find a hot sort of people begin to talk of. Well, now I have shot my bolt, you will best judge how far you will concern yourself in the matter. I shall have one end, if nothing come of it: the King will see I am ready and willing to find out ways for him to relieve those he would be bountiful to. I likewise send you a copy of my last letter from the Lord President, and of my answer to him, whereby you see I do not expostulate with him, which perhaps another man would do; for certainly my exceptions are not answered, and the reasons he gives for my being so used might easily be confuted and exposed, not much to his Lordship's advantage. Nor do I take notice of the injury is done me, (I may call it so to you): if any of the Barons of the Exchequer are to be removed, I ought to have the filling them up; for by my patent, the putting in the

* Copy of the ninth Instruction alluded to.—"Our intention and pleasure being that no additional charge be made to the present establishment for that our kingdom, but that the surplusage of our revenue be laid up in our Exchequer, there to be disposed of as we shall from time to time direct; you are to take care thereof accordingly: and also, that out of the surplusage, as much be in the first place laid by, as shall suffice for three months pay of our army, to be made use of upon any emergency or extraordinary occasion."

judges and officers of that court are granted to me, except the Lord Chief Baron; as you may see by your own patent: and one time or other, perhaps, it may be fit to take notice of these things. For the present I think I have tired you enough. The other parts of your letters shall be answered on Tuesday: I have been so much more straitened in time to-day than usually, (for I lock myself up on writing-days,) something happening which cannot always be foreseen, that has taken up most of the afternoon, so that I have been forced to let Jo. Knight copy my letter to the King for you; those letters I use to copy in my own hand, as I have done the King's to me; but sometimes I cannot help the using another hand, which I had rather do than not have you have copies of every thing. God keep you.

I have seen some letters from England, which give some hints as if your Chancellor there were tottering in favour. And the letters which bring the news of Lord Anglesey's death, say, 'twas pity he died, for had he lived but a little time, he would have been a very great man, and have done much good for the poor Irish: Good God!

LXXXIX.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD, Whitehall, April 17, 1686.

I have received your Lordship's letters of the 27th of March and the 6th of this month, to which I have nothing to answer, but that his Majesty did readily agree to your Lordship's recommendation of Mr. Rycaut, and has accordingly given him the company vacant by the death of Captain Butler. I am, with great truth, My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

XC.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

On the employment of Catholics in Ireland.—Declaration about the Act of Settlement; its good effects.—English interests in Ireland.—Exchange of Troops.—Major Lawless, his illness.—Roman Catholic Primate and Bishop Tyrrell,—his conduct to them.—Petition of Stephen Fay, a Secular Priest.—Subject of Petitions and Appeals.—Recommends another Commission of Grace.

Dublin Castle, April 17, 1686.

I received last night the honour of your Majesty's of the 6th instant; and, as to your Majesty's employing some of the native Catholics of the country

in your service, I hope your Majesty is not offended with what I presumed to write to you upon that subject. It was only to yourself, Sir; and whatever you do will not only find obedience from me, but shall be justified to the utmost against all repinings whatsoever, if there are any. As your Majesty's often gracious professions that the Acts of Settlement shall not be touched, does extremely quiet the minds of men; so nothing can more encourage and increase the trade of the kingdom (from whence your Majesty's revenue does principally arise) than men being secure in their property. As to that which is called here the English interest, it consists of several sorts of people, of whom your Majesty shall have a particular account, as soon as it is possible for me to lay it before you. When I have your Majesty's orders for sending over any of your troops from hence, or receiving any from England, they shall not be long in executing. I doubt your Majesty will lose a good officer here, Major Lawless, who has never stirred from his quarters: he has always, from my first landing, written to me every week. He went from Kinsale to Cork to the assizes, where it was necessary for him to be, and is there fallen very ill; and by the account he gives me of himself in another hand-writing, I fear he will not recover. On Easter-eve the Roman Catholic Primate and Bishop Tyrrell brought me your Majesty's commands from my Lord President concerning them. Whether they receive from me those offices which they expect, I will refer myself to what they themselves will say: I have told them they may come to me whenever they please. About a week since one Stephen Fay, a secular priest, sent me a petition with an appeal to your Majesty. I immediately sent for Primate Magwyre, and gave it him, and asked him what he had a mind should be said to Fay; he desired me that I would only direct that he should apply himself to his superiors, which I did, and have heard nothing of him since. This, I think, Sir, was pursuant to your Majesty's directions; and therefore I will continue the same, if other like occasions offer, till I receive your Majesty's pleasure to the contrary. If your Majesty would see the appeal to you, I will send you a copy upon your command. I very well know, Sir, how penal it is (even by laws made before the Reformation) to hinder appeals to be made to the King. I do not say this, Sir, that I am afraid to hinder or promote what your Majesty shall direct; but only to justify my giving your Majesty this trouble, which I humbly beg your pardon for, and your permission that I may give these accounts to yourself. When your Majesty was pleased to tell me that you would have the Acts of Settlement not touched, you told me at the same

time, that you would be glad to find some way to relieve such hard cases here as you shall judge worthy of your bounty; which has made me willing to hearken to every thing that has been suggested. And upon frequent discourses with all sorts of people, I do find that another Commission of Grace, whereby men might have their estates confirmed to them, would not only give general satisfaction, but, I believe, would bring in a vast sum of money; enough to enable you to gratify all who want. This, Sir, is but an opinion grounded upon general and occasional discourses, and nothing ought to be attempted further without your Majesty's directions. But if you please to give my Lord Chancellor and me leave to consider of it, we will be able, without noise, in no long time neither, to lay before you some proposals towards that end, which I hope will not be displeasing to you; if you dislike them, Sir, they will be in your own power to burn them, and they will never be heard more of. I must humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, and your favourable acceptance of the services which are offered with all submission by, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful,

And most obedient Subject and Servant,

CLARENDON.

XCI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Lord Chancellor Porter's arrival in Ireland, and entrance upon his Office.

Dublin Castle, April 17, 1686.

I gave your Lordship the trouble of a long letter so lately, that I needed not have sent you any now, but only to give you an account that on Thursday my Lord Chancellor Porter arrived here. As soon as I had the King's letters, I immediately directed his patent to be prepared; and yesterday he was sworn, and I delivered him the Seal at Council: so that he is now in full possession of his office, and this morning he kept the first seal in order to the term, which begins on Wednesday here, as it does in England: and for the rest, I suppose he will give your Lordship an account himself. I have no more to add at present, but that I am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XCII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The same subject.—His conduct in regard to the intended changes in Ireland.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 17, 1686.

On Thursday last my Lord Chancellor Porter arrived here, of which, I suppose, himself will give you a particular account. Immediately upon the receipt of the King's letters I directed his patent to be prepared, and on Friday in the afternoon he was sworn, and the Seals delivered to him at Council; so that he is now in full possession of his office, and has this day kept the first seal, the term beginning on Wednesday next. Last night I received your Lordship's favour of the 10th instant; and as to what your Lordship is pleased to say of not advising with me beforehand about the alterations his Majesty has thought fit to make here, I hope I am rightly understood, and that I shall not be thought to aim at any thing upon my own account, but in order to the King's service. And as I shall be always pleased with whatever method the King shall prescribe for the doing of his business, so I shall always depend upon your Lordship's friendship and kindness; and if my zeal to serve the King as well as any body can, does make me sometimes apprehend that I want countenance; I hope your Lordship will believe (for I assure you it is a great truth) that I make my moan to none but yourself; and such weaknesses, I am sure, your Lordship will forgive. And so you shall have no further trouble upon these matters. As to the persons your Lordship tells me the King has pitched upon to be judges here, as soon as I receive his Majesty's letters they shall be despatched. I have nothing more to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to beseech you to believe that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And most obedient Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XCIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affair of Mr. Weaver;—his bargain with Mr. Hastings and Lord Tyrconnel.—Death of Major Lawless.—Recommends that W. Legge should have a company.—Mischief to be apprehended if the Irish Clergy should appear abroad in their clerical habits.—The pension falling in upon the death of Major Lawless, should be applied to the repairs of the forts and buildings of Dublin Castle.—Thanks for the King's letter about the Wool Licences.—His future expenses not to be judged of by those of the last quarter.—Will speedily send an account of what they are likely to be.—Subject of his son's marriage.—Sir John Bankes's daughter.—Lord Massareene proposes a Miss Cabell.—Commission of the Revenue.—Letters for three new Judges.—Objection to the mode in which they were conveyed to him.—Character of the three new Judges.—The Primate and Chancellor live well together;—wishes the King would write kindly to the former.—The Chancellor says he shall be ruined, and objects to the changes.—Novelty of dispensing with the oaths, &c.

Dublin Castle, April 20, 1686.

By this post you will receive a letter to the Treasury, in answer to what you wrote about Mr. Weaver. I have stated the matter as fully and as plainly as I can, and the man ought in justice to have his money or his land, for the King ought to have nobody's land without paying for it: and it is a most wonderful thing how such a matter, so just, should hang so long, and so much money unnecessarily spent since; but there is one particular in this affair which I knew not well how to bring into my public letter, and yet, in my opinion, it ought to be known, even by the King himself. Mr. Weaver being with me, and urging his business as far as he could, in order to obtain a favourable report, as he called it, I told him that I thought he might as well allow the abatement of 500*l.*, being but an executor, as his father-in-law, the alderman, to whom the land belonged; especially since he was allowed ten in the hundred for his principal money from the time the abatement was made; to which the poor man with tears said, "Then I fear I shall have but little of the money." I asked him what he meant by that; he said, about a year since he sent to his son, (a young man at the Temple,) to try whether he could make a friend at Court undertake to get him his money, by giving him something for it, and that his son had found out one Mr. Hastings, (who was wounded last year in the West,) who had undertaken to get the business done for 500*l.*; but finding it long about, and his children growing up, to whom, he said, the money for this land belonged, in December last Weaver went to my Lord Tyrconnel, (being introduced to him by a friend,) and

offered him 1000*l.* to get his business done, which my Lord undertook, wondering much at the hardness of the case; so that he said, very pitifully, "I know not whether my son be bound to make good the 500*l.*; but I doubt my Lord Tyrconnel will expect his 1000*l.*, and then if I am allowed but 3191*l.* 2*s.* 5¼*d.*, there will come but 1691*l.* to myself." I told him I could say nothing to those bargains, nor in truth can I. I am sure I will make none of them, and when I have discovered them, that they are known, I have done.

Major Lawless died the last week, of which I have written to Colonel Macarty, to whom he was major. I have upon this occasion represented to my Lord President, that William Legge, who is Governor of Charles Fort, has no company, which in my opinion he ought to have, and has always been the practice here: I am sure you will advance his pretension what you can. I am told, from a very good hand, that it was resolved not long since in England, that the Irish clergy here should appear abroad in their habits, but that, by the last letters from England, contrary orders came from the King, which my author, of that religion, is very well pleased at, for he says he knows such a public appearing would give so great a dissatisfaction that it would undo the kingdom; besides, that no man could be responsible for the mischief and disorders that might happen from the rabble: which is undoubtedly true, and I hope it will not be attempted. You will remember, upon Major Lawless's death, a pension of 200*l.* per annum falls to the King, which was placed upon the *concordatums*. I hope the King will let it die, for that fund is too much charged, considering for what uses it was designed, and how much need there is that money should be laid out upon the forts and buildings. The reparations of this no-castle are very great, and it is the worst and most inconvenient lodging in the world. That you may see the constant certain charge upon the *concordatum*, I send you the enclosed account, together with a list of the uncertain expenses which must be paid out of it, of which you shall have a certain particular account every quarter.

* It is a certain sign I was in great haste when I made up my last packet, that I forgot to return you my thanks for the King's bountiful letter concerning the Wool Licences, which I now do, as gratefully as you can imagine. Though I have been here a quarter of a year, yet you must not make a mea-

* The rest of this letter is here printed for the first time; it is wanting in the edition of Lord Clarendon's letters published by Bishop Douglas.

sure of my future expenses by the large ones of this quarter, which have indeed been very great, but you cannot imagine what number of extraordinaries are to be provided upon first coming to a new place; the multitude of little things requisite are scarce to be believed. I intend very speedily to send you an exact account of all what I have spent since I left London; and by the ordinaries you will see what my housekeeping and stables will come to, which I fancy you will say is not extravagant; and the extraordinaries will be no more: I mean the bulk of them. As to my son, I pray God he makes good his promise to you when he comes out of the West; I shall be much better pleased if he does. As to the great affair concerning him, I leave it entirely to you, to do in it what you think best. Mr. Shaw mentioned to me lately, in a letter, Sir John Bankes's daughter, with great advantage of portion. I sent to him to acquaint you with it: there is objection enough to the birth. When I came hither, my Lord Massareene was here, and, as these people do love to ingratiate themselves with a new Chief Governor, he told me he was confident he could help me to a wife for my son; her name is Mrs. Cabell, she lives in Devonshire, her father is dead, and she is worth, he says, 2000*l.* per annum besides money. I would be very glad to have him well married and settled, and I do leave it to you to think of for me, and to do what you think best. I have now, I think, answered all the particulars in your two letters which I acknowledged in my last.

Wednesday morning.

The tide not serving to carry off the packet till this morning, I have the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 13th, which I will answer by the next. I have likewise your other of the 15th from the Treasury Chamber, for which I return you my thanks: I will answer it in form. I have given order for passing the commission for the Commissioners of the Revenue. At nine o'clock last night, the Lord Chancellor came to me, and brought me the King's three letters for the three new Judges; a new method, of sending the King's commands to the Chancellor to deliver to me, which I am to derive back again to him; I only observe this, that, according to the old proverb, "the furthest way about is the nearest way home." I pray God the King finds his account in these changes. I am sure, considering a little more of them than could possibly be done on that side without calling in those who know Ireland very well, would have done no harm. The three men named are Nugent, Daly, and Ingleby; the first is a man of birth indeed, but no lawyer, and so will do no harm upon the account of his

learning. Daly is one of the best lawyers of that sort, but of old Irish race, and therefore ought not to be a judge. He and the other are both national to the utmost degree. Ingleby is yet in England. I would they had all come from thence; but I have done my part, and God's will be done: however I cannot help emptying myself to you. My Lord Primate and my Lord Chancellor live wonderfully well together; they have both visited and dined with each other: the Chancellor's equipage not being come, he borrowed the Primate's coach to carry him this morning to the Court, this being the first day of the term. The Primate intends, ere long, to go into the country, but will not do it yet, that it may not be said he is sullen and angry now he has lost the Seal. I wish the King would write a gracious letter to him, in his own hand, to let him know that he is not angry with him. He wrote so kind a letter to him in his own hand, in October last, when he recommended Lord Atholl's cause to him, that one would almost wonder at the laying him aside so soon after; but there is an end of that. The Chancellor tells me he shall be ruined here, for he finds the place of itself, besides the pension, will not be, at the most, above 400*l.* per annum. He professes to me, (and I am told he does so in all other companies,) to be much troubled at these changes here, and says he is bound in duty to represent into England the ill consequences of preferring the natives to the degree they now are: the question is whether he will do it or no, which possibly you may find out there. The truth is, I believe it was never yet known, that the sword and administration of justice were put into the hands of a conquered people. All's well that ends well. After all my trouble which I seem to be in, and which indeed is very great, upon the public account, (so great a fool I am,) I do assure you I will make it my whole business to make all things go well down, and to allay the jealousies and apprehensions men think they have reason to have from these changes, and the eighty commissions which are noised to be coming from England for new officers in the army; but nothing but time can quiet men's fears. This is the first time that any man ever sat a judge without taking the oath of supremacy, since it was first enacted; nor was it ever yet dispensed with to any Privy Counsellor, but to the late Marquis of Clanricard, who was so extraordinary a person that it was never taken notice of: how it was formerly to justices of the peace and sheriffs, you have seen in my former letters. I have time to add no more. God keep you and yours.

Indorsed

"My Brother, April 20th, 1686."

XCIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Recommends Colonel Macarty to succeed Colonel Lawless; and Colonel Legge to have a company.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 20, 1686.

I have very little to trouble your Lordship with since my last, but only to acquaint you, that yesterday I had an account from Cork that Colonel Lawless was dead there. He has been a long time in a consumption: he was a very good officer, and very well known to the King: he was Major to Colonel Macarty. I beg your Lordship to move the King to fill up his place.

I omitted to give your Lordship an account in my last, that Colonel Legge arrived here with my Lord Chancellor, and brought me the King's letter for making him Governor of Charles Fort, near Kinsale, which is despatched. I think fit to represent to your Lordship that he has no company, which the governor of that fort hath hitherto always had. I do not know that the King hath yet disposed of the company late Sir Nicholas Armourer's, and there are other companies void, of which your Lordship has an account.

By the death of Major Lawless, a pension of 200*l.* per annum, falls to the King, which I have represented to my Lord Treasurer, that it might not be revived, it being placed upon the *concordatum*, which is a fund designed for other uses, which are most necessary, and which the King has a constant account of. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but the assurance of my ever being,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

April 21.

Last night, after I had ended my letter to your Lordship, I received your's of the 13th instant; and about nine at night my Lord Chancellor brought me the King's letters concerning the three Judges; for obeying whereof I have given the necessary orders, of which your Lordship shall have a particular account in my next.

XCV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

On the subject of Col. Legge's appointment, and his desire to procure him a company.

Dublin Castle, April 20, 1686.

I know your Lordship does not love to be too often troubled with letters, which is the reason I have hitherto deferred answering your Lordship's favour of the 16th past; and likewise because I expected before this to have had the accounts your Lordship mentions, of the Office of the Ordnance here; which, I suppose, will now come speedily: and till I have them, I will say nothing of those affairs, that there may be no distraction by letters going to and again, till the whole matter comes over.

This is therefore only to acquaint your Lordship with your brother's arrival, with my Lord Chancellor Porter. I do verily believe, I am gladder to have him here, than he is to be here himself. We will all endeavour to make him welcome, that he may not long too soon to be at home again. I have despatched his business, as far as was within my way; and his patent was the first that was sealed by my Lord Chancellor. I have represented to my Lord President, that your brother has, as yet, no company, which all the governors of that fort have hitherto always had, and I am sure it seems to me most reasonable that he should have. And here are several companies vacant, of which I have given account; so that one may be easily given him, if you have not some there who will have the filling of all places here. I have written of this matter to my brother, who I am sure will do all that he can do towards the obtaining this company; but I hope your Lordship's own interest will prevail in a greater affair than this. I shall give you no further trouble at present, but beg you to believe that I am from my heart, My good Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XCVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO COLONEL MACARTY.

Congratulatory upon his appointment as Major-general of the Army in Ireland.

SIR, Dublin Castle, April 20, 1686.

I had sooner answered yours of the 25th past, if I had had any thing worth giving you the trouble of a letter. I am now to acquaint you, that

your honest Major Lawless died the last week at Cork, and was buried there; of which I received an account from Captain Colgrave yesterday. I hope you will think of supplying his place before you leave England. This good man who is dead, was a very good officer, and very careful in whatever he was directed to do, and kept close to his duty, which every officer does not love to do. I hope it will not now be long before we shall have you in this kingdom, which will be a particular satisfaction to me; and in the mean time I shall in this note congratulate the honour the King hath done you in making you Major-general of his army here, which you so well deserve, and which is so much for the King's service; and in which you have the perfect well wishes of

Sir, your's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XCVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Forfeiture of Patent Offices, and intended mode of proceeding therein.—Character of the new Judges.—Capt. Robert Fitzgerald.—Lord Tyrconnel's promises to him.—Desires that the King's letters, directing him to dispense with the Oath of Supremacy, &c. may be entered at the Signet Office; it being the first time it has ever been dispensed with.

Dublin Castle, April 24, 1686.

In a postscript to my last, I told you I had received yours of the 13th instant, which I come now to answer; though there is not need of saying much upon it till I have Mr. Solicitor's opinion as fully as I expect. Only I think fit to tell you that the reason I sent to you for a list of eight or ten such patent officers as you thought had forfeited their places, was, because the very words in yours of the 16th past were that you knew of eight or ten who had done things whereby their offices might be forfeited; but you have now explained your meaning. The statute of Henry VII. does only concern officers accomptants; that is, those who do finger the money, and are therefore accountable; of which sort of men the Auditor-general, and the Clerk of the Pells are none. But I say, as soon as the King's Council are come to a resolution, I will proceed in the manner you prescribe, and with all possible caution; and whomever we shall think fit to begin with, you shall first have account thereof, of the person designed to be removed, and the reasons why, and likewise of the person whom I intend to put into his room; that I may have

your advice in the choice and approbation of the method of our proceeding; and so, for the present, I have done with this subject.

You will see, by my letter to my Lord Sunderland, what I have written of the Judges. For want of other things to entertain him with, I thought fit to tell him those discourses: if he would think of the business and men of this country, such kind of stories would let him see some of their tempers; but I think I need not take much pains to inform him, for I doubt it is much at one whether things are known or not. However, there is only my own labour lost, which I am not very covetous in sparing to you, who do not think knowledge a burden. I think it fit to give the characters of as many men as I can meet with, who are any way considerable: you will find by time whether those I give are true or not. I have already given you the character of Mr. Nugent, to which I will only add for entertainment, that yesterday my Lord Chancellor asked me whether I was acquainted with Nugent? To whom I answered, (for I never had said any thing to him of him) that my acquaintance was very small, he having been only a few times with me upon ordinary matters; to which he replied, he is a very silly fellow, and grows very troublesome. Mr. Daly I never saw till Thursday last. He seems a sober man; he has the character of one of the best lawyers of that party, there being in truth but three above or equal to him, viz. Nangle, Garrett Dillon, and St. Rice. He is reputed a modest man: he is perfect Irish, of old Irish race: he is very bigoted and national, and yet all that he is worth in the world is of his own acquiring, and new title. He was bred a clerk to Patrick Darcy, a man famously known by all who know any thing of the late wars in this kingdom. Certainly he did not intend to have accepted of this place till he had heard again out of England, but was prevailed with by some of the zealous, to accept it without further hesitation.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald hath written to a friend here, (I had an account of it from him to whom the letter was written,) that he had spent a fortnight at the Bath with Lord Tyrconnel, and that my Lord had told him he could not promise him to get him into the army, but that he would undertake to get him any thing else in the kingdom which he had a mind to. I thought fit to tell you this, because I know the relation that gentleman has to you, and the kindnesses you have done him; and it is fit you should know every thing. We expect the next letters will bring us an account of that Lord's return from Bath, and probably of his motions hitherwards. When he comes,

he comes. You will see I have written to my Lord President, that the King's letter, which directs me to dispense with giving the Oath of Supremacy to the new Judges, should be entered at the Signet Office at Whitehall,* as well as the letters for giving the Judges their places. I would not be thought scrupulous, and therefore I have done the business already, but I desire it may now be supplied: I am advised it is fit it should be so, and I suppose there will be no great difficulty made in granting what I desire. Though I do not expect any alteration (in my time) of public affairs, yet I would not be willing to be questioned for having obeyed the King; which possibly may be the case, if all letters and instruments are not exactly according to the form. You will please to take what notice you think fit hereof. This is the first time the Oath of Supremacy has ever been dispensed with in a judicial place, and it is in breach of a law; which I may say to you, though to nobody else, at this time, as the world now goes. God keep you and all yours.

XCVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Conduct of Mr. Daly, one of the new Judges, and of Sir Richard Reynell, one of the ex-Judges.— Requests that the King's letter may be entered at the Signet Office.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 24, 1686.

I gave your Lordship an account in my last, that I had received yours of the 13th, and likewise the King's letters and directions concerning the three Judges, and that I had given the necessary orders in obedience thereunto; and Mr. Nugent's patent passed the seal yesterday. But on Thursday, in the evening, Mr. Daly came to me, (whom I had never seen before;) and after great professions of duty to the King, and that he would be ready to serve him in any capacity, he told me that it was not of his own seeking to be a judge, for he would really lose 400*l.* a year, and therefore desired that I would not take it amiss, if he continued at the bar this term, and did not take out his patent till he heard again out of England. I told him I had signed his warrant, which he might have when he pleased; and that if he did

* Dr. Douglas mentions, in the preface to his edition of these letters, that the original letter of the King, countersigned by Lord Sunderland, was in Mr. Powney's possession; but that it was discovered too late to find a place in the book.

not take it, I would not immediately call upon him. I find he had much the same discourse with my Lord Chancellor; but I perceive he has changed his mind, for yesterday morning he sent for his warrant, so I suppose he will take out his patent. As I have thus given your Lordship an account of these two Judges, so I think I ought to inform you of the behaviour of those who go out. Sir Standish Hartstonge and Johnson are in England, so there is only Sir Richard Reynell here, whom I sent for the next morning after I had your Lordship's letter, and acquainted him with the King's pleasure, to which he answered that he did very cheerfully submit, and should always do so, to whatever determination his Majesty should make concerning him. He said his religion and his profession had taught him loyalty to the King, and he had practised it ever since he was in a capacity of doing it, and if he knew what was most acceptable to the King, he would show his duty by doing it. He then asked me if he might return to his practice. I told him I knew nothing to the contrary, and that I believed his Majesty did not concern himself to what callings his subjects betook themselves, as long as they behaved themselves dutifully. Having thus given your Lordship an account of these affairs, which I thought fit enough for you to know, I have but one thing more to say relating thereunto, and that is concerning myself, which is this. I do desire, with your Lordship's leave, that the King's letter, directing me to dispense with the Judges taking the Oath of Supremacy, may be entered at the Signet Office, as the others are.

I have nothing more at present relating to the King's service to entertain your Lordship with, and therefore shall conclude this trouble with beseeching you to believe that I am, with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

XCIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Apologies made to him from the Government at home, for the hardships put upon him.—Affairs of Revenue and Plantation trade.—Sends his letter by Tory Hamilton, an honest fellow.

Dublin Castle, April 27, 1686.

On Sunday I received yours of the 17th instant; and how I have been owned to be in the right in the letters which you caused to be delivered from

me, and how far any apology was made to me, you know before this, by the copy of the letter which I sent you from a great Lord. I am too well acquainted with the method of our world to expect apologies: if my letters do produce the effect that no more hardships will be put upon me in my government, I shall be a mighty man; but it is more than I can expect, considering the tempers and humours of men. I will never touch more upon *eclaircissemens*, being abundantly satisfied in what you say; and you shall never have cause to be otherwise with me. I have signed the quarter's establishment for the officers belonging to the revenue, due at Christmas last, without any scruple: I will follow your method for the future in approving of those officers, and appointing their salaries.

I have by this packet sent you a large despatch to the Treasury chamber, concerning the Plantation trades; in which controversy, I think the Commissioners here have the advantage of the Commissioners of the Customs in England, in point of reason; and I am sure their assertions in matter of fact are true and plain, without any specious glosses; which I cannot say of those from the Custom-house in London. If you please to let it be laid before the King in Council, as a matter of state, all parties will submit to the determination that shall be given from thence; and now I have laid it there, I have done.

I send this by Tory Hamilton, who is not unknown to you. He is amongst the unfortunate, as his Colonel sends him word; and therefore he goes over to see what by himself and friends he can do. I do assure you he is as honest a fellow as ever was born; and deserves as well from the government as a man in his circumstances can do, for the successful pains he has taken in suppressing and bringing in the rogues and robbers of the country: therefore, pray let me desire you to do him what good offices you can. He will be with you, I believe, at least a day before the packet, which goes over in the same boat with him.

The late frequent packets from England make my letters the shorter; which you have reason to be glad of. God keep you and all yours.

C.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Mr. Rycaut, his appointment to a company.—Contest between two of the new Judges for precedence.—Intended general meeting of the Catholics in Dublin.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 27, 1686.

I return your Lordship my most humble thanks for the favour of your letter of the 17th instant, and for your kindness to Mr. Rycaut in obtaining Captain Butler's company for him, which I shall always acknowledge, and will make all returns of gratitude to your Lordship to the utmost of my power. I can now tell your Lordship, that the two new Judges have their patents, and were sworn on Saturday. There happened some little dispute yesterday morning upon their coming into court, concerning precedency; Mr. Nugent insisting much that he came into the place of Sir Richard Reynell, who was the second judge, and therefore he ought to sit in the same place; to which Judge Lindon would not submit: and I am told the contest was as brisk as if it had been between two women. But my Lord Chancellor settled it, by acquainting them that there never was any dispute in England in such cases; for it was known there, that when the King thought fit to set aside a Judge, though it were the second of the court, the new Judge always took the youngest place in that court: and so all that matter is now well.

I have lately been informed by some Roman Catholics of this country, that there is a general meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy, and persons of quality of that religion, appointed to be in this city on the 15th of the next month; which I thought fit to acquaint his Majesty with by your Lordship, that I may know his pleasure; and whether he approves of the said meeting: which I the rather do, because those who have acquainted me with it, seem to think those meetings not fitting, without the knowledge of the government. And my business in all these cases is to lay things truly before your Lordship, and then to follow the orders I receive from you; which as they have been, so they always shall be punctually obeyed. I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Changes intended in the Affairs of Ireland.—Revenue.—Controversy between the Irish Commissioners and the Commissioners of Customs in England.—Requests the Duke's attention to the papers relating to it.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, April 27, 1686.

By the last packet I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 20th instant; and since you are pleased to encourage me to give you an account of the affairs here, I shall do it constantly, as there shall be occasion. I have, from my first being here, given the best account of things I could, as I found them; and have, in my letters to my Lord President, written pretty freely of every thing: but I suppose resolutions concerning this country were to be taken from other informations than those that came from me; as appears from the changes that are already made, (of which I gave your Grace an account in my last letters,) and from more that will be made in the army, of which I am not yet to know the particulars; though forty people, who come from England, discourse of them all, and pretend to have seen the commissions at the Secretary's Office; and I am sure several of them will say nothing but what is true. To avoid tedious repetitions, I will take the liberty to refer your Grace to my brother; who will entertain you, when you are at leisure, with the representations I have made from hence. It is very wonderful that the revenue here for the last year, ending the 25th of December, should have held out so well, even to what it was the preceding year. I wish this present year may yield as much; though I greatly doubt it. But whether my fears are reasonable or not, nothing but a little time can clear: I heartily wish there may be no ground for the apprehensions I have in that matter. I have by this packet written a long letter to my Lord Treasurer, concerning the trade of this kingdom to the Plantations; which is grown to be a controversy between the Commissioners of the Revenue here and those of the Customs in England: in which, I think, the Commissioners here have much the advantage in point of reason. I have begged it may be laid before the King in Council, as a matter of state; and to the determination his Majesty shall make in it, all parties will cheerfully submit. I beseech your Grace to call for those papers, and read them; and then you will do as you think most

for the King's advantage; and I hope I shall not be thought less an Englishman for proposing what is for the benefit of Ireland; which, if truly considered, is at least as advantageous to the trade of England as to Ireland. I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble, and am with perfect devotion,

Your Grace's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

In favour of Captain William Hamilton.

SIR, Dublin Castle, April 29, 1686.

This bearer, Captain William Hamilton, having had an account from some of his friends in England who wish him well, that he has the misfortune to be represented under an ill character to your Majesty, I could not refuse to give him leave to cast himself at your Majesty's feet, and at the same time to assure your Majesty, that as I found him here under a very good character from all people who know him, and as the service he has done the public for some years is eminently known, by his bringing to justice many notorious offenders who disturbed the peace of part of this your Majesty's kingdom; so I am bound in justice to him to let your Majesty know, with all submission, that I have found him, since my being here, very active and diligent in your Majesty's service; and he has given very good accounts of what I have employed him in for your service, even with the hazard of his life. I am afraid some men are displeased with him for his great zeal to your Majesty's service; but I am sure your Majesty will not easily entertain an ill opinion of a young gentleman who has been in your service ever since he could carry a musket, and who desires to spend his life in your service, as I will undertake. I humbly beg your Majesty's favourable acceptance of him, and that you will be pleased to afford your pardon for this presumption, to, Sir,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant,

CLARENDON.

CIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Is happy to find that the King is pleased with what he does.—Will do his duty honestly.—Reform in the mode of paying the Army.—Necessity of the King's restraining his bounty.—Lord Chancellor Porter;—his pension;—his conduct.—Anonymous letter, containing information about plots in Ireland.—Hugh Linsey's deposition.—Mr. Aubrey, and Mr. Strong his successor.—Mr. Robinson—recommended for one of the Commissioners.—Expenses for the Yacht.—Horse-races at the Curragh of Kildare.

Dublin Castle, May-day, 1686.

I have received your's of the 22d past, which is the most comfortable letter I have had since my being here: as all letters must be to a man at the distance I am, to find that what I do is pleasing to the King, as I hope all I shall do will be. For I will still act upon the same plain principle of doing my duty honestly without any self end, and without partiality to any sort of people, but will be indifferent to all, as I am sure I have hitherto been. I shall be very glad to receive the method of paying the army in England, which, when I have, I will practise here, or tell you my reasons why I do not, which I cannot speak to till I see it. I doubt not but the rule I have made concerning the deductions from the soldiers will please the King, because they are all equal in England; that is, there is no more deducted from one regiment than there is from another. It was not so here when I came, which could not have done well if it had not been remedied. I am very glad the King seems sensible that he must restrain his bounty in this kingdom: if he does not, he will be aground before he is aware. I find by Mr. Gwyn, that there is a letter signed for my Lord Chancellor Porter's having a pension of 1500*l.* per annum, which I am glad of, for it is necessary, the place of itself, without appointments from the King, not being worth, *viis et modis* as the phrase is, 500*l.* per annum; and a man must live in a handsome port, or else he will hear of it. He is not yet settled, but has taken Sir John Cole's house, one of the best new-built houses in the town: it is upon the Strand, and he gives 100*l.* per annum for it, which is counted a good rent here. I am confident he is well pleased with my manner of living towards him: he tells me he has written his mind very freely to the King concerning this country, which, he says, he found it necessary to do, because he finds the Irish have expectations very different from what the King seemed inclined to grant when he came away. Possibly this may work, and it comes not from me. I

find he is got into a very good acquaintance with the best sort of people here, which may do well if he takes his measures from them.

On Tuesday the 27th of the last month, in the afternoon, my closet-keeper brought me a letter sealed up and directed to me, which, he said, he found under a chair in the next room to my closet, which is my withdrawing-room. I send you a copy of it.* Perhaps it is best to keep it by you, (but you are the best judge,) and not to take notice of it at present. The truth is, the substance of this letter is very common discourse in the mouths of most of the Irish popish party; but I think it best not to send over any informations of this kind till I can do it authentically, and upon good proof, such as will bear examining: and even such, I have some reason to believe, I shall have in a little time from more than one hand. As soon as I have them, you may be sure they shall be transmitted to you: in the mean time, pray let me have your advice, whether I should send a copy of this unknown letter (for I do really know no more of it than I told you) to my Lord Sunderland, and likewise any other informations that may be brought me upon that kind of subject; or whether I shall first send them to you and receive your advice upon them, before I transmit them to any other for the King. I am not much inclined to give great credit to such letters that are dropped in the dark; but yet, methinks, considering the place and people, they ought not to be quite neglected nor despised, especially if there be any ground to believe any thing

* [Indorsed, "From an unknown hand, and given me the 27th of April, 1686, in the afternoon, by Richard Ewre: he told me he found it in the next room to my closet."]

MY LORD,

My uncle was the party who discovered the Rebellion in 41. There are terrible conspiracies afoot against most of the chief of the three nations, and there are not only large indulgences granted, but large sums given and promised for swearers and accusers, who shortly are to impeach most of the nobles and gentry. In plain, our prime steers, who have lately been made chief commanders in the army, as E. T. E. C. J. M. O. C. L. D. C. J. D. S. J. C. S. E. S., and forty others, have sworn upon the first opportunity, to acknowledge a foreign princely power: upon the first opportunity I say; or at farthest, upon the death of this King. Dublin is the first place for the massacre, and so through the realm, for they think the King is too tedious and merciful in pulling down the Protestants. In short, times are so bad now, that no man hath a heart to discover the truth; yet in case a pardon, encouragement, and a protection be granted, there are divers besides myself, who shall discover the naked truth, and produce several papers signed and sealed by men of note, and two Cardinals hands, one of whom an English one. This and much more terrible passages shall be deposed upon oath, and produced, if speedily encouraged, until which be granted, I shall neither date, sign, nor speak further, till your Lordship shall find it more apparent. Your enemies are contriving to recall you from this government as soon as possible. Farewell.

that is in these nameless letters. As for instance, reading this unknown letter, this passage occurs, "large sums given and promised for swearers and accusers," puts me in mind of an oath that was made and brought to me a good while since, a copy whereof is here likewise enclosed. The party who deposed, Hugh Linsey, I am told, is a Roman Catholic; and I am almost confident I shall know more of this trinketing, if there be not noise made of it too soon; and therefore I should think it best to take no notice as yet, but still I leave it to you.

Mr. Strong did resolve not to have stirred till Mr. Aubrey had been arrived, (of whom I yet hear nothing,) but his relapses come so thick upon him, and he was so very ill and weak the day before yesterday, that I cannot in conscience press him to stay longer, and so he embarks this day for Chester. He tells me, if he recovers his health he will be here again long before Michaelmas. He is beaten to the business, and understands every tittle of it, therefore I hope he will do well; and I long for him back again, for the commission without him will be very lame. The rest are very good men, industrious, and can drudge; but they are but three, and one of them must go a ramble presently into the country, or else we shall not have so good an account of the excise as we should have. And Mr. Aubrey, when he comes, for the first two or three months will be a stranger. If Mr. Strong should not do well, or have no mind to return, it will then be a proper time to remember Mr. K——: though he may want experience, yet, I assure you, he can take pains, and he has a very good understanding. I will endeavour to have always one or two in my mind fit for the employment, if there should at any time be a vacancy of a commissioner; and I hope you will have the like. Here is one not altogether unknown to you, Mr. Robinson, the surveyor and engineer. I never knew a better kind of man, nor whose head was more turned to the method of business: such a man, a commissioner, would better the revenue infinitely. I am sure he does not know that I have any such thought for him, nor do I believe that ever it came into his own head.

I wrote to you on the 24th past by Captain Wright, wherein I recommended to you the paying of his crew belonging to the yacht. I had a mind to know what the keeping such a yacht cost the King, and therefore I bid the Captain give me an account of the charge, which he did, and he seems to have done it exactly; if it may be any use to you, I send you a copy thereof. The next week there will be a great meeting at the Curragh of

Kildare, where will be several horse-races. Partly to see something of the company and the country, and partly for a little air (of which I have yet had none since my being here), I have resolved to go thither on Monday, and will be back on Friday; so that you must not expect to hear from me till by the packet of this day sennight. My wife had a mind to have gone with me; but then the great lady would have gone too, which I did not think convenient; and whether my wife's staying here will keep her in town, I cannot tell; nor, I am sure, can I help whatever she does. God keep you and yours.

CIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Captain Baskerville dangerously ill.—In case of his death, recommends Mr. Gilbert to succeed him.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 1, 1686.

Having no commands from you, I might have saved your Lordship the trouble of this letter; having at the present nothing to inform you of from hence, but only to acquaint your Lordship that Captain Baskerville, a Captain in the regiment of Guards, is very ill, and the doctors do despair of his recovery. I do not use to give notice of things of this kind, before the persons are actually dead; but my reason of doing it at this time (if such a reason may be allowed for a good one) is because I am going a little journey on Monday. It is only to the Curragh of Kildare, where there will be a meeting of several of the gentry about horse-races. But my principal business is to take a little air (which I have not had since my being here) for three or four days, so that I would not have you surprised to hear of this gentleman's death by another hand. If he should die, I humbly beg your Lordship to lay before the King Mr. Gilbert, who is, and has been a Lieutenant many years, to the Lieutenant-colonel of the regiment: he is a very honest, modest man, and never from his duty. If the King shall be pleased to bestow this company upon him, it will be a great encouragement to those who serve well. I shall be in town again on Friday, or sooner, if any commands come from your Lordship, or the King's service require it. I am with all possible respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

May 2.

This morning word is brought me that Captain Baskerville is dead: ac-

cording to the rule, I think the Captain-lieutenant of the Colonel's company, ought to be advanced to the vacant company, who is Captain Arthur, a very honest man; he is a Roman Catholic, and lately bought the employment. If the King please to bestow the company upon him, then Lieutenant Gilbert may be preferred to be Captain-lieutenant. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, but I think it fit for me to represent those officers whom I think the most deserving, and have the best title to his Majesty's favour, which I do with all submission.

CV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Lord Roscommon, who is going into England to solicit for the Duke of Monmouth's share of the forfeited Estates.—Description of the Curragh of Kildare.—State of the Peasantry.

Kildare, May 4, 1686.

My letter to you on Saturday told you of the journey I intended to make hither, at which I expect to be laughed, for I do it at myself to think that I should live to go after a horse-race; but sometimes it is not amiss to mingle among the people with whom one is to live; and to see something of the country, and enjoy a little fresh air, which indeed I wanted; though I thank God, I am very well, and have enjoyed wonderful constant health ever since my being in this kingdom; to which I believe nothing contributes more than the employing the mind. You know I can take pains; and if pains and labour will teach me what I would know, I am resolved, if I have time given me for it, I will know every thing of this island, and of every considerable inhabitant in it.

I came hither last night, and did not intend so much as to have thought of writing till I entered my closet again at Dublin; but it is terrible wet weather, so that there is no looking abroad. And besides, my Lord Roscommon, who has told me such necessary occasions which, together with the advice of his friends, call him into England, informed me yesterday morning that he shall be gone before I came back, and I promised him to send him a letter of recommendation to you. You know better than I can tell you his long and old pretensions from the King, and that he is now come to a great title and no estate, which is a melancholy circumstance for a man who has children to inherit his honour. One of his pretensions is, to beg the Duke of Monmouth's share of the grant which has been so much mentioned between

you and I, which will be no great matter to the King, and I doubt very little to his Lordship, for there is but a small share of that grant yet recovered; and perhaps never will, as you may see if you examine the particular which I sent you, signed by Richard Thompson: but whatever may be recovered, will be at great cost, as such kind of discoveries and projects commonly are. You are as well acquainted with my Lord as I am, and therefore I need not say much to you of his personal merits, of which you are or may be well informed there, by those who I am sure you will believe. If civilities and kindnesses are justifiable bribes to induce me to recommend him, as I think they are, I am obliged to own that I have received both in a great degree from him; which I am sure you will acknowledge to him; and I am confident you will be ready to do him what service you can, and so I leave him.

It is called but twenty miles from Dublin hither, but it is full as far as from London to Reading: it is indeed a noble country; and the common where the race is held, is a much finer turf than Newmarket, and infinitely larger; but it is sad to see the people, I mean the natives, such proper lusty fellows, poor, almost naked, but will work never but when they are ready to starve; and when they have got three or four days' wages, will then walk about idly till that be gone; and if they cannot then presently get into work, as perhaps at that moment their next neighbour has nothing to employ them in, then they steal. Their women, in the mean time, do nothing, not so much as spin or knit, but have a cow, two or three, according to the bigness of their ground, which they milk, and upon that they live; and no sort of improvement made upon the ground. Their habitations (for they cannot be called houses) are perfect pigsties; walls cast up, and covered with straw and mud; and out of one of these huts, of about ten or twelve foot square, shall you see five or six men and women bolt out as you [pass] by, who stand staring about. If this be thus so near Dublin, (as I saw several upon the road.) Lord what can it be further up in the country!* of which I shall hereafter be able to give you an account, when I have opportunity of making further journies. I did not think to have written so long a letter, but the rain gives me leisure. God keep you and all yours.

* This description of the state of the Irish peasantry in the County of Kildare, is not without its interest. The lapse of a century and a half, though it may have somewhat bettered their condition, has by no means placed them on a level, in regard to moral improvement, with the peasantry of other countries differently circumstanced. May there not be something in the national character, which co-operates with the political and religious state of Ireland in retarding it?

CVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Affair of the Yacht, and general concerns of the Revenue.—The Lord Chancellor;—profits of his place.—Is pleased with the account of his Son's Regiment.—Recommends a Commission of Grace.—Sir Robert Hamilton,—his conduct and character: boasts of favour with the King, and of changes to be made in Ireland.—Affairs of the Army Pay.—Death of Mr. Keating.

Dublin Castle, May 8, 1686.

I told you in my last, this day was a sennight, of the great vacation I was about to give myself: which I have done, and seen a very fine country, and some sport, though we have had but little good weather since. On Thursday, about noon, came in three packets from England, and in the evening the letters were with me at Kildare; among which I had yours of the 27th and 29th past, and 1st instant. Yesterday I returned hither, as I intended, so that my little ramble has not given the least obstruction to his Majesty's service; nor will I be ever out of the way, wherever that requires me to be. I wish you joy of the little lodge* the King has given you; I have been at it, but it was quickly after the King's restoration. A far less sum will make it to your mind, than would have built a new house, and it stands mighty convenient for the park, which you so much delight in. I heartily wish you a good chapman for Twickenham,† but you will not, I doubt, get what it cost my father, who paid roundly for all his purchases, besides what he laid out upon them afterwards, which will not make them yield any thing the more. This discourse puts me in mind of saying, that I hope care was taken to secure your money before my Lord Grey was restored to his estate.

What you say concerning the Portsmouth yacht is very reasonable; that, being designed for the service of this kingdom, it ought to be supported out of this revenue. Whatever the mind was of former governors, I think it very reasonable that the King should lay what additions he pleaseth upon the establishments here, provided he doth not overcharge the revenue; whatever is left, when the charge of the government is defrayed, it is the King's;

* This was probably the lesser lodge in Richmond Park, then called *New Park*, of which Lord Rochester appears to have been Ranger.

† I do not find any mention in Lysons of Lord Clarendon or Lord Rochester having possessed Twickenham Park; but from this passage it appears to have been purchased by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Here then is another illustrious name to add to the many which already grace the annals of this pleasant village.

let him have it into England, or pay it to any persons here, as he shall think fit. I would only be glad, if it may be allowed, that I might make such a bank, as I am directed by my 9th instruction; which would be of greater advantage to the King, in point of reputation, than thrice the sum. But as to the business of the yacht; for the arrears, if you please, let them be stated, and paid in England; and for the future charge, I will undertake to defray it; but indeed the arrear will be too great a burden, and therefore I beg not to be loaded with it. I sent you, in one of my late letters, an estimate of the charge of the yacht, given me by Captain Wright; so that I know whereabouts it will be.

This morning my Lord Chancellor came to bid me welcome to town; which, it seems, is the custom, though I was so few days away: he showed me a letter he had lately from you, which he is much pleased with. You see by my last, what my opinion was of increasing his salary; which had not been too much, if it had been 1500*l.* per annum addition to the 1000*l.* per annum already on the establishment; for with the addition of 500*l.* per annum, which is now made by the King's letter, the whole profits of the place will scarce amount to 1900*l.* per annum. I thank you for what you tell me of the King's being so well pleased with the account Sir John Lanier had given him of my son's regiment: it is a great satisfaction to me, when I hear he does any thing which he ought to do. I am sure he knows what he should do; and I hope he will take the advice of his friends: and thus I have done with yours of the 27th past. I come now to your other of the 29th; wherein you tell me of the discourse the King had with you, upon what I writ to him concerning a Commission of Grace. I told you, in one of my former letters, the reasons which induced me to do it, though I differed in opinion with you in it. I can assure you (though I must name some people only to you) that such a commission from the King would, more than any thing else that can be thought of, settle the minds of the kingdom, and raise a very considerable sum of money, is not the opinion only of my Lord Primate and Mr. Solicitor General, (perhaps their names would prejudice the business,) but of other very considerable persons, not only English, but even Irish Catholics; for all men of that religion, who have estates, are either confirmed in their old possessions, or in their new acquisitions by the Acts of Settlement: and they are as much afraid of a breach upon those acts, as the new interested English, and would give any thing to be secured. And, now I find that the King was not displeased with what I writ, I will quickly send over a proposal, with the con-

currence of my Lord Chancellor. As to yours of the 1st instant, it being written by the King's command, I send you herewith a particular answer to it, in a paper by itself, that you may show it to the King. You tell me you were commanded to write to me in answer to a part of my last letter to his Majesty. Pray tell me your own opinion (though you cannot the King's) of the other part of it: I doubt it was upon a nice subject. I sent you a copy of the letter, as I always do (and will so continue) of all I write to the King and to my Lord President. Sir Robert Hamilton arrived with the packet, and was immediately with me the last night, upon my coming to town: there was nothing of discourse between us but common civility. He told me, the King remembered him to me, and that my Lord Treasurer was very well. He has been with my Lord Chancellor; and to him he seemed much dissatisfied with Lord Tyrconnel, and complained of his unkindness to him: but in the town he sets forth that lord's praises; and he particularly told the Archbishop of Dublin, that my Lord Tyrconnel comes over in great glory, with a commission to command the army in chief, independent of me; and that nothing is done in any affairs, either military, ecclesiastical, or civil, but by that lord's advice. I do not tell you this any otherwise than as it was told me, without any pain that I am in; for I am fully satisfied with what you formerly writ to me upon that subject. I have told you heretofore, how I mean to live with my Lord Tyrconnel; which, by the grace of God, I will observe; and for Sir Robert Hamilton, I have been long acquainted with his temper, with his little truth, and less integrity; but I will live as well with him as I ought to do with a man who is a privy counsellor. He talks as if the King and he were all one; and I doubt the King has talked very freely to him: for, about two months since, I saw a letter from him, signed at length R. Hamilton, to a clergyman here, saying that the King had told him what my Lord Lieutenant had written concerning Sir Robert Colvill, and took pains to justify himself, that he had done Sir R. C. no ill offices.

He further told the Archbishop of Dublin, that Mr. Bridges was out of the Commission of the Revenue, and Mr. Keightley was in his room; and when the Archbishop told him there was no such matter, he seemed to wonder, and said, he had reason to expect to be a Commissioner himself, and upon his application to his Majesty the King told him he could not do it; for he had put out only Bridges, and filled that place with Keightley, and so he could not provide for him. This is but tittle-tattle: however, it is fit you should know it. I suppose, I shall quickly see, at what rate he will talk to

me. God keep you and yours, and send you your heart's desire in every thing.

I have been thinking that it might not be amiss, when the business of the deductions of the army comes into debate, if you show the accounts I sent you; whereby it will appear how much the officers have used to deduct for clothing, and other extraordinaries; but in this you know best what is fit to do. When I have the deductions from Mr. Blathwait, which are made in England, I shall be able to see what proportion they bear with ours here; especially the horse, many of whom here do make great complaints: and certainly all ought to be alike; more should not be deducted from one regiment than from another.

Last night happened an ill accident here: one Mr. Ashton killed one Mr. Keating upon the quay. The quarrel was sudden; and I am not yet well informed of the particulars; but I give you this early notice of it, that you may prevent, if possible, the begging the estate of Ashton, which I am told is a good one. If the King pleaseth to let the law take its course, if it proves forfeited, (as it will be, if the fact be found murder, which is treason here,) his Majesty shall have a true account of it; and when he knows what it is, he may do what he pleaseth: I am sure I have no design but to serve him as well as I can.

May 9th. Sunday morning.

CVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Affairs of the Revenue.—Mr. Keating killed in a duel.—Mr. Ingleby, the new Judge of the Court of Exchequer, not arrived.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 8, 1686.

I gave your Lordship an account in my last of a little ramble I was going to take for four or five days, from whence I returned yesterday. I found here three packets come in from England; but having no commands from your Lordship, your present trouble will be the shorter. All is very well here, and I hope will so continue. The Revenue holds out very well; and, though there be a decrease upon most branches of the produce within this port of Dublin, yet there is a considerable increase in several other ports; and, upon the whole, the produce throughout the kingdom of this last quarter, ending at Lady-day, is something more than the produce of the same quarter the last year, as my Lord Treasurer can give your Lordship a

more particular account. Here has happened this evening an unlucky accident: two gentlemen, one Mr. Ashton and Mr. Keating, meeting upon the quay, quarrelled; presently drew, and Ashton run the other through, upon which he fell down dead upon the place. I have not yet had an account of any other particulars. Ashton is taken, and in the hands of justice, and will be prosecuted according to law. Mr. Ingleby is not arrived as yet, which I am sorry for, there being but two judges in the Exchequer, and the King having more business there than in any other court; but I hope he will be here before the next term. I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Commission of Grace.—Trade depressed.—The King's intention of having the Army in Ireland paid in the same method as that of England.—Details upon the subject.—Lord Cornbury,—his indisposition and absence from Court.—Quarter's Revenue.—Pay of the Army.—Clerk of the Pells.—Muster-master-general.

Dublin Castle, May 8, 1686.

By the last mail, which brought in three packets from England, I have received yours of the 1st instant, which, being by the King's command, I will answer as fully and distinctly as I can. And first, as to what I mentioned in mine of the 17th past to his Majesty, concerning a new Commission of Grace for defective titles: I have acquainted my Lord Chancellor that the King is pleased to give him and me leave to confer together upon it, and to send over such proposals, as we two, upon due consideration, shall think fit to offer. We have appointed to meet immediately upon it, and shall in a very few days presume to lay our thoughts before his Majesty without any delay; for the sooner a resolution is taken thereupon, the sooner men's minds will be at ease here; which that they should perfectly be, is most for his Majesty's service, and without which every thing will go very heavily. There seems at present to be a great damp upon trade in the countries, into the cause of which I am enquiring, and doubt not to give a good account thereof, and likewise to remove it: for the present I shall say no more of this matter. As to his Majesty's pleasure of having the same method observed in paying his army here as is in England, as soon as I receive that method (which

you say you will send me by the next) it shall be followed with all obedience; and if there appear any difficulties therein, they shall be represented to you, and then his Majesty will be best able to direct what to have done in them. As to the deductions which are now made from the army here (I mean those which are certain), I send you an account of what they are in the enclosed paper; by which you will see, the whole, from a common foot soldier, comes to in a year but 11*s.* 1*d.* The deductions for the Treasurer, and to the Hospital, were by the late King's directions, and the latter by his charter; for those to the Clerk of the Pells, I refer you to the representation made to me by Mr. Corker, who manages that office for Sir Arthur Jones, as deputy to him, which seems to state it fully. As for 2*d.* per pound to the agent, that was directed by the officers. As for what the Muster-master-general claims, which is a day's pay per annum, which from the common foot soldier is 6*d.* in the year; I find by all the enquiry I can make, that that demand has been allowed to him ever since Sir —— King, grandfather to the present Lord Kingston, was Commissary-general, which was before the rebellion in 1641. The King allows the Commissary-general upon the establishment 336*l.* per annum, and, as you will find it there mentioned, (for the establishment is entered in the council book at Whitehall,) to continue his taking one whole day's pay in the year from the army. What the deductions are in England I know not, but have written to Mr. Blathwait to be informed. I have been assured by some who have commands in the army in England, that there is always money paid to the Muster-master, when he musters a company or regiment: who allows it, or whence it is deducted, I had no occasion to enquire. The King very well knows the Muster-master-general's office is a place of great trust, and he is obliged to keep several clerks and deputies. If he be allowed nothing but his salary, it will be very narrow; and the King cannot have a better officer, in his station, than Mr. Yarner, the present Muster-master-general, who is a very honest gentleman, and the most exact man in all his affairs that I have ever known. All the deductions, as they are mentioned in the enclosed paper, come to, from a common foot soldier, (from the horse and the officers it is the same in proportion,) less than a farthing and half a farthing per diem, and his clothing, (according to the late order I made at the council of war), to $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ more; so that together the whole deductions from the common foot soldier are not 2*d.* per diem; and his pay being 6*d.* per diem, he has 4*d.* per diem to himself; and, if I am rightly informed, 2*d.* a day is deducted from the common foot soldier

in England. I hope I have clearly stated this whole matter, and made it intelligible; and having done so, I have answered all your letter.

I had by the last packet a letter from you of the 30th past, from the Treasury Chamber, which I have communicated to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and will send you a distinct answer to it by the next.

I thank you for telling me that my son is better than he was. I hope, considering the season of the year, he will quickly shake off his cough; and when he has his health, I shall be glad to hear he is as diligent as he ought to be in paying his duty to the King and Prince; his not doing it is a greater trouble to me than I can express.

I send you here enclosed a view of the produce of the Revenue of the last quarter, ending at Lady-day 1686, compared with the same quarter of the last year; whereby you will see, though the produce of the port of Dublin be less in every particular than it was the last year, yet in other ports it is increased, and in the whole there is a small increase upon this last quarter. The inland excise, I find, is this last quarter 1086*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* less than the preceding year; of which I will find out the cause if possible. I think I have no more to add at present. God Almighty keep you and yours.

It may not be amiss here to inform you that I have issued out warrants for paying the army what was due for the quarter ending the last of March, so that by the 16th or 18th of this month, they will be all paid.

Mr. Corker says, more may be said to support the right of the Clerk of the Pells, if the representation he has given me does not satisfy; but I acquainted him with the objections that were against him, only the last night after my coming to town, and he could not make it fuller upon so short warning. And I thought it best to give as quick an answer as was possible, to what you wrote by the King's command.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL USUAL DEDUCTIONS MADE OUT OF THE PAY OF THE ARMY, WITH AN INSTANCE OF THE SAME IN THE PAY OF A PRIVATE SOLDIER OF FOOT.

	£	s	d
A private soldier's pay per annum	8	8	0
Whereof to the			
Treasurer for poundage, 6*d.* per pound	0	4	2
Clerk of the Pells, 10*s.* per cent. or 1¼*d.* per pound	0	0	10
Hospital 6*d.* per pound	0	4	2
Agent 2*d.* per pound	0	1	5
Muster-master-general one day's pay per annum, which is one half-penny per mensem	0	0	6
	0	11	1
Remainder to balance	7	16	11

Postscript to the preceding letter.

I gave the Muster-master-general leave to go out of town for four or five days; and he not being yet returned, I could not send you the state of his case under his own hand, which you shall have by the next. What I have said upon this affair is by the enquiries I made upon what Colonel Macarty said to me, who complained when he was here of that deduction; and therefore I informed myself as particularly as I could of it, in case I should be further called upon in it: what I have said, I am sure is true.

CIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Sir Robert Hamilton, and his rumours of changes, and report of the large powers granted to Lord Tyrconnel.—Other stories and intrigues of Sir Robert Hamilton.—Mr. Edward Tyrrell and his patent of Baronetcy; account of him.

Dublin Castle, May 11, 1686.

Sir Robert Hamilton is a wonderful man: he is so full of news, and talks so much in the town, and tells such frightful stories of what universal alterations are to be made here, that the townsmen think of nothing but enquiring after news. The truth is, if what he says be true, there is scarce one man now in employment but is to be removed, throughout the kingdom; which, if it were true, might certainly be ordered to be better divulged than by such a kind of report; which is not for the King's service, with submission. Among other things, he says the Commission of the Revenue here is altered; Mr. Bridges put out, and Mr. Keightley put into his room; that having some intimation of it, he went to the King, having a pretension to be a Commissioner of the Revenue himself; and that the King told him, that he had already put in Mr. Keightley, or else he would have given it to him. And he says he was told by a good hand before he left London, that my Lord Longford and Culliford were to be put out, and Hacket and Hoare, two merchants of this town, to be in their places. There is a very pleasant story he tells about, and assures people that he saw and read my Lord Tyrconnel's commission; which gives him very large powers, and the absolute command and disposition of the army, without taking any notice of the Lord Lieutenant. I confess I cannot but laugh at this part of his report which concerns me, whereby he thinks perhaps to make jealousies between my Lord Tyrconnel and me; which will not be in his, or any body's power to do. I never had yet any difference with my

Lord Tyrconnel; and I cannot imagine why he and I should not agree in the King's business, as well as any others. And I am sure the King knows I will be advised by my Lord Tyrconnel, or any others, in the affairs of the army, or in any other matters, as he commands me: and therefore I give no credit to those reports, knowing well his Majesty will not lessen any man in the authority he ought to have in the station he has put him, and which he has given by his commission; and I have not yet heard that his Majesty is dissatisfied with any thing I have done here. If I should go about to tell you all the stories Sir Robert Hamilton tells here to people of the best quality, (as they assure me,) I should fill a volume; and by his own discourses, one would think he had more private conferences with the King than all the ministers of state. I can say nothing of what he told me, for he has had no discourse with me. He came to see me on Friday night, when I came to town: I was as civil to him as I could. He told me, the King commanded him to remember him to me, and that my Lord Treasurer was well: on Sunday he dined with me, but we had no private discourse. But there is one particular I must needs acquaint you with; and it is worth your knowing. On Saturday Sir Robert Hamilton went to Mr. Price, (having, it seems, business with him,) and told him, though he would not answer the letters he had written to him out of England, and though he might think himself safe at present by my Lord Treasurer's means, yet he could assure him he had great enemies; and that it would be needful for him to have other friends about his Majesty. That he, Sir Robert, had done him all the service he could when in England; and so, by his means, had likewise done the Earls of Middleton and Murray; but people at court would not do good offices for nothing; and therefore he would advise Mr. Price to let him have 300*l.* or 400*l.* to dispose of to those two Lords, as he should think fit. Mr. Price answered him, that he corresponded with none about the accusations against him, but with my Lord Treasurer, in whose province he was; that he relied upon his own innocence; and that he served a just and a gracious prince, who would never punish any one unheard. All this Mr. Price told me, and I thought fit to impart it to you. I asked Mr. Price what Sir Robert Hamilton meant, at the beginning of this discourse, by the letters he had written to him out of England? Mr. Price said, that Sir Robert had written two letters to him relating to this matter. I desired to see them, and he brought them to me; copies whereof I herewith send you: I read the originals myself. Now you know all I can tell you, and I would have all trinketing known. I am sure I will conceal none. Certainly this Sir Robert

is a strange creature. God forgive me, I cannot help thinking that he did this to trepan Mr. Price; and if Mr. Price had given him the money he demanded, it would have been a greater article than any was against him. And I do believe the two Earls mentioned, knew no more of it than you do before you read this: nay, ten to one, neither of them ever spoke to the King about Mr. Price; for I have known some such passages, when I was heretofore in other business. I have told you a long story, and perhaps I may ere long tell you more as odd: strange things are done for money. Whatever the King gives, I would have go as he intends it; and let him give what he pleaseth. I have nothing more of business, but what I have written to the Treasury Chamber. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

I have written the first part of this letter in a paper by itself, not knowing but you may have a mind to read it to the King; and therefore I have written nothing in that paper but what I think you may show him, if you think fit. I send you herewith the Muster-master-general's paper, which I promised in my last. On Saturday last in the evening, one Mr. Edward Tyrrel, of the County of Meath, brought me the King's letter for creating him a Baronet. He is a very odd man: and it were to be wished his Majesty had good accounts of men, before he conferred marks of honour upon them; which he may very easily have, if he pleaseth, and still do what he has a mind to. This gentleman's father was a lawyer and a Roman Catholic. What religion he was of in the time of the usurpers, nobody can tell; but he was employed by them to make a survey of the County of Meath, which he did most exactly, therein discovering all the secrets with which he was trusted. His estate was very small: this gentleman hath much improved it, as he says; that is, he bought of new title, from soldiers adventurers, and 49 interest, to the value of about 700*l.* per annum; of which, it is said, he owes 5000*l.* and is encumbered with variety of lawsuits. There are at present three fines imposed upon him by the courts of justice, to the value together of 150*l.* for three several misdemeanours: they are estreated into the Exchequer; and he hopes, by the credit of his friends in England, to have a command to remit them. I can only say, that if that way be found out, to have the fines, imposed by law, remitted by command from England without examination, the King's casual revenue will quickly come to nothing. This gentleman is of any or of no religion: he is sometimes a Roman Catholic, and sometimes a Protestant. I think I have now been long enough. God keep you and all yours.

CX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Petition of Lord Gormanston and others for the Reversal of Outlawries.—Caution to be observed in that matter.—Has promised the Catholics to forward their requests to the King.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 11, 1686.

In my letter to your Lordship of the 26th of February, I enclosed a petition to the King from my Lord Gormanston and others, in behalf of themselves and several other persons, whose fathers had been outlawed in the time of the late rebellion here; upon which your Lordship hath not as yet given me any directions. I did in that letter presume to give your Lordship my thoughts upon it, and I am still of the same opinion; and that it is a matter of very great consequence, and ought to be very well considered in point of law; there being some statutes, which perhaps may difference this case here from cases of the like nature in England; which I would advise upon with the most skilful of both religions, if I have the King's directions by your Lordship so to do: but I do not think it fit for me to advise in a point of this great consequence, without first knowing his Majesty's pleasure. The reason why I trouble your Lordship in this affair at this time, is because several of the persons concerned have lately been with me, to know what answer I have to their petition; and finding I have received none, I fear they believe I have not sent it. I did promise the Roman Catholics (as many of them as came to me) upon my first coming over, that whatever requests they made to me, I would make them known to the King in their own words; and that I would contribute all that was in my power towards their satisfaction. I am sure nobody shall have just cause to complain of my not dealing truly and sincerely; and therefore, I beg your Lordship to let me know his Majesty's pleasure in this particular, that I may give some answer to those concerned. I have occasion of giving your Lordship no further trouble at present. I am most perfectly,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
And most humble servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Lieutenant Johnson.

Dublin Castle, May 11, 1686.

You have been so obliging to Judge Johnson, for which I have had great acknowledgments from several persons here, that I cannot refuse to recommend this bearer, his son, to your favour; he is Lieutenant to Major Purcell, of Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, and the Major likes him well; he has the character of an honest and stout man, and, when you see him, perhaps you will think him as fit for such a station as another. But Sir Robert Hamilton (who pretends to tell all the changes which are to be from the King's own mouth) tells him he is out of his employment: I am sure I know nothing of it, nor of any other change; but I knew not how to refuse him leave to go, to see what he can do for himself, when he finds I can do him no good. I recommend him to your protection, which is all I can do for him. His eldest brother is a lawyer, and well settled here, and my Lord Chancellor is very kind to him, being an acquaintance of his father's. God keep you and all yours.

CXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Mr. Ashe, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin.

Dublin Castle, May 11, 1686.

Every body who goes hence is ambitious of being recommended to you, and as sometimes it cannot be avoided, so I would not do it when it may; but the trouble is most excusable when the party has nothing to do, nor to ask, but to kiss your hands, which is the only business of this gentleman, Mr. Ashe, who is Chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin; he is a very ingenious man, and a good preacher; his present design is to travel, from which I could not dissuade him, being of years fit for it; and if he spends his time well, as probably he will, he will be the better for it as long as he lives; and I do confess I think seeing the world does every body good. I have given him a letter of recommendation to Sir William Trumbull, and I am sure you will show him your countenance, as much as is necessary. This being the errand of this paper, I will conclude it with my prayers to God for a blessing to you and all yours.

CXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Letter of compliment.

SIR, Dublin Castle, May 13, 1686.

Which is the greatest fault, to presume to make this address to you now, or never to have done it before, is in the breast of your Highness to determine; and to your determination I will always cheerfully submit. I know it may be looked on as a great confidence to cast myself in this manner at your Highness's feet, for me, who am so very insignificant in the world. But when you find that the whole of my ambition is to be preserved in your Highness's favourable opinion, and not to be utterly cast out of your memory, I hope you will easily grant your pardon to one who desires to be reckoned in the number of your servants: and I humbly beseech your Highness to look on me, as I am with all possible devotion and submission,

Sir, your Highness's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

Acknowledgment of favours conferred upon Lady Clarendon.—Professions of attachment.

MADAM, Dublin Castle, May 13, 1686.

Your Royal Highness's favours to my wife are so signal that I think myself bound to acknowledge them, if you will not be offended with this my presumption. I see, Madam, your goodness outdoes your greatness, in condescending to enquire after your poor servants, though in this remote place. I beseech your Royal Highness to believe that your gracious bounties to us are laid up in grateful hearts. As the King, your father, hath shined upon my poor family in raising it, and particularly in trusting me in this important station; so I hope I shall never want your Royal Highness's protection, at what distance soever. I have presumed to present my duty to the Prince; which I humbly beg your Royal Highness to make acceptable to him by presenting it to his hands: which I hope will the more easily induce him to forgive the confidence I have taken in doing it. I must not hold your Royal Highness too long with impertinencies: I shall therefore conclude with my prayers to God for your long life, and enjoyment of all the blessings of this

world; and that you will be pleased to believe, that I am with all possible duty and submission, Madam, your Royal Highness's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE PRINCESS OF DENMARK.

Thanks for her bounty to his Wife.—Requests her assistance and support in establishing him in the King's good opinion.

MADAM, Dublin Castle, May 13, 1686.

I hope your Royal Highness will pardon the presumption of this address, when you consider that it is only to make my humble acknowledgments for your great bounty to my wife; which, had it been of no value, (as it is of a very great one,) the coming from your Royal Highness would have made inestimable in our eyes. I can assure you, Madam, it will be kept as long as any of the poor family subsists, as a mark of the dependance it hath had on your royal person. As we have been raised by the bounty of the King your father, so I hope we shall never want the assistance of your protection to support us in his good opinion; and particularly, that you will afford your countenance towards the rendering my endeavours in his Majesty's service here acceptable to him. I wish your Royal Highness would find out something to employ me in for your service, that you might see what ready obedience your command would meet with. That you may live long, be a happy mother of many children, and enjoy all the blessings of this life, is the constant prayer of, Madam, your Royal Highness's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Convention of the Catholic Clergy.—Other proceedings of the Catholics.—Is anxious to have instructions how to proceed in these matters.—Titular Archbishop of Dublin, his character—The Primate and Archbishop do not agree.—Mr. Aubrey's arrival.—Complaint of Colonel Hamilton's agent unfounded.—Is glad of Tory Hamilton's success.—Affair of the Yacht.—Lord Burlington's arrival in Ireland.—Commission of Grace, the general opinion in favour of it.—New Baron of the Exchequer.—Trial and condemnation of Mr. Asheton for killing Mr. Keating, &c.

Dublin Castle, May 15, 1686.

This is the day appointed by the titular bishops for a general convention of their clergy in this city; and there are great numbers of them come to

town, and of other gentlemen and persons of quality. I am told one of their businesses is to consider of putting on their habits, and of wearing them about the streets; but no doubt there are matters of greater moment to be debated. I believe I shall have an account of all they do; but what service I shall be able to do thereby, God only knows. One would think these people should not venture to execute any thing, without first communicating their resolutions to the King, if they will not make me acquainted with them: though they pretend wonderful respect to me, and that they will do nothing without first communicating to me. I had lately an information given me from a good hand to this effect,—that every parish priest throughout the kingdom hath had instructions from their respective bishops to give an exact list of all the men in every of their parishes, what may be fit to bear arms, and of what ability they are; and this return is given to the several bishops; and that the Lord Tyrconnel with others, at a meeting, did cause those instructions to be sent to the particular priests to know the strength of the kingdom: that the subscriptions for carrying on the Irish affairs is a general thing throughout the kingdom; and that Sir Patrick Barnwell keeps the books and receives the money. This general convention (for so it is publicly called, and talked of by all sorts of people in the town,) is to continue for a week: so that I shall quickly see whether they will give me any more account of their proceedings than they did of their meeting. Methinks I should have an answer from my Lord Sunderland to what I wrote to him on the 27th past, whereby I should know how to guide myself in these matters: or, if this great meeting be by the King's allowance, methinks, his Lordship might have given me some directions, though they had been to take no notice of it; for then I should have been at ease, and known I had done no fault in not minding what they did. Suppose the Protestant clergy should appoint a general convention from all parts of the kingdom to be held in this city, or any where else, without taking notice to me of it, I am sure I would not suffer them to meet, and would legally punish them for the attempt; and I believe his Majesty would well approve of my so doing: and certainly no government will permit any part of their subjects to assemble together without the supreme authority. I would be very glad to know your opinion in these matters, and whether I should send this information (of which I have here given you the substance,) to my Lord President, or any others of the proceedings at this convention; for I have reason to believe I shall have several: but, if I do send them, I must conceal the names of my

informers. The titular Archbishop of Dublin has been with me; he seems to be a good man, but is no politician: he is a secular. I am told by a good hand of their own party, that he and the titular primate do not agree. About two days since he asked the Primate by what authority this convention was called; to which the other answered, that was not a question to be asked; it should be known when they were met. The more they differ, the better; and it is pity the contests between them may not be encouraged: but that I must not meddle with.

In the dogger which arrived last night, came Mr. Aubrey, (which I am very glad of,) and three packets from England, in which I have yours of the 6th and 8th instant. By the first, I find you had mine of the 27th past, so that my Lord President might have given me some hints for my conduct in this affair of the meeting; but I am to blame to make so untoward an observation.

The house which is taken for this meeting to be held in, is hired for a week. Perhaps, before I close my letter, I may tell you what is paid for it; so little is any thing of this matter a secret here. Good God! what can one say to such complaints as Slingsby makes, Colonel Hamilton's agent? It seems the Colonels will support their agents, without examining whether they are unreasonable or not; and my Lord Lieutenant must be almost complained of as partial, for not supporting the King's officers when they are in the right. And, after all, I dare say, if Colonel Hamilton had been present, he would rather have blamed his agent than Mr. Price. The dispute was not about any thing of the King's service, but about the deductions made by the Colonels, which Mr. Price makes, and keeps an account of the Colonels' directions and desires, and purely to serve them, for it is troublesome enough, and nothing of his business, though great ease to the Colonels, and I dare say Price will thank them to ease him of the trouble of keeping that account. But that a judge must be accounted partial by the party who loseth his cause, is no new practice in the world. When you send over the papers you mention, in order to a hearing, I will follow the directions you give, and, in the mean time, I am of your opinion, that it is best to say nothing to Mr. Price, except some new occasion arise here. I was so large in my former letters concerning the deductions from the army to the Pells, and the Muster-master-general, that I think I need not say any thing more now, but only that I did not confer with any of the officers of the army upon it, which I will now do, and give you an account in my next. But none of those who are

now here, have ever made any complaints of those deductions, though several of them have heard me speak of what passed between Colonel Macarty and me thereupon. I am very glad Tory Hamilton is like to fare so well. I wrote to the King by him in his behalf: he is a very honest fellow. I think I have fully answered your's of the 6th: now to that of the 8th.

My former letter was so full concerning the yacht, that I need say no more of that matter, only to renew my prayer, that we may not be burdened here with the arrear: and for the future entertainment, leave it to us, that this kingdom may have the honour of maintaining one of his Majesty's ships. If things go to my mind, I doubt not but this country will be further serviceable to his Majesty in his maritime affairs, as I shall speedily endeavour to make appear. I received last night from Mr. Gwyne the method of paying the forces in England, of which in my next I will give you my thoughts, when I have a little considered it. As soon as I hear my Lord Burlington is landed, I will send him my compliments, and shall be very glad to see him here when his occasions will permit. I doubt he is not pleased with me about Mr. Archer's business, but really it would have been unjust to have done otherwise than I did in that matter. I must not conclude without telling you, that my Lord Chancellor and I are very busy about our proposals concerning a commission, &c. Very quickly after the term, (which ends on Monday,) we shall be ready to send our thoughts to you; the more we think of it, the better we like it. The Chancellor hath discoursed of it (not owning that he has directions in it from England) with several of the best of the Irish lawyers, who are all fond of it, and wish the King would issue such a commission, as the only means, they say, to quiet the minds of the generality of his subjects of both religions, though, they say, there are some of both who will not like it, but they would not like any settlement. I dare not think it will bring in so much as my Lord Chancellor imagines; but I would not have the King give away all that will be raised above an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. If it goes on, I hope he will give away none of it, but let it all go to the relief of those hard cases which the King shall think worthy to be relieved. But it is yet too early to speak of these matters. God keep you and all yours.

Mr. Bridgeman has written to Sir Paul Rycaut, that Mr. Inglesby will not come over, and that I shall quickly have the King's letter for the putting Mr. Rice into that Baron's place; so that I find they will not reflect upon the

invasion is made upon my right, which, whatever may be thought there, is a disparagement to me here. One would think, at least, I might be required to find out, whether Mr. Rice will accept of it. Why might not Sir St—— Hartstonge come into it again? If the King would trust me in it, as he has done by my patent, I would not sell it; but enough of that.

This day Mr. Ashton stood his trial at the King's Bench bar for killing Mr. Keating. Care was taken to have a good jury, and they brought him in guilty, so that he will receive sentence on Monday, the last day of the term. Great intercession has been made to me already in his behalf; but in good earnest, the fact was so horrid, and so fully proved, and he had so little to say for himself, that I cannot think him a fit object of the King's mercy. I think to gratify his friends so far as to let them have his body, for otherwise, murder being treason here, by the law he is to be quartered, and his quarters set up; but being a gentleman, I presume the King will not be displeased that the severity of the sentence is so far mitigated. This gentleman's father was Sir William Ashton: he was a judge here. His last wife, whom he married not long before his death, is now married to Sir Charles Fielding, and has near 300*l.* per annum of the estate in jointure. What other estate he has shall be enquired into, and you shall have an account thereof. I must not omit telling you upon this occasion, how very ill some of the Irish carried themselves, making this trial a national concern, and saying an English jury would acquit Ashton, because Keating was an Irishman. But you will see how little reason there was for it, when I do assure you, (and it has been so in all other places since I came hither,) the panel was made of the best men of the city, that is, men of the best reputation and credit, without regard to religion, and there were as many of one persuasion as the other returned. Honest men, of whatever religion, will do justice, and will not be forsworn. I am in great hopes the trials which have been of late, will contribute much to the allaying the animosities among men.

Just now my Lord Chancellor came to me, and said he had a favour to beg of me, which is to let his own brother be of counsel in the revenue, as Mr. Rice now is. I told him I was engaged to one Mr. Pine, and that my Lord Treasurer was so too; to which he said, then he would have done, but Mr. Pine was a bad man, and a very great Whig. I only tell you this, as I do other things, that you may know all; but Mr. Pine shall have the place.

CXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.

Affairs of the Army and Ordnance.—Trade of Ireland with the Colonies; a measure relating to it laid before the Council.—Scheme of the Irish Army.—Other particulars relating to its constitution.—Rules for the pay and government of the Army.—Approves of the measure of sending two regiments from England.

SIR, Dublin Castle, May 15, 1686.

I was very glad to find by yours of the 24th past, that you were perfectly recovered of your fever, which, I find, is a distemper reigns in England as well as here. I thank you for the list of the alterations which have been made in the army of England since the 1st of December last, though the method is a little obscure by the several columns not being titled. I will say nothing more of the affair between my Lord Mountjoy and the Office of the Ordnance, but will endeavour to get copies of those papers from Mr. Bridgeman, without taking notice, you may be sure, of any thing that has passed between you and me upon that matter. I very well understand the meaning of your caution.

I will say no more to you of the affair concerning ships coming from the Plantations into this kingdom directly, (for it is not desired to go from hence thither with European goods, without going and lading out from England,) because I find by a letter from my brother of the 6th instant, that he intended the next day to lay before the King in council, all the papers I lately sent him from hence concerning that matter, which will come into your hands. I would be glad to know your opinion upon them, which I fancy (when you have read them) will not be the same, as when you wrote yours of the 24th past; for what is proposed is as much for the good of England as of this country; nay, the not granting what is proposed, will be to the prejudice of the trade of England, and no harm to this country, in our opinions. But no more upon this subject now. I doubt not but it will be thoroughly considered at the Council-board, as a matter of state (for so it is) ought to be; and pardon me if I say, the Commissioners of the Customs in England, by the answer they sent to the first paper, which I transmitted from hence, do not seem to be competent judges of the matter. I am glad you like the scheme I sent you of the army here. I herewith send you another, taken upon the last muster for the three months ending at Lady-day; and I

shall continue to send you one after every muster, that every thing may appear particular and plain before you. Pray observe again the column of new men: I thought it a very useful remark, and I am sure it is so, if rightly considered. Pray show them to my Lord Treasurer.

If you lay these things at any time before the King, I wish somebody would observe that particular of the new men; the gross of which come in the rooms of those discharged, for there are very few dead, and not many, considering the number, who run away. Those who are discharged do generally go for England, which takes away so many people, the greatest want this kingdom has; and those who are taken in are natives, a very loose and disorderly people; and how far the King will find them useful to his service time will determine. Every body can tell what has been thought of that sort of men in antient time; but, if the same practice be allowed, the army will consist of no other in a little time. I write this in freedom to you, (I am sure you will make good use of it,) and not without the advice of my friends. I should think that observation might naturally be made, without any mention of me. The account of the pay of the soldiers and officers of the army here you shall have the next week. I shall be glad to receive an account of the encampment at Hounslow-heath, when it is done.

I was indeed a little surprised to hear the Duke of Albemarle's being designed for the West Indies. I doubt he will recover neither health nor fortune by the employment; and I believe, without disparagement to his Grace, men of another sort would make better governors.

I shall hope for a good account of New England, and much for the King's advantage, if Sir Edmund Andros goes thither: he understands the people, and knows how to manage them.

Last night came in three packets from England, in which I had your's of the 6th instant: for which I return you my thanks, and for the rules for the better governing his Majesty's forces in Scotland.

The directions which were preparing in the Treasury for the pay of the army here, I have received last night, and shall within a few days return my opinion thereupon: but, as to the rules for the government of this army, I have heard nothing from my Lord President's office as yet, though I am told of them by several officers of the army here. I am very glad to find his Majesty continues in the resolution of sending for two regiments from hence, which will do his army good; and the sending two out of England to relieve them will give very great satisfaction to this kingdom. I think I have fully

answered all the particulars in both your letters. I have nothing further to add at present, but that I am very really, Sir, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Grant to Mr. Netterville.—Lord Mount Alexander's Petition.—Restoration of the Auditor's office by vacating Mr. Ware's patent, and placing Mr. Corker in his room.

Dublin Castle, May 18, 1686.

You will receive by this post a letter from me to the Treasury, with my opinion upon the grant of 480*l.* per annum to Mr. Netterville, &c. I am sorry I could not make it more favourable for him; because, if that patent should take effect, (by some private agreements among themselves) my Lady Frances Shaen is to have 60*l.* per annum: she is a very good lady, and I believe such a sum is considerable to her; but I could do no better than I have done in that matter. I have likewise sent you a letter upon my Lord Mount Alexander's petition, which, I doubt, will not please, as I told you in one of my former letters; but both himself (by letters) and his friends have been so earnest for a report, that, to be rid of the importunity, I have written to you as I have done. I am sure, what I have said is true; but you shall have that whole affair more particular when I have the report from the Barons of the Exchequer. I am considering all I can, how to restore the Auditor's Office, and the best way of doing it. There is no doubt but a *scire facias* brought against Mr. Ware would presently vacate his patent; but then there will be a clamour; in regard the office will not fall to the King, but to the reversioner; who, though he may be a very good man hereafter, yet is at present young, and no way experienced in affairs of that nature, and probably will put in such a deputy as will serve him cheapest; and then the office will still be in as ill a condition as it is at present. I have been thinking, therefore, of an expedient; and the best which occurs to me, is to get Mr. Deering's grant out of the way by compounding with him. Possibly his grant may be voidable; but I do not go about that, because of the regard you have to him. Here is one Mr. Corker, who is not altogether a stranger to you by the use the Commissioners of the Revenue frequently make of him: he is a very honest man, and able, and perfectly understands all the affairs of the Court of Exchequer. He would be a very proper person to be Auditor-

General: he is at present in no employment, but deputy to the Clerk of the Pells. I have discoursed with him to know if he will be willing to purchase Mr. Deering's right: upon which he has put his mind in writing, which I herewith send to you. I do think it to be a fair proposal: if you think so too, Mr. Ware's patent shall be presently vacated, and Mr. Corker shall give Mr. Deering good security for performing what he proposeth. If you do not like it, there is no harm done: it is a thought of my own, and it need go no further. But, if you do like it, I must intreat you to manage it with Mr. Deering; which, perhaps, will make him the more easily agree to it. Corker will be contented with the patent during pleasure. I am sure, I have no end in this but the King's service; for, I do assure you, directly or indirectly I will make no advantage of what offices soever fall to my disposal. If this proposition takes effect, I am satisfied that office will quickly be in good order; which is of great importance both to the King and the subject. Pray give me your directions therein.

This morning we have received the letters from England of the 13th instant, which is as soon as they can come. They bring us an account of the Princess being brought to bed, and of your being gone that morning to Windsor. God send them both well, and that the children may live. I must not conclude this without giving you some further account of the great meeting. They did not assemble on Saturday, but opened yesterday; and in the evening, the titular Primate, with his brethren of Tuam and Cashell, made me a visit; and, after the usual compliments, the Primate told me he had sent for several of the bishops to come to town, and there were ten come besides himself. The chief business of calling them, he said, was, in the first place to bring them to me, that I might see what kind of men they were; and in the next place to acquaint them with a letter he had received from my Lord President, which he showed me. It was very short, dated the 27th of March: the substance of it was, that he was commanded to acquaint him (the Primate) that it was his Majesty's pleasure, that he and the rest of the bishops should wear their habit when they go abroad, all except the cross on their breast, which bishops wear beyond sea. He said he thought fit to acquaint me with this, that I might not be surprised when I saw them so, and that I might know it was by his Majesty's pleasure. I asked him what habit they intended to wear? He told me, long black cassocks and long cloaks. I know nothing I can say or do, but have patience and to observe them, and I shall know what is handling amongst them. God keep you and all yours.

Yesterday the Commissioners of the Revenue being with me, they gave me the enclosed representation for Mr. Rochfort to be their counsel, when Mr. Rice is removed. I told them they might remember, that about six weeks since, when Mr. Rice was first spoken of to be advanced, I had then told him that Mr. Pine must succeed him, and that you had recommended him. They seemed to have forgot it, but said that Mr. Pine, though a very worthy and able man, was not proper for the employment, because he lived in Munster, and never came to town but in the terms, and they must have a counsel to whom they might resort every day in the year. I have sent to speak with Mr. Pine; and if he intends to live in town, I am sure he shall have the employment, of which you shall have an account.

Mr. Pine, since the writing of this, has been with me, and says he lives altogether in town, except a month or six weeks in the long vacation; and that Mr. Rice was more in the country, when he had the employment, than he without it.

Sir Thomas Newcomen came over with the last packet: he talks of nothing but the obligations he has to my Lord Treasurer, and that he constantly dined with him three or four times a week. The King and he are all one.

CXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Trial and condemnation of Mr. Ashton.—Not a proper object of mercy.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 18, 1686.

I should have been very much troubled if these last letters from England, which brought the news of your Lordship's indisposition, had not likewise brought me an account of your perfect recovery; which I do heartily congratulate, being as much concerned for your Lordship's health, as any friend you have. I told your Lordship, in mine of the 8th, of a very unhappy accident, that had fallen out here that night by Mr. Ashton's killing Mr. Keating. Mr. Ashton was brought to his trial at the King's Bench-bar on Saturday last. Great care was taken to have a good jury; and very worthy men of both religions were indifferently returned upon the pannel; which, I am sure, has been observed every where, since my being here; and, I am assured, was so before. But Mr. Ashton excepted against as many as the law allowed

him, which were all Roman Catholics. But the rest, who were very honest men, regarded nothing but the evidence and their oath; and, being satisfied with the proofs they had heard, they brought in Mr. Ashton guilty of murder: and yesterday, being the last day of the term, he made some very frivolous motions in arrest of judgment; but they were over-ruled by the Court, and so the usual sentence was pronounced, as in cases of treason: murder being so by the law of Ireland; and he is ordered to be executed on Saturday come sennight. Several applications have been made to me in his behalf; but in good earnest, my Lord, the evidence was so full against him, and he had so little to say for himself, and the fact was so horridly foul, that I cannot think him a proper object of his Majesty's mercy; and it is highly necessary to make examples of such as commit such horrid outrages, not to be suffered in a good government. I do not therefore think fit, in this case, to interpose; but to let justice proceed, as the law has hitherto had its course. Only thus far, I do intend to let his friends have his body without being quartered. I hope his Majesty will not be displeased with that mitigation of the severity of the sentence, nor with what else I have thought fit to do in this matter. Mr. Justice Lindon, and Mr. Justice Nugent, before whom this unfortunate gentleman had his trial, (for my Lord Chief Justice has been confined for some days to his bed with the gout,) have been with me, and desired me to intercede with his Majesty, that he would be pleased to bestow his estate (which is now forfeited) upon his wife and children, who, they say, are perfect objects of his Majesty's compassion. He has four children, and his wife looks to lie in of the fifth within this month. What the estate is, I cannot yet inform your Lordship; but these judges tell me it is not much more than 100*l.* per annum, besides what my Lady Fielding has in jointure, which, they say, will not be forfeited. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with at present, but to pray for your health, and to assure you that I am with very great respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

His desire to serve Mr. William Legge, Lord Dartmouth's brother.—Relating to Ordnance stores.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 18, 1686.

I have received your Lordship's favour of the 11th instant; and for your brother, I will serve him to the utmost of my power. He is not yet come from Kinsale; but I expect him to-night, and then he shall make haste into England: where, besides that his duty calls him over upon the account of the encampment, he will be useful to us here, by giving a good account of us. He will tell truth of people; and, upon my word, all is not true that is told you in England. Many things are misrepresented there by people who go from hence prejudiced; and you will not ask the opinions of those in employment here, whom you have no reason to mistrust; which if you would do, whatever we said to you from hence, yet you might do what you thought fit; and you would not be the less knowing, by hearing what could be said on all sides. But of this I say no more, till your brother goes; to whom I will refer you for an account of every thing here. Your brother ought to have a company; and I wrote about it to my Lord President: but you see, how little I have to do in those preferments. I cannot help being of opinion, that I could put his Majesty in mind of some men, who are at least as fit for his service as some who expect commissions; but of that no more at present. I do assure you, I will send over as early notice as is possible, when any company becomes vacant; and if my friend William gets it, I shall be sure of one good man more here. By this last post I received two letters from the King, from my Lord President's office, concerning the sending over some of our repairable stores from hence to the Tower of London, and other things relating to the Office of the Ordnance. But I am referred to orders, which I am to receive from your Lordship; which are not yet come to me: when they do, they shall be obeyed with all expedition. I do expect with some impatience the account your Lordship has so long promised, of the Office of the Ordnance; which I hope will come quickly. You may be sure, I will follow all your directions; and I beseech you to believe, that I am,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CXXI.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The King declines entering the Letter dispensing with the Oaths at the Signet Office.—Commissions in the army.—Lord Gormanston's petition, and that of Lord Ikerine, for reversing the outlawries of their fathers, to be granted.—Catholics to be admitted of the Council without taking the Oaths.—Earl of Granard to be president.—Sir R. Reynolds to be removed.

MY LORD, Whitehall, May 22, 1686.

My late indisposition has put me in arrear to your Excellency, for yours of the 17th, 20th, 24th, and 27th of April, and of the 1st, 8th, and 11th instant; which have been communicated to his Majesty, who directs me to acquaint you, that he does not think it fit the letter dispensing with the new judges taking the oath of supremacy should be entered at the Signet Office, it being a matter of state, and in the nature of an instruction to you, which his Majesty thinks very improper to be entered anywhere but in the Secretary of State's Office.

His Majesty has given Captain Baskerville's company to Mr. Arthur, and intends to speak with my Lord Ossory concerning the Captain-lieutenant's place, before he disposes of the same.

As to the petition of my Lord Gormanston, and others whose fathers have been outlawed in the late rebellion, I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint your Excellency, that he has thought fit, upon the information he has received of the cases of the said Gormanston and the Lord Ikerine, to grant them a letter for bringing writs of error, in order to reverse their fathers' outlawries; and that as to the like cases of other lords and gentlemen, his Majesty approves very well of your advising about them with such persons as you shall think fit, and will, upon your transmitting any of their particular cases to him, give such orders therein as shall be requisite. I acquainted your Excellency some time since that his Majesty had resolved to add several of his Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland to the council there; and now I send you a list of their names, as also of the new officers to whom his Majesty has granted commissions in the army, which are all despatched and ready to be sent.

Your Excellency will herewith receive his Majesty's letters for constituting the Earl of Granard president of the council, and determining his commission of Lieutenant General, but continuing his pension; as also for removing

Sir Richard Reynolds from the council, and dispensing with the Roman Catholic counsellors for taking any oath but that of counsellors.

SUNDERLAND, P.

Names of the persons added to the Privy Council in Ireland, May 1686.

Arthur, Earl of Granard, Lord President of the Council.

Richard, Earl of Barrymore.
Jenico, Viscount Gormanston.
Dennis Daly, Esq. one of the Justices of the Common Pleas.
Nicholas Purcell, Esq.
Pierce, Viscount Ikerine.
Stephen Rice, Esq. one of the Barons of the Exchequer.
Alexander, Earl of Antrim.
Thomas Nugent, Esq. one of the Justices of the King's Bench.
Sir Maurice Eustace, Knight.
William, Earl of Clanricard.
Richard, Viscount Ross.
Richard Hamilton, Esq.
Pierce, Viscount Galmoy.
Richard Nangle, Esq.
Richard, Earl of Tyrone.
William, Earl of Limerick.
Nicholas, Earl of Carlingford.
Justine Macartie, Esq.
Richard, Earl of Tyrconnel.

CXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Illness of Lady Rochester.—Sir Robert Hamilton, his pretensions and sycophantic conduct.—Sir Thomas Newcomen, and his rumours of changes in the Army.—Captain Long, his character recommends him to the protection of Lord R.—Mr. Blayney.—The Roman Catholic Primate and his two trunks. —End of the Catholic Meeting.—Conduct of the Catholic Bishops.

Dublin Castle, May 22, 1686.

Last night I received your's of the 15th instant; which puts me into great pain for my dearest sister; for whom, next yourself, nobody can be more concerned. I am sure, she has been a more constant comfort to me for twenty years together, than this world has afforded. I hope the next letters will ease me by telling me that God has been pleased to restore her to some degree of health. I am fully satisfied with what you say concerning my nameless letter of intelligence: I believe I shall have more, if there be any thing in it; and when I have, you shall be sure to know it. Sir Robert Hamilton (I tell you these tittle tattles for entertainment) talks in several styles to several people: I

told you what he said to some, of the hopes he had of being a commissioner of the revenue here. He has since been with Mr. Keightley, to whom he has seemed to talk his heart; and amongst other things he told him, that he found he should never get any employment here; that my Lord Treasurer had told him, he must oppose him in any pretensions he had to be employed in the revenue here, but that he would serve him in any thing in England; and therefore he intended about two months hence to return for England, and try his fortune there. I pity you with all my heart; for he will pin himself upon your sleeve. He comes to me sometimes, and desires to speak with me in my closet; but when he is there, all his discourse is nothing but flattery; telling me how much the King is pleased with my proceedings here, &c., but not one word of any thing like business. He was yesterday with Mr. Price, and told him, he found still, by letters out of England, that he had great enemies; but he believed he had taken off my Lord Tyrconnel by making him sensible, that if he, Mr. Price, were laid aside, my Lord Treasurer would get in Mr. K——; to whom that employment, when void, would naturally fall, he having already the name of Vice-Treasurer; and this he told likewise to Mr. K—— himself. He further told Mr. Price, that it would be very necessary for him to have a fast friend at court; that he intended to-day to write to my Lord Middleton, and so asked what he should say upon what he had formerly discoursed. Mr. Price said, he had nothing to say upon that subject; that he depended wholly upon his own innocence, and the King's justice; that he was sure his Majesty would suffer him to be heard, whenever he was accused.

Sir Thomas Newcomen hath filled the town with as many rumours of changes as Sir Robert Hamilton did. Amongst the rest, he saith all the officers of the regiment of Guards are to be displaced, except Captain Morice; which makes poor Captain Long almost out of his wits. He is captain of the King's company, which he purchased; and by the rules of war (if those were observed) he ought naturally to rise to be major. He is a very honest man: his family were always loyal, and sufferers for being so. You know the dependence he had upon, and relation to my father; and therefore I hope you will do him what good you can. If what Sir Thomas says be true, a great many very good men, who have bought their employments, will be ruined; especially Mr. Blaney, my Lord Blaney's brother, who laid out all his younger brother's patrimony to purchase a company in my Lord Mountjoy's regiment, and is an honest, ingenuous young man.

Mr. Gwyne writ to the Commissioners of the Revenue, by your order to deliver two trunks without being opened, and custom free, to Terence Dermot: this week the trunks arrived. Dermot being sick, or out of the way, one Clarke, a merchant, came to demand them. The commissioners told him, the trunks were directed to Dermot; and they would not deliver them to him (Clarke,) except he would let them be opened, that they might see whether there were any merchandize in them: upon which Clarke said they were for the Roman Catholic primate; and they might open them if they durst. Whereupon the commissioners sent to the Roman Catholic primate, to let him know there were two such trunks; if he pleased to own them, they should be sent to him: to which he returned answer, that it was best to send them where they were directed. Then the commissioners came to know what they should do. I asked them where the scruple was? They told me the trunks were not sealed, and weighed near four hundred weight; that Clarke was a very great smuggler, and always made false entries, of which he had been detected; and they were afraid he borrowed a privileged name, as he had heretofore done, to cover his merchandize. I directed them to send the trunks with an officer from me to the Roman Catholic primate's lodging; and, if he owned them, to leave them there; if not, to give me notice of it. No sooner were the commissioners gone from me, but the Roman Catholic primate came in to complain that he had not his trunks. I told him the reason, and that there was no intention either of keeping them from him, or opening them; and that I was confident, by the time he got home, he would find his trunks there; with which he seemed satisfied. All was done, as I directed: he had his trunks, and I have had thanks. This was all done in less than two hours' time; and I think the commissioners did their duties. I tell you all this story at length, that in case there should be any complaint made, (for some of these people are very unreasonable,) you may know the whole truth, whereby to justify us.

The great meeting is now at an end. There were eleven bishops in town; who have all of them been with me. They came modestly, in the evenings, two or three at one time, and as many at another: they came in ordinary clothes, such as they have always used to wear. They assured me, they had no meeting of their other clergy; that all the bishops of their religion in the kingdom (and there is but one more in the world, who is in France,) were called up to town to pay their duties to me, that I might know them, and where they lived, in case I had any thing to command them from the King. I am told by one as a great secret, that they have a letter from the

King, declaring what allowance he intends to give every archbishop and every bishop; that it was two days debated, whether they should acquaint me with this letter; but it was not yet resolved. This is all at present. God keep you and yours, and restore my sister to her health; which is my perpetual prayer.

CXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Marchioness of Antrim gone to England; nature of her mission.—Lord Roscommon and Mr. William Legge.—Project for a Commission for defective Titles.

Dublin Castle, May 25, 1686.

I forgot to tell you in my last of my Lady Marquis of Antrim's being gone for England: I presume, before this comes to you, she will be got to London. I saw her several times while she was in this town; but she said nothing to me of any business. But I think it not amiss to tell you that there has been a long suit depending between the crown and her Lord, concerning a quit-rent, which is almost ready for judgment; the state whereof shall speedily be laid before you. I am assured, the arrears now due from that estate come to 20,000*l.*; which, if the King grants the petition my Lady intends to deliver him, (for I am told that is her principal errand over,) his Majesty will not only lose that sum, but 1200*l.* per annum for ever. I would therefore move, that if she does petition, it might be referred to me; and that his Majesty will not give away his right, till the cause be determined. If it goes with him, as I think it cannot miss, his Majesty may then show his bounty in what proportion he shall think proper. I thought fit at present to say thus much, that there might be no surprise in the matter; and I do only desire the King would not give, till he knows what he has; and then he is the best judge what to do. My Lord Roscommon went into England at the same time with my Lady Marquis of Antrim; but he gave me too short warning, that I could not write by him; which is the reason of his carrying you so stale a letter, as that from Kildare. William Legge, who is returned from his government, goes for England on Saturday: by him I shall write at large, and send you our project and our thoughts concerning a commission for defective titles; for my Lord Chancellor promiseth to be ready by that time. We have had nothing from England since the 15th: you may imagine I am in pain for the next letters, to know how my sister does. God Almighty bless and preserve you both, and all yours.

CXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.*

Remonstrance about his non-residence and desire of extended leave of absence; with other salutary and sensible advice.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 25, 1686.

I have received your Lordship's of the 12th of the last month, by Sir Robert Hamilton; and I had another before, quickly after my arrival in this kingdom. I am very glad to find by your Lordship's last, that you are in so hopeful a way of recovery from your great and long continued distempers. Your Lordship will give me leave to wonder, that you should in the very same letter, wherein you wish to be permitted to enjoy the air of England for some little time, for the confirming and establishing your strength, before you adventure on a journey, or the change of air—that you should, I say, in the same letter, desire me to renew your licence of absence for a year; which I take to be more than "some little time." My Lord, it may not perhaps become me to go about to instruct a person of your Lordship's rank and knowledge in your duty to the Church; it being more proper, I confess, for me to learn mine from your Lordship: but, considering the station the King has thought fit to put me in here, your Lordship will pardon me, if I put you in mind, that it is now six years since you have been from your diocese; and that the King by his instructions commands me to take care that the clergy keep strict residence. Though your Lordship has several worthy persons among the clergy of your two diocesses, who do their duties very well; yet, by the accounts they give me of the affairs of the church in those parts, I find an unspeakable want of the Bishop's presence there; many of your clergy being absent from their cures, and leaving them to mean and ignorant curates, such as will serve cheapest; which gives a grievous advantage to the adversaries of our religion; and I should think myself guilty of unpardonable failings, if I did not endeavour, all that lies in me, to redress these irregularities; which would not be very difficult, if your Lordship were upon the place.

Some time since your agent applied to me to renew your licence of absence for six months; but I told your Chancellor, Mr. Lovell, that your former licence would expire the 14th of this month; that six months longer

* Thomas Hackett, afterwards deprived for simony, and other offences.

would expire the 14th of November next; which being just at the entrance upon winter, I thought would be an ill time for your Lordship to begin your journey, and therefore I granted your licence for three months. I would earnestly request your Lordship not to lose the benefit of this fine season, when the weather, as well as the ways, are good; and, if you will set out in July, by as easy journeys as you can desire to take, you may be here before the 14th of August; which will be the best time for you to come hither. I am sure I need not dictate to your Lordship the blessing, as well as the comfort, which always attends a man in doing his duty.

As for what your Lordship mentions, and seems desirous I should do, to appoint you a coadjutor, I doubt not the legality of it; but it is a matter of great consequence, and requires to be better considered of than I have yet had time to do. But I hope your Lordship will speedily tell me that you are on your way hitherwards, and then that expedient need not be made use of. I doubt not but your Lordship will have an account of the death of Mr. Robert Maxwell from other hands: he enjoyed, as I am informed, to the value of 900*l.* per annum in church preferments, most of them in your diocesses, but never resided upon any. I hope your Lordship will consider very well how you dispose of them; and that you are almost a stranger yourself to those who deserve well in those parts. I shall take it for a very great favour if you will bestow the chancellorship of Connor upon Mr. Charles Lesly, a man of good parts, admirable learning, an excellent preacher, and of an incomparable life: I am sure he will do his duty in whatever he undertakes. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this tedious letter, and that you will believe that I am, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Regrets that the Duke is not consulted on the affairs of Ireland.—Apprehensions about the Commissions Lord Tyrconnel is to bring with him.—Differences in the Town of Kilkenny about the election of a Mayor.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 25, 1686.

I am now to return your Grace my humble thanks for your favour of the 4th instant; and cannot but be very sorry you are no more consulted with in the affairs of this kingdom, where your interest, as well as experience, is so great. We know not yet certainly when we are to expect my Lord Tyr-

connel; who, I suppose, is to bring the long-expected commissions, which will take every body out of their pain. It is a very uneasy condition for men (especially good men) to live in daily apprehension of losing all they have, and what many of them have dearly bought.

Mr. Legge returns for England the latter end of this week; by him I shall take the liberty to write to your Grace upon some things of consequence. In the mean time I beg your directions concerning your town of Kilkenny, where your Grace knows there have been many contentions; and I am sorry to find they are not yet allayed, between the two jurisdictions of the city and Bishop's Court, concerning the election of their magistrates. The time for choosing the mayor is quickly after Midsummer. One Alderman Thomas Butler has made application to me that he may stand: he was mayor about three years since. Several of the aldermen have petitioned on the behalf of one of their own body, one William Kimberly; and an old humble servant of your Grace's, Sir Thomas Longueville, who was mayor about two years since, has a great desire to serve again. Your old servant Captain Baxter says, Kimberly is a very honest man, and the oldest alderman who has never yet been mayor; and that it will not be well for an honest man to be always put by, as he has been twice or thrice, when his juniors have been chosen. I will give no answer to any of the applications that have been made to me till I hear from your Grace; therefore, I beseech you, let me have your commands herein. I will give your Grace no further trouble at present, but beg that you will be pleased to own me, as I am with perfect submission,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

Lord Mountjoy, his character.—Offers Mr. Evelyn what fruit and fish he may choose from Swallowfield.—Gardening in Ireland, &c.

DEAR SIR, Dublin Castle, May 25, 1686.

The last packet brought me yours of the 6th instant, and I was in your debt before for another letter; I am now pretty well in order, and hope I shall be no more in those arrears to my friends. For those things you mention, which pass by immediate warrant, (I guess what you mean,) I verily believe you are not sorry they pass in that manner. You and I may contemplate upon what we must not mention upon paper. I am sorry you took

so much pains to find my Lord Mountjoy; he had nothing in his head, when he was in England, but the wars of Hungary, whither he was resolved to go, against the opinion of all his friends. I can never enough thank you for your concern for my Lord Cornbury, who, I doubt, does not trouble you so often as I would have him; you may go as freely to Swallowfield without him as with him; though you will find little else, you may have what fruit and fish you have a mind to, and very good things out of the potagere. People here begin to grow curious in kitchen gardens; the sallets are very good, and the roots generally much better than ours in England. Asparagus here are very good, large, and green; but they do not (pardon the expression) make the urine smell at all, of which I would be glad to know the reason. I will shortly entertain you with more substantial things of this country, as soon as I can thoroughly recollect those few observations I have hitherto made. My wife, I thank God, is now established in a pretty good state of health; she is your most humble servant. We both desire to have our true services presented to your excellent lady. I am, with perfect esteem,

Sir, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*

State of the Church in Ireland.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 25, 1686.

I am almost out of countenance that I should not in all this time have given your Grace some account of the ecclesiastical state of this kingdom; but, in truth, my Lord, I find it a very difficult business to be well informed therein. I am sorry to say it, but it is very true, when I tell you, that I find the affairs of the church in much worse order, and more neglected, than any other concerns. Your Grace will scarce believe me, but it is a great truth, that I cannot yet arrive at the knowledge of what spiritual preferments are in the King's gift, which methinks is a strange ignorance; for really nobody can inform me, though several have undertaken it: but yet I shall quickly compass a thorough information. My Lord, I would not make any ill reflections upon greater and wiser men, who have filled this place before me; but cer-

* Sancroft.

tainly it is impossible to help thinking there have been great omissions somewhere, when I see the deplorable condition of the church affairs here throughout. The ruinous state of the fabric of most churches is very melancholy; very few of the clergy reside on their cures, but employ pitiful curates, which necessitates the people to look after a Romish priest, or Nonconformist preacher; and there are plenty of both. I find it is an ordinary thing here for a minister to have five or six or more cures of souls, and to get them supplied by those who will do it cheapest: and by this means some hold 5, 6, nay 900*l.* per annum in ecclesiastical preferments, get them all served for 150*l.* per annum, and not preach once a year themselves. When I discourse with my lords the bishops upon these things, I confess I have not satisfactory answers; but yet, by your Grace's advice and assistance for my support, I do not despair of doing some good: for many things may be redressed without any other difficulty than men's doing their duties. I must own that I am informed, the diocess of Armagh is in good order; the churches in tolerable repair, and well supplied. Several of the clergy, who have been in England, sent to renew their licences of absence; but I have refused most of them, which has brought some of them home, and the rest must follow; for, by the law, to be absent without licence of the Government, forfeits their preferments; and none of them shall be licensed by me without very good grounds. Amongst these the Archbishop of Tuam, after three years' absence, is resolved to come over, and I hear is upon his way. But that which has most entangled me is, the Bishop of Down and Connor, who has now been absent from his charge six years. Quickly after my being here, he wrote me a very civil letter, and desired me to renew his licence; which I refused to do longer than for three months, after the 14th of this month, when his former expired: after which I received another letter from him, a copy whereof I take the liberty to send to your Grace. I doubt, with submission to your Grace's better judgment, whether this be a fit time to make coadjutors; but sure I am it is not fit for me to do it of my own head, nor by his advice who desires it. I would humbly beg your Grace to let the Bishop of Down know what he ought to do, for really it is a shame to think how his diocesses lie. The Dean of Down is a very honest good man, and does his duty; but he can do no more. One Mr. Lovell, the Chancellor of Down, being lately here, who has the repute of a very good man, (he is brother-in-law to Mr. John Coke, the secretary,) I asked him for an account of those diocesses, which he gave me in writing, as they stood in

July last; a copy whereof I herewith send your Grace, who will best judge whether it be to your satisfaction.

I must not conclude this letter without telling your Grace, that the churches in this city are in very good order, and for the most part very well served; and, indeed, they are all infinitely crowded. I could wish we had more clergy out of England; and as any preferments fall, I will beg your Grace's assistance therein. If the King would be pleased to fill the vacant Bishoprics here, it would give as great satisfaction as any thing he could do; but I doubt that matter must not be touched. It is now high time to beg your Grace's pardon for this tedious trouble I have given you, and to assure you that I am with all duty,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXVIII.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (JEFFRIES) TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Has recommended Mr. Powell to be one of the Irish judges instead of Mr. Ingleby, who declines.—The King quite satisfied with Lord Clarendon's conduct.

MY GOOD LORD, May 27, 1686.

I had the honour of your Excellency's some time since, but being hurried with the business of the term, and perpetually tormented with my old distemper, I had not an opportunity of a return, for which I most heartily beg your Excellency's pardon. Since my last, Mr. Ingleby came to town and desired to be excused from going into Ireland, which his Majesty has done, and ordered me to think of another. I have mentioned your old acquaintance Mr. Richard Powell, because I apprehended him to be a person both loyal and one for whom your Lordship had a friendship: as yet his Majesty is not come to any resolution. I shall not stir that matter willingly further, till I may hope to receive some hint from your Lordship; and therefore, my good Lord, give me leave to assure you, I will to the utmost of my power assist in any thing that may contribute to your Excellency's honour or interest; and therefore make it my earnest request, that your Lordship will, as occasion offers, give me opportunities to manifest the truth and sincerity of my intentions. My Lord, I doubt not but your Excellency has an account of affairs here from better hands, and therefore I shall not presume to interrupt your concerns im-

pertinently, though I cannot forbear to join with others to let you know that I truly observe his Majesty is entirely satisfied with your prudent conduct of his affairs in that high station wherein he has placed you, for which both I and all other your friends do most heartily rejoice.

JEFFREYS, C.

CXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Advantages to be derived from a Commission of Grace.—Alterations in the Army, and Additions to the Council.

SIR, Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

I must not let Colonel Legge return into England without presenting my most humble duty to your Majesty by him: he has been at his Government of Kinsale, and is better able to give your Majesty an account of that and all those parts than I can pretend to do, till I have been there myself; and I am certain he will assure your Majesty, that he finds all people in all places full of duty to your Majesty, and your government. I received your Majesty's commands not long since from my Lord Treasurer, in answer to what I presumed to write to you concerning a new Commission of Grace; and in obedience thereunto I have advised with my Lord Chancellor, who has digested his thoughts in writing, which I have sent to my Lord Treasurer. I have likewise advised with others who fully understand this kingdom, and the several interests in it, though without owning that I had your Majesty's permission so to do, that I might thereby the better know their own natural sense; and I find a general opinion among all sorts of interests, that such a commission to secure them in their possessions would both bring in a considerable sum of money to your Majesty, and infinitely quiet the minds of all your subjects here; which are at present full of apprehensions, though all sober people know they have no reason for them. My Lord Treasurer will lay every thing before your Majesty; and when you have considered the reasons which are offered with all humility, if you do not think the commission for your service, all that is done signifies nothing, and nothing more of it need ever be mentioned; and I hope your Majesty will afford me your pardon for starting the thought to you. I have received your Majesty's pleasure from my Lord President concerning the alterations you have thought fit to make in your army here, and the additions to your council; which shall be obeyed, as soon as I receive the letters. I have

written to my Lord President upon some difficulties that may arise concerning my Lord Granard's being President of the Council, which he will lay before your Majesty. God preserve your Majesty, and give you long life; which is the continual prayer of,

Sir, your &c.

CXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

List of new Officers in the Army, and New Privy Counsellors.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

Yesterday three packets arrived from England. With them I had from my Lord President a list of the new officers, which are to be admitted into the army, when they appear, in the places of other unfortunate gentlemen. Who they are, I suppose, is no secret to your Grace; for though I knew nothing certainly of them till these letters, yet those here who had better intelligence discoursed very publicly of many of them two months since, and named the very men into whose rooms they were to come; in which they now appear to have been in the right. I have likewise a list of several persons who are to be added to the Privy Council; which I would send you a copy of, if I thought your Grace were not fully informed thereof. I do a little wonder to find Mr. Nangle's name among them: though he be a very honest and able man, yet it is very extraordinary to have a practising lawyer a Privy Counsellor, and will not be very decent for him to follow his practice; and to quit his profession, I believe, he will not like. I am sure he had no mind to be a judge; and I believe he will be as little pleased with this preferment. This bearer, Mr. Legge, will give your Grace so perfect an account of every thing here, that I need trouble you no more at present, but to beseech you to believe, that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Affairs of Ordnance Stores.—Impolicy of forming Magazines at Chester and Carlisle, for the supply of Ireland.—Mode of increasing the prosperity of Ireland.—Hopes Captain William Legge will return when the Camp is over.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

I told your Lordship in my last, that I had received two letters from the King concerning the stores of this kingdom; copies whereof I herewith send your Lordship, desiring you will be pleased to consider of them. I am referred by them to the orders I shall receive from your Lordship, which, when I do receive, shall be carefully observed. One of the letters declares his Majesty's intentions of settling magazines at Chester and Carlisle, in order to the supplying this kingdom with stores; the other mentions an order of council, made the 24th of March last, for the returning from hence several repairable arms into the office of the Ordnance in England; of which order of council I have never had any notice, so that I could not give any observance to it. It likewise requires me to cause several repairable arms (in the letter mentioned) to be sent to the office of the Ordnance in the Tower of London. If that account of arms (in the King's letter mentioned) were taken out of the book of remains, left in the office of the Ordnance here by Mr. Thomas Phillips and Francis Povey the last year, (which I suppose to be a copy of what they carried into England,) there must be a mistake in it; for the account of that book is less than the number mentioned in his Majesty's letter by 299. The greatest part of these arms lie at Limerick, Athlone, and Carrickfergus; and the rest, remote from Dublin; the charge of bringing them by land carriage either to Dublin or any other port, together with their freight to the Tower, will amount to a considerable sum. And it may prove of dangerous consequence to disfurnish the stores totally, by sending these arms away, before a new supply arrives. Your Lordship will likewise consider, that, though considerable stores of arms and ammunition are ordered to the magazines at Carlisle and Chester, for the supply of Ireland, as occasion shall require; when such occasions happen, (which cannot easily be foreseen,) those arms will be out of reach, and, before they can be got hither, the occasion is over, there being very often no communication between those places and Ireland for six weeks or two months together. I would therefore humbly propose to his Majesty, if your Lordship thinks fit, that, before these arms which we have

here be sent into England, a competent supply be sent to Dublin, from thence to be distributed to the other parts of the kingdom; and after that, other occasions which can be foreseen, may be answered from Chester and Carlisle, if his Majesty shall so think fitting. I do earnestly desire your Lordship to send hither a sufficient quantity of powder with all speed; I am ashamed to tell you how little there is in the kingdom, but your brother knows well. Upon this occasion it may not be amiss to observe to your Lordship, that the last powder you sent hither cost 3*l.* per barrel, besides the freight; and it was not so good as it ought to have been. I am offered to have the best powder delivered here, clear of freight, for less than fifty shillings the barrel; and several of my predecessors have given liberty for what quantities of powder they have thought fit to be imported: but I assure your Lordship I will do no such thing, but desire to have all ammunition, &c. from the office of the Ordnance in England, if they come as cheap to the King, nor will I make any benefit to myself but what the King allows me, it being my firm resolution to serve him honestly, and to study his advantage and profit in every thing. I am sure you go upon the same principle, which makes me write the more freely. I could write much more to your Lordship of all affairs here, but I think my letter is too long already; and my friend your brother is so fully instructed in every thing relating to this country and people, that I refer myself entirely to him: pray give him opportunity to tell you all, and then you will be able to judge who is most in the right, in the informations they give of things and persons here. This country may, and will be with the people in it, as useful to the King as he pleaseth; and the trade will flourish and increase, and his Majesty be as rich as he has a mind to, if men are but secure of what they have, and meet with the encouragement due to their industry. Pray think of and support us, (me in my own particular at least,) according as you find us do our duties; and have a care you do not make us useful for other people.

Your Lordship sees how freely I write to you: as you like this, you shall have more. When the camp is over, I hope you will send my friend William back again to me; it will do him good to live a little amongst us, and be very useful for other reasons; and I am sure he shall find all the service and friendship from me he can desire, for I am from my heart his, and,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Arguments in favour of a Commission of Grace.—Lord Chief Justice Keating's opinion.—Decay of Trade, and Emigration, the consequence of political Persecution.—Mode in which the Commission should be constituted.—Opinion of the Chancellor and Catholic Judges, in regard to the measure.

Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

I now send you all my materials in order to the obtaining a Commission of Grace for the remedying of defective titles. The truth is, one cannot discourse with any man of fortune, of either old or new interest, upon the affairs of this country, but they run into complaints of the unsettledness of things, and the apprehensions they are under of new changes and alterations which are like to be; which, they say, have already had an influence upon their home manufacture, and must in a little time influence most branches of his Majesty's Revenue. The natural question upon these discourses (for I have never owned to any but my Lord Chancellor that I had the King's permission to think of this expedient) is, what would you have to cure your fears and apprehensions? The ready answer is presently, without pausing,—O that the Commission of Grace were on foot again! that would settle us, and make our minds easy; would increase the King's revenue, and raise a considerable sum of money, with which his Majesty might gratify such hard cases among the old proprietors as he shall think fit. This being the truth and the sense of most men, as we fell into conversation with them, my Lord Chancellor has given his thoughts and his reasons in writing, which I herewith transmit to you. And the other day, my Lord Chief Justice Keating being with me, and discoursing from his observations in his late circuit of the great decay of the inland manufactures, and the damp that seemed to be upon the minds of the trading people and husbandmen, I said to him, "For God's sake, my Lord, let us apply ourselves to keep up the spirits of men, and see what can settle their minds." His answer was, "If the King would renew the late Commission of Grace, which fell by his brother's death, it would settle the kingdom." This gentleman is of the country, and suspected by some to have too much kindness to the natives; but I am sure he is a man of great abilities; nobody ever yet doubted his loyalty; has as general a good reputation for worth and uprightness as any man in the kingdom; in a word, I do not think him capable of doing an ill thing, nor of giving an opinion con-

trary to his true judgment. I have found him very useful in the King's service, and do take him to be every way most impartial. I therefore desired him to give me his thoughts in writing upon the discourse we had together; which within a few days after he brought me, and I send you his paper herewith. I told him, when I had read it, that his reasons were so satisfactory to me, that I had a great mind to send his paper into England. He answered, he was very willing I should send it my Lord Treasurer, and that he should read it to the King, for he would never give me any thing which he would not own and justify. What he says of matter of fact, of the decay of the inland trade (which is that which employs the country people), is true. I can myself give one instance of a man, in the county of Cork, who, about eighteen months since, had forty looms at work, and about six months since he put them all off; has given his landlord warning, (for he was a great renter) that he will leave his lands; has disposed of his stock, and will go into England; he is worth about 6000*l.* and has the repute of a very honest man, and never went to any church but the common prayer. Whether he will lay out his money when he comes into England, is another question; but I have used the best endeavours I can to keep him here. There is another in the province of Munster likewise, who keeps five hundred families at work. This man, sending to a tenant for 30*l.* which he owed him, was presently accused by the said tenant of having spoken treasonable words: of which an information upon oath was sent to the Council Board, whither I summoned both parties to appear. When they came, the accuser could bring no evidence but himself; but said that he would bring others, if he might have a protection, for otherwise his landlord would clap him up in prison. I did not think fit (being pretty well acquainted with the trade of evidencing) to grant him a protection, not knowing how much he might be indebted to other people; but I took care that he should not be prosecuted by his landlord, who was very willing to submit to whatever I should direct. I caused the accuser to be bound over to prosecute, and the landlord to give bail to appear at the next assizes. He is very well thought of by his neighbours of both religions; and so he is gone home: but I am informed he has called in his debts, is putting off his stock, and will be gone as soon as his trial is over. Had not we done what we did at the Council Board, then we should have been represented as not regarding informations of treason; and directions would have been procured concerning the prosecution upon the information of one side, which has been done sometimes. I only tell you these stories, (you will shortly

have more of the same kind, and more authentic) as proofs of what my Lord Chief Justice Keating has said. If the King thinks fit to grant such a commission as is mentioned, it is thought the former Commission of Grace may be sufficient *mutatis mutandis;* and, when the King directs it, we will send him over such alterations as occur to us to be fitting, but they will be very few; and in the mean time I send you herewith a copy of the former Commission of Grace, lest you should not have it by you, and likewise a copy of the instructions to the commissioners: but the greater latitude is left to the commissioners, the more money they will be able to raise. As to the commissioners, if I may offer who they should be, I would humbly propose that they might be (besides the great officers who are in of course, and will never attend,) only all the nine Judges, and the Vice-treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, who do always sit as judges in the Exchequer. The judges know the business best; and they will take care that a competent number of them will always attend. The other day my Lord Chief Justice Keating being with me, and talking of these things, I asked him what the commissioners had the last time: he said, nothing; though there were hopes given them that they should be paid for their pains. But, he said, if the King should think fit to set out such another commission, he hoped the commissioners should have no salaries; and if the judges were employed, they had good salaries from the King, and were bound to do him all the service they could; and if salaries were allowed, he doubted there would be many pretenders for the salary's sake only, and some might get in who did not understand the business. You see the temper of the good man, and I confess I am mightily of his mind. I think I have emptied my mind concerning this matter for the present; I shall only add, that I do firmly believe this commission will settle the kingdom, and the King's affairs; and if it does, I shall be better pleased than if all the money raised by it were to be my own, which, I know, by some would be accounted folly. But I cannot help it: I am contented to be the fool, if I can but be the promoter of any good; especially to a country which so much deserves his Majesty's countenance and protection; and which wants nothing but his encouragement to make the people rich, and the happiest in the world. You will not expect, after all this, that I should say much to you by this honest messenger, William Legge. I have not, you may believe, said any thing to him of this matter; but of every thing else, of the country and people, he will entertain you very well. Pray allow him time to talk to you as often, and as much as he will: he will give you an account of us all. God Almighty bless and keep you and all yours.

I must not omit telling you that my Lord Chancellor has discoursed this great affair with the Roman Catholic judges, and all the lawyers of note of that religion; and I have discoursed Mr. Justice Daly in it: and they are all clear of opinion, that this Commission of Grace is the best way to settle the kingdom.

You never told me that you had presented the map to the King, nor how he liked it.

Yesterday, with three packets from England, I received yours of the 20th, which I will answer particularly by the next.

CXXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

New Officers in the Army, and new Members of the Council.—Difficulty about placing Lord Granard as President of the Council.—Mr. Nangle: dilemma in which he will be placed.—Lord Gormanston and Lord Ikerine's petition.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

Yesterday came in three packets from England, among which I had your Lordship's of the 22d instant, and was very glad to find by it that you were recovered of your late indisposition. In this letter from your Lordship I have received the lists of the names of the new officers of the army, and of the persons added to the Privy Council; and likewise his Majesty's letters for putting Sir Richard Reynell's name out of the council book, which shall be immediately done; and for constituting the Earl of Granard President of the Council here, which I will acquaint him with as soon as he comes to town. He went into the country about three weeks since, upon the account of his health, to take a little air; and I expect him back to-morrow. We shall be in a little difficulty where to place him: for there never was a President of the Council here before; and the statute takes no notice of, nor appoints a place for such an office here, as it does in England. In the list of the persons added to the Privy Council I find Mr. Richard Nangle: he is a very learned and an honest man; but I beg leave to observe to your Lordship, that he is a practising lawyer, and, I doubt, will think it hard to quit his profession for that which brings no advantage, though it be a great honour: for it will not look well, that a man who has the honour to be of the King's Privy Council, should be crowding at the bar of the courts of justice barcheaded, and his bag in his

hand. I have not heard it was ever yet done but to Sir Francis Bacon, when he was Attorney General; and to satisfy his ambition, by the credit he had with the Duke of Buckingham, or rather by importunity, he was made a Privy Counsellor; but never appeared afterwards in Westminster-hall, unless the King's business required him. But I will speak with Mr. Nangle to-morrow, and let him know the King's gracious intentions towards him, and will in my next give your Lordship an account of what he says himself. Now I know his Majesty's pleasure with reference to my Lord Gormanston and my Lord Ikerine's reversing their fathers' outlawries, I will advise upon it, and give your Lordship a further account in my next. I am with great respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.

Difficulty of applying the regulations and orders for the Army in Scotland or England, to the case of Ireland.—Deductions from the pay of the Army.—Plantation trade to the West Indies.

SIR, Dublin Castle, May 30, 1686.

I have received your's of the 13th instant, and therewith the other regulations and orders for the government of the forces of Scotland. They ought to be well considered, before they are established in this kingdom; for there may be particular circumstances in some countries, which may not be the same in others: as in the articles of war, which were set out the last year in England, and transmitted hither, there are many things very inconvenient to be practised here.

I shall be very glad to receive the account of the deductions from the army in England; for indeed they are very necessary to me. Many of our officers of the army here are much dissatisfied with the deductions which are made; though they are the same which have been made before the Rebellion in 1641: and at the same time they think they may make what deductions they please upon the account of clothes, accoutrements, agency, &c. &c. In truth (if I may say so) some of them are so great, that the poor soldier, to whom the King intends well, (for he allows very good pay) has not enough to live upon.

I would be very glad the King were come to a resolution concerning the Plantation trade with reference to this kingdom. Since my last here are come in three ships from the West Indies; one to Coleraine, and two to Cork: they

have certificates of having paid the duty in the Plantations, and think they are not within the law, not having entered into bond there to go for England. One of the ships cannot go to sea, there being two leaks in her; and neither master nor mariner will adventure in her. The owners do resolve to quit that trade absolutely, and to turn their industry some other way. They are contented to go hence into England, and to enter outwards from thence; but to return thither again from the Plantations, and to unload in England does not, they say, quit cost, and they cannot live by it; any common tradesman, they say, may fetch tobacco from England. Upon my word, there want no discouragements to the trading men of this kingdom. I believe the weather is much the same here as in England: this month hath been very wet and cold. I am, Sir, your &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Tyrconnel's commission.—Colonel Fairfax upon the way to Ireland.—Case of Price and Slingsby.—The Yacht.—Alarm and Emigration in Ireland produced by the changes.—Mr. Rice, his letters patent to be a Baron of the Exchequer.—Impolicy of making Puisne Judges, Privy Counsellors.—Remonstrance in favour of Officers dismissed from the Army.

Dublin Castle, June 1, 1686.

In my last I acknowledged your's of the 20th past, which will require no very large answer. As to what you mention concerning the quarter's account of the revenue, and the decrease in the Port of Dublin, I write to you at large upon it in my letter to the Treasury; as I do likewise to what you say about the late farmers.

This morning I received your's of the 25th of the last month, and do return you a thousand thanks for what you tell me of my Lord Tyrconnel's commission. Though I did not believe (notwithstanding the positive reports), as I wrote to you, that so apparent an absurdity would be committed; yet, at this distance, it is however a great ease to have fresh assurances of the truth of the matter of fact. And I will be contented any body shall be judge whether he shall have cause to complain of my conduct towards him; and yet you shall find I will preserve my dignity as I ought to do. Colonel Fairfax is not yet arrived; though I hear by some who are come over in this last packet, that he, with several others, is upon the road. I will follow your advice in giving my Lord President an account of the meetings of the Roman Catholic clergy;

and though I do it not at this time, I will speedily take an opportunity of doing it, and in such a manner as shall not give offence. I will say nothing more to you of Price, or Slingsby, till you send me over the accusations; which shall be impartially heard, and faithfully reported to you, as shall the matter of the deductions. I give you many thanks for what you resolve concerning the yacht. It will be a very easy way to pay what is due to the men here out of the money which is ordered for England: and though I would have been very proud that this yacht should be supported out of the revenue of Ireland, and it might have been plentifully done, if things continue as they were; but if this fright continues upon men, so as to carry the most industrious away, (and many substantial people have actually left the kingdom within these six weeks,) then, I say, the King's revenue must sink; and I doubt it will require more pains to make it rise again, than have been used to make it fall. And then, I am sure, the King will find himself at a loss for the defraying a great part of the charge here. I will write to my Lord President hereafter, in the method you propose, concerning the privileges granted me in my patent. Yesterday Mr. Rice brought me his letters to be a Baron of the Exchequer, and to dispense with his taking the Oath of Supremacy; I immediately despatched him; and this morning (before I received your letter) I signed his patent: so that that matter is over; and on Friday (the first day of the term) he will be upon the bench. The other letter he gave me, for making of him a Privy Counsellor, he desired me to take no notice of, till other new counsellors were admitted; which, no doubt, I might gratify him in.

The truth is between you and me, it is a very ridiculous thing to make a puisne judge of every bench of the Privy Council; and was never done but in Sir Richard Reynell's case, because of his great ability, and as a reparation to him for being put by from being Lord Chief Justice. These poor men are almost out of countenance to accept of it, (Judge Nugent excepted, who is indeed a very troublesome impertinent creature,) and think it will bring envy upon them, when it was not needful; they being every way as well qualified to do the King all possible service without the burden of that honour. I may add, that the making so many Privy Counsellors is an additional charge upon the revenue: for every Counsellor has the impost of a certain quantity of wine every year, which though it be no great matter, yet, according to the old saying, "every little makes a mickle." I have this morning sent an order to the Commissioners of the Revenue for the retaining Mr. Pine as their standing coun-

sel, in the room of Mr. Rice, and with the same advantages he had: and that matter is likewise settled.

You see by my letter to the Lord President, what I have written to him concerning several particulars: and truly, I think I could not say less on the behalf of those unfortunate gentlemen whom I have mentioned. The truth is, many of their cases are very deplorable; and besides that the King does not love to do hard things, I am very confident, if he knew many of these persons, he would not lose them out of his service. If Lieutenant-colonel Anthony Hamilton may be believed, (and I take him to be the best of that sort,) he is in great trouble for these changes; especially for those in his own regiment. He says, the men who are put out of that regiment are as good men as are in the world; and he does not think so of those who are in their rooms. He says, every one of those officers whom he particularly recommended both to my Lord Tyrconnel and Sir Thomas Newcomen, are put out; and that those who are put in, are men who will bring no honour to the service. You will believe, I am not displeased to see them have dissatisfactions amongst themselves.

I thank God with all my heart for the confirmation I have of my sister's amendment. God Almighty keep you both long together, and bless all yours.

I have not yet all my materials from the Commissioners of the Revenue, and therefore cannot perfect my despatch to the Treasury; but you shall not fail of it by the next.

CXXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Has given orders about the six Algerine men-of-war said to be in the Channel.—Lord Granard submits with a good grace to the King's determination.—Mr. Nangle does not wish to be of the Privy Council.—Recommends Captain Fitzgerald for promotion in the Army.—Captain Twisleton's case; and that of Macquire; his loyalty, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 1, 1686.

I have this morning received your Lordship's of the 25th past, concerning the six Algier men-of-war, which are said to be in the Channel; and have given the necessary orders to all the ports in this kingdom for their good treatment, according to his Majesty's command. I have not yet heard of any of those ships upon this coast.

I have acquainted my Lord Granard with the King's pleasure concerning

him, who submits with all duty and cheerfulness to whatever his Majesty thinks fit to determine. He is very sensible of the King's grace in giving his regiment to his son; but, if you will have my opinion, he had much rather have the continuance of his pension without the office of President, than with it; and I believe I shall be desired to say something of that matter to your Lordship, for he has earnestly pressed me not to publish the King's letter till he speaks with me again, which I thought I might gratify him in.

I have likewise spoken with Mr. Nangle, and told him that the King designs to make him of his Privy Council, with which he was extremely surprised, and wonders his friends will move in his behalf without first consulting himself: he tells me, to leave his practice will be his ruin, and to appear at the bar after he is a counsellor will be very indecent, even for the King's service: he has, therefore, desired me not to take any notice of it. He is a very good, as well as an able man: he says he was never ambitious; and therefore desires to be let alone where he is. He says no Chief Justice's place in the kingdom would equal his present gains; which he must consider, because of his great charge of children, for whom he is bound in conscience to provide. And he says, he is full as ready and as willing to serve the King as well as he can, in his way, in the station he is, as if he were in any of those places.

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that in looking over the list of the new officers of the army, I do not find any provision made for Captain — Fitz-Gerald, who was in the list the King gave me of those persons for whom he did intend in the first place to provide. He is an old Cavalier, served as Captain of a troop of horse in the war of England, and is owned by all people to be a very good man. The King commanded him to come over with me, which he did, and assured him he should be taken care of. Above all things I would not have him, or any body, think that I do not do my part towards them: I do, therefore, beseech your Lordship to enable me to say something to this honest gentleman, who carries about him the marks of losing his blood in the service of the Crown; and who was in hopes, by the King's promises to him, to have been as soon taken care of as any of his religion. I doubt I shall be obliged to be very troublesome to your Lordship in laying before you the lamentable cases of several gentlemen, who are now unfortunate by losing their employments, and consequently all they have for subsistence in the world; but I know not how to avoid it, it being necessary for his Majesty to know the truth of some of their cases; and they are confident his Majesty's compassion and bounty is such, that he will not

suffer men to starve, who have given those proofs of their loyalty, as some of these gentlemen have done.

One of the saddest cases to acquaint you with at present is of Captain George Twisleton, who had a company in Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment. His story in short is this:—His father was killed in the field under my Lord Langdale, when this gentleman was a very infant. His small fortune was broken (as other men's in those times were), which he never could recover from the debts, which the composition, and other inconveniences incident to loyalty, had brought upon it. At length, after taking all opportunities to put himself into the King's service, he sold the remains of his fortune (which was never great), and purchased this company about six years since; where, if Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton may be believed, (who understands the regiment better than the Colonel, for he makes it his business,) he has behaved himself very well, is constantly at his quarters, and looks well to his company, and has it in good order, and is a good sort of man as is in the world; and the Lieutenant-colonel says, he is very sorry to lose so good a man out of the King's service.

There is but one gentleman more I will mention to your Lordship at this time; and that is Macquire, who was Lieutenant-colonel of Russell's regiment. He is an old officer; was in the Rebellion both of England and Ireland on the King's side, and never on any other; and, if his carriage of late years in the most mutinous times be any merit, there is no man was more vigorous in decrying the Popish plot, and in asserting his present Majesty's interest even with hazard, than this gentleman. I cannot tell your Lordship these stories out of any partiality to the persons, who are most of them unknown to me but as I found them in the King's service; and I think it my duty to lay every thing before your Lordship. When the King knows the truth of all persons, his Majesty is the best judge what to do towards them. I am with all respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Communicates to him his proposal for the renewal of the Commission of Grace.—List of persons added to the Privy Council.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 1, 1686.

I have lately made a proposal to the King for renewing the late Commission of Grace, which was on foot the last year of the late King, and ex-

pired by his death. It is the opinion of very wise men of several interests, that such a commission would contribute more than any thing (if speedily granted) towards the quieting of men's minds, and allaying the present apprehensions they are under, by confirming them in their estates; and that it would likewise raise a considerable sum of money, whereby his Majesty might be able to relieve such of the Irish, whose cases he should think worthy of his compassion. I have laid the project before my Lord Treasurer, who, I am sure, will communicate it to your Grace; but it is yet a secret, therefore I beg you not to speak of it to any other. I thought fit to acquaint your Grace with it, as I shall do with every thing, that you may give your assistance in it, as far as you think fit and reasonable. I am sure something must be done to make men at ease in their minds, and secure in their estates, or else the King's Revenue will certainly fall very considerably, and the people will quit the kingdom. Several families do every week go away, and multitudes do daily put off their stocks in order to be themselves at liberty. I here send your Grace the names of the persons added to the Privy Council, who, I believe, are all known to you. I cannot but wonder at the putting in Mr. Nangle: I believe it is the first time such a preferment was thought of for a practising lawyer. The good man desires to wave it, as a thing not decent for the King's service, besides the inconveniencies it will bring upon himself: he wishes his friends would first consult himself before they move for preferment for him: all which I have represented to my Lord President in Mr. Nangle's own words. I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Will still follow his plan of representing men and things in their true light, and trusts to be eventually believed.—Mr. Price's affair.—Chief Justice Keating will certify in his favour.—Rumour that Mr. Trant is to farm the Revenue.—Committee of Intelligence for the affairs of Ireland.—Stories circulated in Ireland,—one relating to Lord Chancellor Jeffries.—Allusion to his letters to Lord Clarendon.—Execution of Mr. Aston.

Dublin Castle, June 3, 1686.

Last night Colonel Fairfax arrived, who gave me your's of the 24th past, for which I give you a thousand thanks. I will not answer you with the like freedom till I meet with as good an opportunity; but do assure you that I

will follow all the advice you give me: I am not yet melancholy enough to despond. I will follow the practice I have hitherto used, to represent both things and persons as I have done, which has been according to the truth, and without any manner of partiality or private affection. If I am not believed, I cannot help it. I am sure, I will be in the right; and, whatever happens, it shall not be in the power of any one to say, "Why did you not represent this?" And so God's will be done. But if the King finds that his subjects here do desert the country (as I am sure they do every week), then it will be more than a suggestion; and perhaps I shall then be believed; but what the King pleaseth. When he is truly informed (as I am sure he is not by every body), his and the Lord's will be done. Possibly, before this letter goes away, my Lord Tyrconnel may be arrived; you will then quickly see how things are like to fadge. I will say nothing more of Mr. Price's affair till I receive the charge from you; but only this, that he never (and he has given me the same under his clerk's hand) advanced any money to Slingesby, Colonel Hamilton's agent, nor was ever desired by him to imprest any of the pay of the regiment beforehand. The truth of all will appear upon the hearing. If a certificate from my Lord Chief Justice Keating, in favour of Mr. Price, will do him good, he will give him a very ample one; for he speaks wonderfully well of him, and says, he told Lord Tyrconnel when he was here, that he would find him a good man, and that Ellis had abused him. I resolve he shall be at the hearing, and so shall all the officers of the army. The great talk now of the town is, that Mr. Trant, and a party of men with him, are to farm the Revenue of this kingdom, and to give the King good security to pay him 300,000*l.* per annum, which, they say, is a clear answer to all the suggestions that can be made of the decay of trade. I tell you this only as news, for I cannot help laughing at it. There is one Reiley of the Temple, who is now Chairman of a Committee of Intelligence (as it is called) for the affairs of Ireland, and pretends to give an account of all persons and things from hence: possibly it may be worth your inquiry into such a man's correspondency. Here are two stories written hither in several letters (for this is the most tattling place in the world), wherein you are concerned; and therefore I must tell you them, though they are both foolish. One is, that the Countess of Middleton lately petitioned the King for 2000*l.*, which was due to her Lord upon the account of Tangier; that this petition was referred to you; that she attended you with it; that you told her it could not yet be paid, nor could you give her any hopes

when it would: that quickly after the King, being at the Treasury Chamber, asked for that petition; when you gave it him, he told you, he would without any hesitation have the money paid. This is told as an instance of your declining in credit.

The other is yet more ridiculous. My Lord Chancellor is in very little credit; that my Lord Chief Justice Herbert has exposed him upon the bench, by laying open his briberies and corruptions (as they are called) in the west; with which the King is extremely offended; insomuch that, it is said, he will not be long in his place: but my Lord Treasurer does all he can to support him; as an instance whereof, the letter says, they are perpetually together, and go sometimes to Hyde Park, and sometimes to the play together. Is not this very silly? But who can help it? Only indeed I need not write it to you. You may remember, some time since I sent you a copy of my Lord Chancellor's letter to me of the 25th of March. I answered it on the 6th of April, as civilly as I could, and with the same freedom that he invited me. I had never any answer from him, till by the last packet; which brought me a letter from him of the 27th of May: I send you a copy of it for a pattern of truth, candour, and sincerity.* I have not yet answered it, because I cannot in so short a time gather up such a proportion of dissimulation and sweetness as is necessary: when I can, you shall have a copy of my letter. Yesterday Mr. Aston was executed.† I have yet had no answer from my Lord President upon the application of the Judges to me, that his Majesty would remit the forfeiture of his small estate to his wife and small children; who are indeed great objects of compassion. I have no more to trouble you with at present; but my prayers shall never fail, whilst I live, for you and my sister, and all yours.

* This must of course be understood ironically. In a subsequent letter Lord C. says, "My Lord Chancellor has writ me word twice that the King is pleased with me; but perhaps that is flattery, for *I can never believe his sincerity.*"

† Among Lord Rochester's papers I find the following dying declaration of Mr. Aston, which may serve to show how far the spirit of proselytism was then carried by the Catholics.

COPY OF MR. ASTON'S PAPER WHICH HE GAVE TO THE SHERIFF UPON THE LADDER, THE 4TH OF JUNE, 1686, AT HIS EXECUTION.

I am now come to pay the last debt I owe to Nature, and am brought to the brink of Eternity; and therefore I hope men will believe the dying words of their fellow Christian. I doe humbly confess I have been a haynious sinner against the Majesty of Heaven, and doe sincerely repent from the

CXXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Dublin Castle, June 4th, 1686.

This bearer, Baynham, came out of England with me, in hopes I could have done him good: he is a very honest man, and worthy to have good done him; but I have not yet had it in my power: he is married to a sister of Sir Gervais Clifton, heir to the late Sir Wm. Clifton, and he goes into England to see whether his wife may get any thing from her brother, now the estate is fallen to him, who was but poor before: if he gets nothing, then I believe he will return to me again. He desires to be recommended to you, I know not for what, but I do it really, desiring you to give him any countenance he shall need: he is a modest man, and will not trouble you more than is necessary; nor would I have any recommendation burthensome to you from me. God Almighty bless and keep you and all yours.

bottome of my heart I have spent my pretious time soe vainely, and have good hopes through the merits of my blessed Saviour, my merciful Creator will pittie and pardon his poore penitent creature, and receive me into his favour: this comfortable expectation doth more than compensate the utmost malice of my enemies, and the bitter paines of death. During my imprisonment it has been reported by some, that I formerly killed five men; sometimes two. I doe here declare in the presence of the great God, I was never guilty of the horrid sin of murther, until the fatal minute of Mr. Keating's death; a person I could have no malice to, having never seen nor heard of him before that time he did affront my wife, both in words and actions, and myself in an extraordinary manner; and I had no designe to kill, but to give him a slight wound; however, the law is past upon me, and I humbly submit, and am in charity with all the world, even with my cruel prosecutors. I hope my poore disconsolate widow and innocent fatherless children will find some compassion from my relations, and that God will put in the heart of them which have most of my estate, to help her and them, both now and hereafter. I die a Protestant of the Church of England, as it is by law established, and have a joyfull assurance that my mercifull good God will receive my soule.

WILLIAM ASTON.

To shew my steadiness to my religion, I do declare that I have had the greatest inducements (if I would believe them) to turne Papist, for severall of their preists have been with me, and have tould me, if I would but consent to be of their religion my sins should be forgiven me upon their pronouncing of their absolution. But I thank my God, I had stronger hopes, and better assurances, than they could give me. Further, I doe fully remember, that the last Popish priest that was with me, known by the name of the Lord Abbot Taafe, tould me my soule was pretious to him, and that he came that day thirty miles to save it; which could not otherwise but be damned, if I dyed in the faith of the Church of England; and that he was anointed in Germany, but that our ministers had no ordination.

WILLIAM ASTON.

CXL.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Arrival of Lord Tyrconnel in Dublin.—His Conversation with Lord Clarendon.—Changes in the Army.—Mr. Price, &c.

Saturday, June 5, 1686.

To-day about noon notice was brought me that the yacht was in the bay; upon which I sent my coach to Dunlary to meet my Lord Tyrconnel. He first set down his lady at his house, and then came to the Castle: he was with me between four and five of the clock. After the usual salutations, he delivered me the King's letters; which he told me we might discourse upon at leisure. He told me he had brought all the commissions; which should be presently sent to me: but he desired he might see the list which my Lord President had sent me, (for he had none,) before they were given out; and yet he desired those belonging to the royal regiment might be given out as soon as was possible. I said, that if he would, we might meet upon it to-morrow in the afternoon, and agree together how and when the commissions should be given out; in which I should be glad of his advice, as in every thing else; and that we might meet together every day, till we had given the necessary orders in obedience to all the King's commands: which, he said, he should be glad of; for he longed to be out of town, and to despatch the business of the army, that he might go over again into England to attend his health. After this he fell upon the discourse of Mr. Price's affair in the general; but said, he would say no more of it, till I had the papers from you; which, he believed I could not have yet, because you were first to go for Windsor. It was true, he said, he had no very good opinion of Price; but, if the things complained of were redressed, and he heard they were in a great measure, he should be very well satisfied. I answered, that I had nothing to say of Price but as I found him in the King's service; that, as soon as I had the papers, I would hear the business; that I would desire his Lordship to be present, and all the officers of the army, because the complaints principally concerned them; and such of the Lords of the Council, as he should have a mind to; and that then he should stand or fall according to his merit. He made all possible professions of friendship, kindness, and respect to me; which you will believe I answered as I ought to do: and I am sure he shall have no cause to complain

of any thing from me. This was the substance of what passed between us at the first meeting. If I have written too plainly in my public letter, you may stifle it, or make use of it as you please.

CXLI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Observes that the King refuses to have the Letter for dispensing with the Oaths in the case of the new Judges entered at the Signet Office.—Trusts he shall not be blamed hereafter, for having it enrolled in Ireland.—Requests that Mr. Fleming may have a Cornetcy.—Melancholy case of Captain Collier, one of the officers removed in the late changes.—Arrival of Lord Tyrconnel.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 5, 1686.

By people who came from England, and arrived here on Wednesday, we know that my Lord Tyrconnel was to be at Holyhead on Thursday; but we cannot expect him here, till the wind changeth, which was all yesterday very contrary. I observe by your Lordship's of the 22d past, that his Majesty does not think fit that the letter dispensing with the new Judges taking the Oath of Supremacy, should be entered at the Signet-office; to which I submit, as I shall most readily do always to his good pleasure. But in regard your Lordship says it is a matter of state, and in the nature of an instruction, and improper to be entered anywhere but in the Secretary of State's office: I think fit to acquaint your Lordship, that those letters are of necessity to be enrolled here for the benefit of the persons concerned, as the others for dispensing with the Privy Counsellors are to be entered in the council-book for the same reason. I only tell your Lordship this, that I may not be blamed hereafter for entering them; which I am confident I shall not be, when you consider the reason of it. I beg your Lordship's leave to put you in mind of Mr. Fleming, for whom I did beg a Cornet's place some months since; and your Lordship was pleased to tell me, that the place I then mentioned was disposed of; but that the next should be given to him: and the King has said as much to his uncle Sir R. Bellings. But I do not find his name in the list of the new officers; which makes me take the liberty to remind your Lordship of him.

I must not conclude this without troubling your Lordship with some more complaints. That which is at present the most melancholy one is of Captain Collier, who had a company of grenadiers. This poor man has been

in the King's service, one way or other, ever since his late Majesty's restoration. He was with some commanded men in the fleet in the late Dutch war; and about ten years since was sent to Tangier, where he continued till the demolishing of that place, and where he lost considerably, most of what he was worth being in houses there. He has ever since been with his company here: he has a wife and five children; and he is not worth, I verily believe, 50*l.* in the world. Give me leave, I beseech you, to tell you that his father (who is yet alive) was a townsman of Salisbury, in a very good condition; was ruined totally for his loyalty; was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, in Colonel Penruddock's business, and has been of late years principally supported by this his son. These are sad stories, but they are true; and I know your Lordship's generosity is such, that you will contribute all you can towards their relief by representing them to the King. I am with all respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

This evening my Lord Tyrconnel arrived, and has given the King's letters and all his commands; and we have appointed to meet to-morrow, that no time may be lost in putting them in execution: of all which your Lordship shall have a further account by the next.

CXLII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Conversation with Lord Tyrconnel about expediting the Commissions in the Army.—On the proposed changes, and the part he took in them.—His opinion of the conduct of affairs in Ireland.—Commissions for Fielding and Fairfax:—Butler and Morris.—Lord Tyrconnel's assertion, that the King was determined to have all his regiments modelled after the new Scotch batallion; all the men to be young and of one size, &c.—Review of the Royal Regiment.—Mr. Price's affair: those of the Muster-master-general, and the Clerk of the Pells.—The rest of the letter displays Lord Clarendon's uneasiness at having Lord Tyrconnel placed in authority over him.—He remarks upon his incompetency to command the Army, as he cannot even draw up a regiment: his insolent behaviour and vulgar habit of swearing.—Would rather be hanged than do the King as much mischief as Tyrconnel, but yet would not be recalled to gratify the malice of his adversaries.—Suggests that the whole of this letter might be read to the King or Queen.

Dublin Castle, June 8, 1686.

Sunday the 6th. To-day my Lord Tyrconnel dined with me. After dinner we went together into my closet, and looked over the list of new officers; where he marked those whom he thought able to pay my Lord

Sunderland's fees: and for the others, he said they were poor devils, and the Receiver-general must be directed to pay them, and deduct them hereafter out of their pay. He then desired that the commissions to the officers in the royal regiment might be delivered out with all speed, that he might quickly settle what was to be done in town, for he longed to make haste back into England for his health; which is every foot the burden of the song. I told him they should be given out to-morrow. He then desired that the other commissions might not be yet given out; that it was necessary he and I should first discourse more together: to which I said, with all my heart; that he might come to me when he pleased, he should always find me at leisure: he then said he would come to me to-morrow morning. And these things being thus settled, Sir P. Rycaut (who had been present all this time) went out of the room, and I thought we were parting; when his Lordship began a rambling discourse, which I will repeat as well as I can from the notes I immediately took. "My Lord, I am sent hither to view this army, and to give the King an account of it. Here are great alterations to be made; and the poor people who are put out, think it my doing; and, G— d—— me, I have little or nothing to do in the matter: for I told the King that I knew not two of the captains, nor other inferior officers in the whole army. I know there are some hard cases, which I am sorry for; but, by G—, I know not how to help them. You must know, my Lord, the King, who is a Roman Catholic, is resolved to employ his subjects of that religion; as you will find by the letters I have brought you; and therefore some must be put out to make room for such as the King likes. And I can tell you another thing: the King will not keep one man in his service who ever served under the Usurpers." To all this I told him that this need not be said to me, who did not take upon me to enquire, how, nor why any men were put out of, or others put into the service; that the King knew best what to do, and my part was to obey the commands he sent me; which I was sure I had hitherto done, and should continue so to do; that, when I had any room to recommend, I always put his Majesty in mind of such Roman Catholics as I thought deserved his favour, which he owned the King had told him. But, I observed, his Lordship thought there were some hard cases; and when I was fully satisfied of any such, I did take the liberty to represent such persons, and their circumstances, to the King, without the least demurring upon executing his commands; being confident that his Majesty (when fully informed) would take them into his consideration. I then mentioned the

long services and merit of Lieutenant-colonel Macquire; to which he replied, "My Lord, you do not know all: besides all you have said, I will tell you what I know to be true. That gentleman, in the late years of persecution, received and sheltered all the poor Catholics who came to him; and, by G—, to have him now laid aside is a terrible thing: but, my Lord, when that is done, I would not have you represent any of their cases, which will anger the King and perplex him." I answered, "That I thought it my duty to inform the King of every thing, and if his Majesty disliked any thing I wrote, he would let me know it; which he was sure would ease him of any thing of that kind for the future." As to what he said of the King's resolution to employ none who had ever served the Usurpers; I hoped he would not rashly declare that for a positive rule, because, in fact, it would prove not to be observed, as his Lordship could not but know. He asked who they were, that were now employed, who had ever served the Usurpers? I answered, "That I did not doubt but the King was very well satisfied in those whom he employed in his service; and therefore, as long as I saw them behave themselves well, I was not to start objections against them, which could not but be known before:" and so I left his Lordship to find out whom I meant. Then his Lordship, rising up to be gone, flew out, "By G—, my Lord, these Acts of Settlement, and this new interest, are d——d things." "Pray, my Lord," said I, "let not you nor I enter into those matters: I doubt neither you nor I are well informed of all the motives and inducements which carried on those affairs six-and-twenty years since." "Yes," says he, "we do know all those arts, and d——d roguish contrivances which procured those acts." "My Lord," said I, "I do not know what you mean; but those acts, such as they are, the King will not have ravelled into; and it must be your Lordship's business, and mine, and every body's, to endeavour to reconcile people; and we must all conspire to disperse jealousies between parties, and to unite every body to the common interest, that the King may be well served, and every body go about his business; that the trade may flourish, and the King's revenue encrease." "I know," says he, "the Acts of Settlement must not be touched, and, by G—, it would make a confusion if they should; but, I am sure, my Lord Chief Justice Keating, and Sir Jo. Temple, (whom all the world will own to be men without exception,) told me, when I was last here, that all the new interested men would willingly give a third, or half of what they had, to secure the rest; whereby money might be raised for those who wanted it." "I know not," said I, "what

discourse was between your Lordship and those gentlemen; but I will be ready at any time to hear them, or whoever else you will desire, upon any points, which may probably bring any advantage to the King." "Well," said he, "I will say no more at present; but, by G—, my Lord, here have been foul d——d things done here." And so, after an hour and half discoursing at this rate, (for he is a loose and confused talker,) we parted.* He only desired that I would command all the officers now in town to repair to their respective posts, that they might be there when he came amongst them.

Monday the 7th. About nine in the morning my Lord Tyrconnel came to me, and said he had much to say to me. I told him he should have as much time as he pleased. He told me, though the commissions were come down for Sir Charles Fielding and Colonel Fairfax, yet it was the King's pleasure that Sir Charles Fielding should have his choice, and that he had told Sir Charles Fielding so last night; and that he would be by-and-by with me to give his answer: and, accordingly, he quickly came, (he had been with me two hours before, and told me all that had passed between them; and that he had much rather have the government than the regiment,) and after some discourse he told us that he had much rather have the government. I did not make any observation to him, that I had no intimation of this, nor any thing else from my Lord President; nor of his Lordship's having spoken to Sir Charles Fielding before he had mentioned it to me; which, at another time, or in another man, might have been thought a little strange. What I did say to him upon this matter you will see in my letter to my Lord President; as you will likewise what passed between us upon the commissions for Mr. John Butler, and Morris: in which certainly I am in the right, though his Lordship swears horribly, between jest and earnest, that I am too scrupulous. But I tell him it has always been accounted very penal to make rasures in any instruments after they were signed by the King.

His Lordship then told me that there was another reform to be made in the army; "for, G— d—— me," says he, "this Scotch battalion which is newly come into England, has undone us; the King is so pleased with it that he will have all his forces in the same posture. We have here a great many old men, and of different statures: they must be all turned out, for the King would have all his men young, and of one size." I desired that he and I

* This is a lively and dramatic relation of Lord Clarendon's; we may judge, indeed, that Tyrconnel was what he describes him to be.

might consider a little of this before the men were put out, and lay the case before the King, and know his pleasure what should be done with the men; that those who are old have a right to be admitted into the hospital by the late King's charter of foundation, and have contributed out of their pay towards the building of it; that he should see the state of the hospital; that I doubted we could not get out of debt, and buy furniture and other conveniencies to make room, till towards Christmas; that it would be hard to turn the men out, and make no provision for them; it would therefore be best in the first place to know what the King will have done: possibly, when he knows there can be no provision for them yet in the hospital, he will either direct the men to be kept for some months in the army still, or appoint some allowance for them till they can be admitted. His answer was, "Well, we will talk of it again: something must be done; but, by G—, the men must out; and, hang them, they have had the King's pay a great while." He then told me he had a mind to see the two troops now upon duty in town (which are of his own regiment) drawn together this afternoon; which I told him I would give orders in immediately, and likewise for the Royal Regiment to draw out to-morrow morning, as he desired. And thus we talked together in this rambling way, ever and anon making wonderful compliments to me, how he saw that I minded every thing, &c. till I was called to dinner; and then he left me, saying he was sorry he was engaged, and could not dine with me. I must not omit one thing that he told me; which was, that he was extremely troubled to supersede my Lord Granard, whom he loved with his heart; that he had reason to expect to have been a lieutenant-general in England; but the King had ordered it otherwise, and he must submit. In the afternoon his Lordship viewed the two troops of horse, and seemed to be well pleased with them, and with the performing of their exercises.

Tuesday the 8th. This morning the Royal Regiment drew up in St. Steven's Green, where my Lord Tyrconnel viewed them, and saw them exercise; Lieutenant-colonel Dorington was in his post: I was not in the field. His Lordship told the officers that the King was so well satisfied in the long services of Sir Charles Fielding, that he had removed him to prefer him to a better post; and that he did the like for Major Billingsley, who was then in the field, Major Barker not being yet come. His Lordship likewise said, (as I am informed,) that his Majesty did not remove any of the other officers out of any dislike, for he was well satisfied with their services, but to make room for other men of great merit. Then he presented Captain

Harman to the company he was to command, in the head of which was Captain Marguetson, who said he had bought his employment to show his readiness to venture his life and fortune in the King's service; that, whilst he had been in it, he had behaved himself with loyalty and honour, and did now most readily submit to his Majesty's pleasure.

Thus ended the day in the field. And now it is time to acknowledge yours of the 29th past from Windsor, and of the 1st instant. I told my Lord Tyrconnel yesterday, that I had now received the paper concerning Mr. Price, and the King's commands for the examining of it; that I intended to hear it myself, and to call my Lord Chancellor, and the Judges who are of the Privy Council, to my assistance, together with his Lordship, and the rest of the field officers of the army. He said, it was very well, but there was no haste in it. I said, I would be very willing to stay till he were at leisure; but it must be heard that the King may have an account of it: to which he replied, "Well, pray let us talk of it another time." I know not what he means; but a day or two hence I will call upon his Lordship again. I likewise told my Lord Tyrconnel, that I had received the King's commands for examining the matter relating to the Muster-master-general, and the Clerk of the Pells; that I intended to hear all that could be said in that matter in the presence of his Lordship, my Lord Chancellor, the Judges Nugent and Daly, Colonel Macarty, Colonel Hamilton, and Sir Thomas Newcomen, or any others his Lordship should desire; to which he said, "Pray let us stay till Macarty comes;" "With all my heart," said I; and so these affairs stand for the present. I believe I have by this time tired you with reading, I am sure I have myself with writing. God keep you and yours. I refer you to my sister's for more stuff, if I have time to finish the letter I began to her yesterday. Though I use to keep my writing days pretty quiet, yet these new comers will not learn it so soon, and will break in upon me; and I must not shut myself up from them at first, till they have emptied themselves: and they are long-winded talkers, which, I fear, has made this letter more confused than it should be.

* I believe by this long letter you will guess me to be troubled; I confess I am uneasy in my mind, and a wiser man than I am would be so, to see how despicable a wretch I am thought here, after the orders I have given to Lord Tyrconnel in obedience to the King's letter. I am told by every body who comes out of England, that the King is pleased with me; my Lord Chan-

* The rest of this letter is now first printed; Dr. Douglas's copy appears to have been imperfect.

cellor has written me word so twice (copies of his letters I have sent you), but perhaps that is flattery, for I can never believe his sincerity. My Lord President has never let me know the King was pleased with any thing I do, which is very uncomfortable. But sure I am, I will be content to be condemned for any ill step I have made here, and any Catholic shall be my judge. Why then must I have this ignominious disgrace put upon me? Might not I have been employed to do what was to be done in the army; and if I had not done it, or not well done it, had there not been a better reason to be angry with me than there is yet? Lord Tyrconnel himself, after all his infallible skill, cannot draw up a regiment, which is visible here; and when a troop or company is drawn up, he sends an order to the Captain to put out such men as Colonel Richard Hamilton shall mark: could not I have done that as well? I am sure I should not have given so many insolent and provoking words to gentlemen as he does, nor used so many oaths and curses as he does; and I had rather be hanged than do the King the mischief he does him. I do not desire to be sent for home, because I will not gratify the ill people, who would have me gone, who, upon my word, are very few. But why do I tire you? I know not whom to bemoan myself to but yourself. I would not have you have any trouble upon my account; but, upon reading over all I have written to you since this Lord came hither, I see no reason why the King might not read that whole diary; it will inform him of nothing but truth. Pray think of it, why you or my sister might not read it to the Queen; but I leave it to you. I intend by the next post to write to my Lord Sunderland; I will not be angry, but I will write so as he may see I am under mortification: and I think to say something to both their Majesties too. Upon my word, there has not one angry word passed from me to Lord Tyrconnel. I have just received yours of the 12th, and your other of the 2nd, by Tory Hamilton. God keep you.

CXLIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Captain Brook, who had been deprived of his troop of horse in the late changes.

Dublin Castle, June 8, 1686.

This bearer, Captain Brook, was captain of a troop of horse in my Lord of Ardglasse's regiment; he gave sixteen hundred pounds for it, not above two years since, and is now in the common calamity of being put out, and the

Earl of Clancarty has his troop. This gentleman has a very good character; his father was a gentleman of this country, and always loyal, and never defiled with serving on the other side; and I doubt to lose his employment, after having paid so much money, will very much incommode his affairs and his poor family: his business is to appear before the King and make his condition known. I tell him I doubt my recommendation of him to you will do him but little good; but he thinks otherwise, and therefore I cannot refuse it: it will, at least, do him no harm. God keep you and yours.

CXLIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Mr. Henry Pargiter, who has been also deprived of his Commission.

Dublin Castle, June 8, 1686.

This bearer, Mr. Henry Pargiter, is Lieutenant to Captain Aungier, in the Duke of Ormond's regiment of horse, and is one of the unfortunate gentlemen now to be put out: he is a very honest man, and reputed a very good officer; he purchased his employment, and gave eight hundred pounds for it; he goes now into England, as many others will do shortly, to throw himself at the King's feet; he thinks he has some friends there who will appear for him; but I am earnestly solicited by Major Billingsley, who is his brother-in-law, to recommend him to you; and indeed the Major is so good a man that I would be glad to do any kindness upon his score, though the gentleman did not deserve so well upon his own, as I am credibly informed he does. I need say no more; I know you will do all the good you can. God keep you and yours.

CXLV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Proceedings relative to the changes in the Army.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 8, 1686.

Since my last, my Lord Tyrconnel and I have spent much time together in order to the executing his Majesty's commands. The commissions for the new officers in the Royal Regiment of guards are already distributed; and my Lord Tyrconnel is gone this morning into the field to see that regiment

drawn up, and the new officers in their commands, of which you shall have a further account before I end this letter. My Lord Tyrconnel tells me, that, notwithstanding that the commissions are come signed by the King for Sir Charles Fielding to have that regiment, late Colonel Fairfax's, and for Colonel Fairfax to have the Government of Calmore fort, &c. yet it was his Majesty's pleasure that Sir Charles Fielding should take his choice, which of the two employments he would have. Though I have no intimation hereof from your Lordship, (which I could wish might have been,) yet, considering what my Lord Tyrconnel has said to me, and the latitude I have by my instructions, I hope his Majesty will not be displeased that I have agreed to defer giving out those commissions till I hear again from your Lordship. And I am to acquaint you that Sir Charles Fielding does choose (if he may be allowed to do so) the government, and the company; and then Colonel Fairfax will keep his regiment. If the King approves hereof, your Lordship will take care to send over the commissions changed, as they ought to be. There remains but one thing more in this matter, which is to consider what company shall be given to that government. In the list of the new officers, and in the commission designed for Colonel Fairfax, Captain Collyer's company of grenadiers was ordered him. My Lord Tyrconnel is satisfied it would be a hard case to turn Collyer quite out; and therefore that it may be offered to his Majesty's consideration what company to appoint for that government, since there is this delay in that affair upon Sir Charles Fielding's account, which otherwise should not have been made, though I represented the truth of that poor man's case to your Lordship in my last. Among the commissions there is one for Mr. John Butler, son to the Lord Dunboine, to be Lieutenant to my Lord Kingston. My Lord Tyrconnel tells me it is a mistake, and his name ought to have been James; as likewise, in the commission of Morris to be first Lieutenant of the independent troop of grenadiers, his Lordship says that it is likewise a mistake; for Duncan, who is at present the second Lieutenant, and has served long at Tangier, ought to be first, and Morris second; and therefore he would have me alter the commissions. I do not deny but my Lord Tyrconnel may be in the right, that Mr. Butler's christian name may be mistaken, and that, according to the rule, (if the King did not intend it otherwise,) Mr. Morris should not come over the head of Duncan; but I am sure it is not fit for me to make any rasures in the commissions, after they are signed by the King, without his Majesty's command, which shall be obeyed as soon as your Lordship signifies

it to me. I told my Lord Tyrconnel that all I could do was, upon his desire, to defer the giving out those commissions till I knew the King's pleasure; which would be no prejudice to the King's service, or to the parties concerned. If his Majesty shall think fit to have Morris second Lieutenant of the troop of grenadiers, both his commission must be altered, and Duncan must have a new one to be first Lieutenant of that troop.

I have been discoursing with my Lord Tyrconnel about putting unfit men out of the army: I mean those who are unfit by age; and I would be very glad to know the King's pleasure what shall be done with those men. They ought, by the late King's charter of foundation, to come into the hospital, and have a right to it, by the deductions which have been made from their pay; but the hospital is yet in debt, and, I doubt, cannot be in a condition to admit men into it till towards Christmas. I doubt, it will be hard to turn so many poor men begging, who ought to be provided for; and therefore I humbly lay it before his Majesty, what he will direct to have done in it.

If the King shall think fit to continue Captain Collyer in the company of grenadiers, I ought to represent some other company to go along with the Government of Calmore fort. Upon advice with Lord Tyrconnel, I presume to offer one of these three companies, Sir Richard Rooth's, Captain Lewis Dive's, or Captain Francis Rolleston's, who are all in that regiment which did belong to Colonel Fairfax. I would not do any of them an ill office to be the occasion of making them lose their command, for they are all very good and deserving men; but Captain Dive, though he be a worthy man, and of as loyal a family as any man can be, yet I may say, he is very unwieldy, and therefore unfit for service; and besides, his father's estate is lately fallen to him. If your Lordship pleaseth, I would be glad to have his Majesty's directions herein. My Lord Tyrconnel was very well pleased with the regiment of guards, of which I suppose he has given your Lordship a particular account, and therefore I need not say any thing of it. I believe I have now tired your Lordship. I am with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

I have just now received your Lordship's of the 3d instant; for which I give you many thanks.

CXLVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Conversation with Lord Tyrconnel relative to the regulation of the Army.—About admitting Catholics into Corporations, and making them Justices of Peace and Sheriffs.—Lord Clarendon's list of Sheriffs, and Lord Tyrconnel's observations upon it.—Conversation with the Lord Chancellor.—Council, and swearing in new Members.—Lord Granard objects to be President of the Council.—Reversion of Outlawries.—The Catholic Primate applies for money to pay stipends to the Bishops.—Plan for quartering the Army.—Lord Tyrconnel's observations upon the changes in the Army, &c.

Dublin Castle, June 12, 1686.

Wednesday the 9th. About nine in the morning my Lord Tyrconnel came to me. He began with giving an account of the regiment of the guards, which he saw drawn together yesterday. He told me, he must own it was a better regiment than he could have imagined; that it was much improved since his last being here, and did their exercises as well as any regiment in England; that he desires to view them again on Saturday, and that they might be drawn into the Park; which I told him he might do. He said, he thought there would be very few alterations needful to be made in that regiment, and but few men to be turned out. He said, this army had been never useful (which was a great dissatisfaction to the King) by reason of their never having been regimented till of late, and because the troops and companies have been quartered a dozen years together upon the estates of their Captains, without having been once exercised, which was the ruin of an army; that the King was resolved to have his army well disciplined, that they might be useful to him. I answered, that I could not give an account of former times; but I had observed, that his Lordship owned that the army here was in very good order and readiness the last year, when part of it was sent into the North, and another part into England. "By G—," said he, "that is very true." And, continued I, since my being here the regiment of guards has been drawn together constantly once a week, besides their being exercised every day in distinct companies; and for the rest of the army, strict orders had been given for them to be kept in constant discipline: and if any of them were found faulty, the officers must answer it. Then he asked me when he should be despatched into the country? "For," said he, "I would fain have done every thing, that I might return into England. I said, when he pleased. "Then," says he, "I will go to my own house in the country to-morrow, and return at

night; and, if you please, we will meet on Friday morning to consider of the fittest places in the several counties for the troops to be quartered in for the present, that every regiment might be drawn as near together as conveniently might be." I answered, agreed. He then asked, "when will you consider of the King's letter about admitting the Roman Catholics into corporations, and putting in justices of the peace, and sheriffs?" I told him, that, for the corporations, I was advising about the best and readiest way of doing the business; that I had already discoursed with Mr. Justice Daly about the town of Galway, where there were most of the trading Roman Catholic merchants, and with which town and county he was particularly acquainted, all his concerns and relations being there; and that I was advising with other Roman Catholics concerning other places, and that it would not be long before he should see that affair in as good a progress as he could desire: that for the sheriffs, I would give such orders to the judges, when they went their circuits, as were necessary for presenting to me proper persons, Roman Catholics, for those employments; and I should render such an account thereof, as I was confident the King would be pleased with; and, if there were any counties for which his Lordship was any way concerned, I would be glad to be informed by him. That for the justices of the peace, that was more peculiarly my Lord Chancellor's province; that I had acquainted him with the King's letter, and I doubted not but he would give a good account thereof. He then said, "By G—, my Lord, I must needs tell you, the sheriffs you made are generally rogues and old Cromwellians; but I justified your Excellency to the King, and told him you were not to be blamed; that you could not at that time know people yourself, and were advised by the late Chancellor; and that he knew very well the roll which I had pricked was prepared before I came over." I told him, it was true, I could not then be acquainted with many; that I had advised with the late Chancellor, as I should always do with whomever the King puts into that station; and especially it having been the constant practice for the Lord-lieutenant to have nobody with him, when he pricks sheriffs, but the Chancellor and his own secretaries: but after all that I was not influenced by the then Chancellor; and as great a stranger as I was in this country, I had taken my informations from other worthy men, both Catholics as well as Protestants; and that a third part of the sheriffs which I had nominated, were new men, and not upon the roll; and when all was done, I would justify that these sheriffs, generally speaking, were as good a set of men as any had been chosen these dozen years;

and I would be judged by the Roman Catholics in any county. "By G—," said he, "I believe it, for there has not been an honest man sheriff in Ireland these twenty years." That, said I, is a hard censure; but it is not my business to find out the faults of twenty years past: I hoped I should give a good account of my own actions. I said, I could not but think it a little odd to receive out of England a list of the sheriffs, with animadversions upon every name, and some of them in such expressions as looked very malicious; but I had given a very particular answer to them, which I hoped had satisfied the King, because I had not heard to the contrary.* He told me, "You must not wonder at such things: some men love to be officious. Those animadversions upon the sheriffs were made by Sir Robert Hamilton and Mr. Sheridan." To which I made no reply, though I think here might be room for wonder; but just now came in my Lord Chancellor. My Lord Tyrconnel presently fell discoursing with him about the justices of the peace. "My Lord," says the Chancellor, "my Lord-lieutenant has showed me the king's letter, and I am taking the best method I can for the speedy obeying it. I have spoken to the three Roman Catholic judges, and to others of quality of that religion, to furnish me with the names of honest men in the several counties, fit for the employment; and the thing shall be done as it ought to be; and, if your Lordship will give me any names, you will oblige me." "By G—," says Lord Tyrconnel, "I see you will be a great while about it." "My Lord," says the Chancellor, "the King knows I was never slack in his service, and he shall not now find me guilty of that fault." We were now called to dinner, and so we parted: you see how finely we spend our time. In the afternoon I went to council, where were sworn Lords Tyrconnel, Limerick, Ikerine, Galmoy, Sir William Wentworth, the three new judges, and Colonel Hamilton. The rest of the new counsellors were not in town: only Mr. Nangle, the lawyer, keeps his letter for the reasons I have formerly mentioned. We had no great business at council, and so ended the day. But I had almost forgot telling you, that in the morning Lord Granard came to me, and said that Lord Tyrconnel had told him in a great fury, that the King would be very angry if he declined being president of the council; and therefore he desired me to bring the King's letter with me in the afternoon: for, he said, he never yet willingly offended the Crown in his life, and would not now do it at the end of his days. Accordingly the letter was read at the board; after

* See this list of Sheriffs with the animadversions upon them, and the answers by Lord Clarendon, in a former page.

which Lord Granard said, he had had the honour to have had several commissions of great trust from the Crown, and was very sensible of his Majesty's gracious intentions in this letter; but it was a new thing; had never been in this kingdom before; that neither the business, nor the rank of the place was known here; and he did not desire any new thing should be set up for him; and said, he would make his application to the King very speedily: which he said with great modesty, but would not change his place; and I am confident he intends to retire. He has already lent his seat in the country, and has very freely told me, now he is out of employment, it is necessary for him to take up, and be some time out of the way, for the repairing of his fortune; and I believe he means to go into England.

Thursday the 10th. My Lord Tyrconnel is gone to-day with his Lady to his country house; and so I have nothing to say upon his account. On Tuesday my Lord Ikerine brought me the King's letter for reversing his, and my Lord Gormanston's outlawries, which I have this day sent to Mr. Attorney General. That matter will not go so smoothly as was thought; but, if you please, say nothing of it till I tell you more from Mr. Attorney. It seems there arise difficulties which were not foreseen by those who advised the petition. This evening the Roman Catholic Primate was with me. He asked me, whether I had received orders from the King for the paying any money to him. I told him, no. He said he had had sometime since a letter from the King, declaring that he would make certain allowances to the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops; and that they were all to be paid to him, and he was to distribute the money according to his Majesty's directions. I told him, I had not as yet received any orders concerning him.

Friday the 11th. About ten in the morning my Lord Tyrconnel came to me, and some of the officers of the army with him. Our business was to agree upon a plan for the quartering of the army; it being necessary for those troops which had been long in a place to be changed; and for the troops and companies to be brought to nearer distances than was convenient in the winter, that the regiments, or at least battalions, may be drawn easily together for exercise and discipline. We agreed upon the general scheme, and have appointed to meet to settle it to-morrow in the afternoon. As soon as it is perfected, it shall be sent you: it being pretty late, they dined with me. When we were above stairs, he took me aside and said, "My Lord, the more I think of some of these changes, the more I am grieved: who a devil named these men, I know not. The King, I am sure, took his informations from the Colonels;

but, by G—, here is one of the most crying cases was ever heard of; and that is poor Captain Ridley, who is not only a purchaser, but as deserving as any man of his age could be, both upon his own account and that of his family. G— d—— me, there is not a man in town but has spoken to me in his behalf; and therefore I beg your Excellency not to deliver out his commission till we hear again from England; and I beseech you to write in his behalf; for, by G—, I will do it effectually." I told him, I would very willingly respite the giving out the commission for his company; that I could justify the delaying it by my instructions; that I had as good an opinion of Captain Ridley as any man, and had reason to be concerned both for him and his officers, having employed them myself in suppressing the Tories, in which they had done eminent service; that his Lieutenant had in that occasion received a shot in his head, of which he was but newly recovered, and both he and the Ensign were now turned out; which certainly every body must think very hard. "G— d—— those," said he, "who represented these men to the King: I am sure I had nothing to do in it." My Lord, said I, truly I know not who had; but it could not be the Colonel; for this was in my Lord Granard's regiment, and he was not in England. "You say right," said he; "but now I remember the alterations made in Granard's regiment was designed by the late King, when my Lord Treasurer was nominated to be Lord-lieutenant." We dined; and after dinner he desired to draw the regiment together again to-morrow, to which I agreed: and so ended this day's conversation.—This morning arrived a packet from England, which brought me your's of the 5th from Hampton-Court; by which I was glad to find, that W. Legge was arrived, and that you had received all my despatches. I will say no more upon the subject of them, till I know what the King says: but (which my Lord Chief Justice Keating hints in his paper) if the proposal be granted, the sooner it is known the better; which I hope will fix people; for you cannot imagine how many are every day unsettling.

I am very glad of the grace the King has showed to the Duchess of Monmouth: I think she will give a very good account of her children.

Saturday the 12th. This morning Lord Tyrconnel drew out the regiment of guards again into the park, and culled out such men as he thought not fit to serve, but put out nobody: in the afternoon when he came to me, he gave me an account thereof, and said, when the lists were written out which he had made in the field, I should see them; and then I might judge, when, and how the men might be put out; and that in the mean time they might continue,

and do duty as they had done; and by that means there would be no alarm of putting out so many men together, for he believed the number he had marked was about 300. I said, that was very well; when he showed me the lists of those whom he thought not fit for service, I could by the muster rolls see how long they had served; for all who had served seven years, had a right by the late King's charter to be provided for by the Hospital; that I had already acquainted his Lordship how the state of that matter stood, and that I had already written to my Lord President to acquaint the King therewith; whose directions I hoped quickly to receive, how those men, who had a right to the hospital, should be provided for. Then we proceeded to settling the quarters for the army, which we finished; a perfect scheme whereof you shall have by the next. And now it is pretty late, and I am even weary; and the packet goes off to-morrow morning; my next shall take up where I leave. God Almighty keep you and yours.

CXLVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

New Members of the Council sworn.—Lord Granard.—State of the Council.—Quartering of the Army.—Hard cases of some of the removed Officers.—Payment of the Catholic Bishops, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 12th, 1686.

On Wednesday last the Council met, and all the new Privy Counsellors who are in town were sworn; as the others will be, as soon as they come, except Mr. Nangle, who has his letter, and says he will keep it as a mark of the King's grace and favour to him, but would not be sworn for the reasons I told you formerly. I likewise communicated the King's letter to the board concerning the appointing a President of the Council; upon which my Lord Granard spake with great modesty, that he had had the honour to serve the King and his royal brother in commissions of great trust, and would be ever ready to serve his Majesty in any way as long as he had life; that he was abundantly sensible of his Majesty's goodness and bounty to him, and his family; but as for this place of President, it would in many respects be inconvenient to him; and therefore he hoped his Majesty would not be offended, if he took his own time to make his application to him: and so would not change his place. My Lord, I find, thinks it fit for him to go into England, having several occasions concerning his own affairs; and I

perceive he thinks it necessary for him to live more retired than he has done. And now if your Lordship please to give me leave, I will acquaint you a little with the state of the Council Board. Here never was a President, as I told your Lordship formerly, nor has he any rank given him by the statute: and in truth there is no need of such an office; for nobody can call or summon a council here, but the Chief Governor, who appoints committees to give an account of particular matters, which he refers to them, as he thinks fit; and when at any time the Chief Governor goes out of the province, he issues out a commission under the great seal to the Council, directing them to meet as they shall judge convenient. I only lay this before your Lordship with submission.

I had yesterday a meeting with my Lord Tyrconnel, Colonel Hamilton, and Sir Thomas Newcomen; and we have agreed upon the quarters for the whole army to be changed: those which were in Ulster, to be brought into Munster, and so those from Munster into Ulster; and so the other provinces. Only Major General Macarty's regiment, though it has been this last year in Munster, we have not thought fit to change till he comes over himself: when the whole is settled, the King shall have a perfect scheme sent him.

I believe I shall never have done representing the hard cases of some of the unfortunate officers who are now laid aside. That which is most pressing at this time is the case of Captain Ridley; in whose behalf, my Lord Tyrconnel says, he will write as earnestly as he can, and has therefore pressed me not to deliver out the commission for his company till we hear again from your Lordship; which I know I may do by the liberty given me by my instructions, especially considering how few there are delayed; for all are delivered out which have been called for except this, and those which I gave you an account of in my last. To make your Lordship's trouble the shorter in Captain Ridley's case, I send you the petition he gave me. As to the first part of it, to what he says of being employed by me is perfectly true; and his Lieutenant and Ensign were employed in the same service. The first was really shot in the head, and is but newly recovered; which makes his case the harder, considering how ready he was upon every occasion to venture his life in the King's service. I am sure I cannot do better than to recommend him to your Lordship's protection. Two nights since the Roman Catholic Primate came to me, and asked me whether I had any orders for the paying him any money: I told him I had not. He said he had a letter from the King, declaring his intentions what his Majesty intended to allow every archbishop, and bishop;

and that all the money was to be paid to him; and he was in hopes I might have had orders in it by this time. I assured him I had none, and that he should know it as soon as I had any. He then desired me to write to your Lordship about it, which I promised him to do: and I shall be glad to receive his Majesty's directions, what answer to make herein.

If his Majesty shall think fit to continue Captain Ridley in his command, then Captain Toby Caulfield will want a company: by the next post I will offer your Lordship a fit way to provide for him; and I am sure my Lord Tyrconnel will do the same. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXLVIII.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Proposition to call a Parliament to confirm defective titles, instead of renewing the Commission of Grace. —Reasons for the preference.

MY LORD, Windsor, June 14th, 1686.

My Lord Treasurer having laid before the King a letter of your Excellency's, with my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Chief Justice Keating's opinions, that it would be for his Majesty's service to renew the late Commission for defective titles; his Majesty commands me to tell you that he thinks it very necessary something should be done to settle the minds of people in Ireland, by freeing them from any apprehensions they may have of a design to break the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and to prevent the decay of trade in that kingdom. But his Majesty is in doubt whether it may not be done more effectually, and with more advantage to his service, by a Parliament than by such a Commission; and therefore his Majesty would have your Excellency advise with the ablest persons, and those of the best interest, whether, if his Majesty should be willing to confirm by Parliament those titles which are desired to be confirmed by a Commission, or rather, if his Majesty should be willing to confirm by Parliament, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, it would not much more fully settle men's minds, and encrease trade, and consequently the revenue, than any thing that can be done by the proposed Commission; and whether on those terms, a much greater sum of money might not be expected from a Parliament, than

can be raised by such a Commission. His Majesty would also have your Excellency advise with the same persons, whether it would be inconvenient to his service, that a Parliament should be called in Ireland within some reasonable time. The King commands me to add, that he would have this matter be kept very secret by all those with whom your Excellency shall advise, and that he would have my Lord Tyrconnel be one of them. I am very sincerely,

My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND, P.

CXLIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Conduct of Lord Tyrconnel.—Purposes to keep a Diary of what passes between them.—His extravagant behaviour will injure the King's interests, and gain him the reputation of a madman.

Dublin Castle, June 15, 1686.

Sunday the 13th. I did not see my Lord Tyrconnel to-day, so that I have nothing to give you an account of with reference to him, only that about noon, after I came from church, Captain Ridley came to me, and said my Lord Tyrconnel presented his service to me, and desired me not to write into England upon his case till he had spoken with me. I told him it was too late, my letter was gone. I could tell you many stories of him, and of his carriage towards particular persons who have complained to me; but I will not yet take notice of any of those, nor of any thing, but continue a perfect diary of what passes between my Lord Tyrconnel and me, which at one time or other may perhaps be proper to be showed. But indeed I fear his violent, extravagant temper may hurt the King's business. For the particular slights he puts upon me, I am sure I will take no notice of them to any one living, though some of them are pretty public; but there is nothing I will not do or bear for the King's service. Nor will I trouble you with the idle stories of the adoration that is paid to him; let time and patience show all.

Monday the 14th. About ten in the morning Lord Tyrconnel came to me, and said he had many things to say to me. He began with telling me that nothing was yet done about the Justices of the peace. I desired him to consider that he came to town but on Saturday was sennight; that on

Sunday he gave me the King's letters; that on Monday I communicated them to my Lord Chancellor; that on Wednesday, his Lordship might remember, my Lord Chancellor told him in my closet that he had spoken to the three new Judges, and to several other Roman Catholics, to give him lists of men fit to be employed, and, if his Lordship would give him any names, he would take it for a favour; and that before the Judges went their circuits, which would be very speedily, the Commissions would be renewed, and the Roman Catholics in; and that I was very confident the King would be satisfied that there was not a day lost in executing his commands, but there must be a necessary time given for doing every thing. "What will you do," said he, "about the Sheriffs?" "Why, my Lord," said I, "I will obey the King in that as well as in every thing else. When the Judges come to me to receive directions for their circuits, one which I will give them shall be, to return such Roman Catholics in the lists for sheriffs for the next year, as they should think fit." "Indeed," said he, "I think that is the best way, and it cannot be done sooner." "Pray, my Lord," said I, "do not mistrust me for delaying what the King would have done." "But, my Lord," said he, "you have done nothing about the Corporations, which the King will have done; and you have already approved of the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin for the next year, and, by G—, they are all three as ill men as could be chosen, two of them rank fanatics." "My Lord," said I, "the choosing of those men was no secret; it was done at the Common Council; that there were three weeks between the time of election and the approbation; that I endeavoured to inform myself as well as I could, by Catholics as well as Protestants, of the men; that I heard good characters of them, and, when the matter came before the Council, there was not one person who did not approve of the election; that for the mayor elect, he had the repute of a very honest man; that he is brother to Mr. Castleton of the Post-office in London, whom the King knows to be an honest man: but after all this, if his Lordship would say upon his own knowledge, that any of the three were by their practice or principles ill men, or bring any body else of worth and reputation who would say so, they should be yet set by." His answer to this was, "I know none of the men myself; only one of the sheriffs was heretofore my tailor, whom I never heard well of; but since I saw you on Saturday, very good men, Roman Catholics and Protestants, have given me this account of them." I said it was very strange none of them would in all this time tell me so. "My Lord," said he, "you must not wonder many come to me who

will not trouble your Excellency. I hope you are not angry that men apply themselves to me; I shall always tell you things as soon as I hear them." "No, my Lord," said I, "I am not angry that people apply to you, but I think they would do well to apply to me too; and as to the matter now in debate, if the men chosen for Dublin are such ill men, I think those who had informed you of it, might sooner have informed me, and then they would have been able to have judged whether I had minded what they said to me; and therefore his Lordship must give me leave to press him to tell me the reason why those men who had informed him, made any difficulty of coming to me; that the help I expected from him and any others in the King's service was, to encourage people to apply to me; though I hoped there was no need of it, because I was sure every creature, from the highest to the lowest, had access to me, and might have every day in the year." "Why then, my Lord," said he, "I will tell you plainly, (for you shall always find me a plain man,) these men who have been with me, to tell you truly, do apprehend you are inclined the other way." "My Lord," said I, "that is a reflection which your Lordship, under favour, ought not to seem to give credit to without reason; and if you have reason, pray tell me, and see if I do not satisfy you." "Alas!" said he, "I have no reason to think you partial; I only tell you what people say." "My Lord," said I, "people must not be heard say so without giving some ground for it; that I had had the good fortune to have the thanks of many worthy people of both religions for the easy access I gave, and for the equality I showed; that, if there was any one Catholic in Ireland who would charge me with partiality in a single instance, I would be contented to be judged by himself; and therefore I must press to know the reason why I was thought by any to be inclined the other way, as he said." "By G—, my Lord," said he, "you must not wonder if the Catholics do think you a little partial, after your making such a set of sheriffs, who are, four parts out of five, rogues; but, by G—, I justified you to the King in that particular, for it could not be your fault, you were then so great a stranger here, and must take your measures from the late Chancellor, and the roll was put into your hand." "My Lord," said I, "pray consider what you say: you own I could make no better sheriffs, and yet you seem to say the Catholics have reason to think me partial for making them. But, my Lord," continued I, "I was not influenced by the late Chancellor, but took the advice particularly of any Roman Catholic; and after all, that I would still insist upon it, that these sheriffs were generally as good men as have been at any time made, and that there

has not been any complaint from any one county of the least miscarriage committed by any of them; that his Lordship himself owned they could not expect Roman Catholics in many counties, and I would refer myself to the Roman Catholics, whether there were not good sheriffs in all the province of Connaught, in Ulster, King's County, and county of Clare, as well as in some other counties which I could name."

This, I think, is the substance of this day's conference; and I cannot conclude my letter without telling you that I look upon it as a great mortification, that my Lord Tyrconnel should tell me, after all the caution and care I have taken, that I am looked upon to be partial for doing that which he himself owns could be no otherwise; and when I am sure there is not a Catholic here who will not justify my proceedings. But those Catholics who do not agree with him in his extravagancies, his Lordship is pleased to call trimmers; and so they, and myself too, must be liable to be represented as he pleaseth. But, thanks be to God, my comfort is, the King will not condemn any body till he be well informed; and another comfort other people have, (how it may influence the King's affairs is another consideration,) is, that if this Lord continue in the temper he is, he will gain the reputation here of a madman; for his treatment of people is scarce to be described. But a little time will discover him more. I wish Colonel Macarty were here, who is a worthy man, and esteemed by every body.

Tuesday the 15th. I have not seen Lord Tyrconnel to-day, and so have but little to say to you: only I cannot omit telling you a story, because it has made so great noise here, that I doubt it will be written over; and, if the truth be not known, may by some people make as much noise there, though it be nothing. The matter is this. Last night, as I was going to bed, my servant asked me whether I would go to-morrow into the field, because the regiment drew out. I said, no: which was all I said to him. I sent for the captain of the guard, and asked him what orders he had to march into the field: he told me the Lieutenant-colonel had given orders for the whole regiment to draw out this morning. I bid him (without making any reflection, or saying why,) let the Lieutenant-colonel know, that I would not have the regiment draw out to-day, and that I would speak with him in the morning. Accordingly this morning the Lieutenant-colonel came to me, and said he came to beg my pardon; that he was sensible he had done an ill thing in ordering the regiment to draw out without my orders, which he did not know was the custom till this morning, but he would never do so again. I told him, I was indeed

a little surprised to find by accident (as in truth it was) that the regiment was ordered into the field, and that I knew nothing of it; that it never had been done here without the knowledge of the Chief Governor, and there was reason for it; it being the only regiment in town, and one company always in duty at the Castle, it was not fit they should be drawn away, or the regiment drawn into the field, without the Chief Governor's knowledge; that I did believe what had been ordered was by mistake, and I was very well satisfied with what he had said. He then desired he might draw out the regiment to-morrow; to which I said, with all my heart, and as often as he thought fit, he only speaking to me of it before: and so we parted very good friends, with a thousand professions, &c.

You now know the truth, in case you hear the matter spoken of; for it has made a wonderful noise here, as almost every thing does. If you were here, you would think I did very well to let these gentlemen see at the beginning that they are to take notice of me; for some of them are ready enough to take upon them, and think they are to govern the world. God keep you and all yours.

CL.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The King will not press Mr. Nangle to be of the Privy Council, or Lord Granard to be President.—Regulation of the Commissions and Promotions in the Army, &c.

MY LORD, Windsor, June 15, 1686.

I have your Excellency's of the 30th past, and of the 1st, and 5th, and 8th instant, which I have laid before the King, who directs me to tell you, that if the Earl of Granard has no mind to be President of the Council, and Mr. Nangle declines being a Privy Counsellor, his Majesty allows thereof, and will continue to my Lord Granard the pension which he had as Lieutenant-general; and if he accepts of the Presidentship, his Majesty's pleasure is he should take place as the President of the Council here does.

I am also to acquaint you, that Captain Edward Fitz-Gerald was forgot; and as to Mr. Fleming, his Majesty had ordered all the new commissions to be prepared before he was recommended to him; but they will be both provided for upon the first vacancies.

The King would have your Excellency give order for changing John to

James, in Mr. Butler's commission constituting him to be Lieutenant to my Lord Kingston, being only a mistake; and his Majesty's intention being, that Mr. Duncan should be first Lieutenant of the Independent troop of Grenadiers, and Morris second: I will take care that the two commissions shall be accordingly sent by the first opportunity; and also for Sir Charles Fielding to be Governor of Kilmore Fort, &c. and to have Captain Lewis Dyves's company; his Majesty consenting that Sir Charles Fielding may have that Government, because he desires it; and that Colonel Fairfax keep his regiment, and Captain Collier his company. I must, upon this alteration, mind your Excellency to give order, that the style in the commissions of the new Subaltern officers in Colonel Fairfax's regiment be changed. It will be easily done by putting Colonel Fairfax's name instead of Sir Charles Fielding's, which his Majesty would have you direct accordingly.

As to the unfit men who are to be put out of the army, his Majesty says, he thinks it much for his service, that it should be done forthwith; and that those who are so put out, must come into the Hospital, as soon as they can be admitted there. I am,

My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND. P.

CLI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

General regulation of the Army of Ireland.—Intemperate conduct of Lord Tyrconnel, in regard to the admission of Catholics into Corporations.—His discourse about disarming the people in Munster, and purging the army of disaffected persons.—Calls Baron Worth a rogue.—Mr. Price's business.—His contradictions of himself.—Is about to depart for Wexford.—His extravagant conduct respecting the reformed officers.—Lord Clarendon argues in favour of a Commission of Grace.—Mr. Hoare and Mr. Lincoln's Report of their Conversation with Lord Tyrconnel about the Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin.—Report that Lord T. has sent into England for extended powers.

Dublin Castle, June 19, 1686.

Wednesday the 16th. In the afternoon, it being Council day, my Lord Barrymore and Mr. Purcell were sworn of the Council, being come to town since the last week. After Council my Lord Tyrconnel came home with me, and my Lord Chief Justice Keating. Lord Tyrconnel told me, now the matter of removing the quarters of the army was settled, he intended, whilst the regiments were removing, to go to Wexford for his health, to drink the waters there: in order to which he would go to his own house to-morrow; and there-

fore he desired he might have his orders for inspecting and purging the army: which I told him were ready, and gave them to him; a copy whereof is here enclosed,* that you may see, and justify me when convenient, that I have fully and perfectly obeyed the King, how disparaging soever to myself; which I pray God may not in the consequence be of disadvantage to his Majesty.—His Lordship then fell to discourse of the business of the Corpora-

* The following paper will show how this matter was regulated.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND TO THE EARL OF TYRCONNEL, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF IRELAND.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

June 16th, 1686.

CLARENDON.

Whereas we have received his Majesty's commands, by his Royal Letter, bearing date the 22d day of May last past, authorizing and requiring us to direct your Lordship to inspect from time to time the several regiments of horse and foot of his Majesty's army in this kingdom, and whensoever you shall think it fit for his Majesty's service, to put out all unfit persons, as well non-commissioned officers as common soldiers, supplying their places with such other persons as you shall think more fitly qualified: and whereas we are also to direct you to change the quarters of the army from time to time, in such manner as you shall judge best for the benefit of his Majesty's service: these are, therefore, to pray and require your Lordship, that when the regiment of horse under your command shall be mustered in their present quarters, or so soon after as you shall think fit, that you cause the several troops thereof to march to the places here under written, where they are to remain until further order from us, or that your Lordship shall see convenient to remove them to other quarters, of which you are forthwith to give us an account. And you are to give it in charge to the officer commanding each troop, to take care that the present quarters be discharged, and that the men commit no disorder or spoil in the country, but duly pay for their provisions, according to the rules in that case laid down. You are likewise, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands aforesaid, to review the several regiments of the army, and to discharge all such private soldiers and non-commissioned officers as you shall judge unfit for his Majesty's service. Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 16th day of June, 1686. PAUL RYCAUT.

Your Lordship's own troop from Drogheda to Trym.
Lieutenant-colonel Dominick Sheldon from Atherdee to Naas.
Earl of Donnegal from Newry to Tullogh.
Earl of Mount Alexander from Dublin to Blessinton and Ballymore.
Lord Gormanston from Mullingar to Carlow.
Lord Blaney from Monaghon to Athy.
Lord Walter Dongan from Dublin to Carlow.
Lieutenant-colonel Henry Brenn from Athy to Carlow.

" To the Right Hon. Richard Earl of Tyrconnel, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's army in this kingdom."

tions. I replied, that I had already told him, when he and I talked last together, that that affair was put into a way, as well as the rest of the King's commands, for a speedy execution, and the most for his Majesty's service. "My Lord Tyrconnel," said my Lord Chief Justice Keating, "things must be done carefully; and directions must not be given, which may be liable to be contradicted afterwards. I told your Lordship, when you were with me, that my Lord Lieutenant had showed me the King's letter; that I took the meaning of it to be, that his Majesty would not have the being a Roman Catholic a bar to any man from enjoying all privileges, &c. equal with his other subjects; and therefore the Oath of Supremacy was not to be tendered, which will do the work: but I do not conceive it to be his Majesty's intention, that the being a Roman Catholic should entitle a man to be free of any corporation, if he be not otherwise qualified, no more than the being a Protestant will entitle a man, if he be not otherwise qualified." "By G—," said my Lord Tyrconnel, "I do not know what to say to that: I would have all the Catholics in;" and so he named several persons of this City. "My Lord," continued Keating, "in truth you do not understand these matters: many of these you have named, ought not to be free of this City; and yet they enjoy all advantages, and trade as freely as the rest of the King's subjects, who are in their circumstances: and many of them, to my knowledge," said he, "may have their freedoms upon their own terms, if they please; but when it comes to it, they will not, forsooth, submit to the rules of Government; that is, (said he) they will have the benefit and advantages of freemen, and will not bear, nor contribute towards the bearing any of the burdens incident to freemen; which I know is the case in several other corporations as well as this: and truly, my Lord, (continued he) when the King intends to put all his subjects in the like circumstances, (which his letter says expressly,) it will not become the Government here to give one sort of men more privileges than another: which, I am sure, will be great partiality, and not for the King's service: and therefore," said he, "let us not be partial, when we pretend to be equal." "My Lord Tyrconnel," said I, "it is a wonderful thing, that none of these men you have named (and he named but four or five) do come to me." "G— d—— me," says he, "can I help that? They are men of business; but I am sure they make these complaints to me." "My Lord," said I, "they have certainly as much leisure to come to me, as to your Lordship; and if you would bid them, when they come to you, apply themselves to the Lord Lieutenant, where they ought to go, you would ease

yourself of a great deal of trouble, which is not your business; and the men concerned would be able to judge whether they had reason to complain of me or not." "Indeed, my Lord," said Keating, "I have often told you, things must go in their proper channel." "Well," said my Lord Tyrconnel, "let us speak a little of the disarming the people in Ulster, for that work was never well done." "My Lord," said Keating, "my Lord Lieutenant showed me the King's letter about that affair a week since; and it must be prudently and carefully managed, or else it will not be effectually done again." "By G—," said my Lord Tyrconnel, "if you bring it to the Council board, it will miscarry again, as it did last year." "My Lord," said I, "I appointed this meeting, and my Lord Chief Justice Keating to be here at your desire, to discourse this affair together; that Mr. Corm. O'Neil was without; who being called in, gave an account of what orders I had given him to search for arms in those parts, and how far he had executed them: we then discoursed upon what was now fit to be done, and agreed upon the method. After this (we three being alone, for C. O'Neil was gone out again,) I said, "My Lord Tyrconnel, you are now going into the country, and will view the troops at the places appointed: I must desire you to be a little careful; that you could not but know the apprehensions people were in, and the alarm they had taken upon these changes, though without ground; and therefore pray, my Lord, do not fright people by making them believe that the King excludes any of his subjects from his service; that the business of all honest men was to reconcile interests and parties, for the divisions were too great already." He said, "By G—, my Lord, I never asked a soldier in my life, what religion he was of; and the orders I have given to the officers, who are now going to their quarters, are to put out all men who are disaffected, or not fit for the service; and to take in others who are the most sightly, and the fittest men, without making religion a distinction. I told him, it was very well, if he gave those orders, which were certainly more for the King's service than in another style, and would as well do what the King desired. The reason why I gave him the caution was, because some of the officers, Roman Catholics, had not been so discreet, but had talked very foolishly and too publicly in another strain; and therefore I thought fit to acquaint him with it, that he might give them good advice, which I could not do without taking more notice of it than I had a mind to. "For God's sake," said Keating, "let there be no such orders given; for nothing could be more prejudicial to the King's service than to have it thought that an Englishman must not

be in his service. To which my Lord Tyrconnel replied, more calmly than he uses to speak, that he would take care there should be no complaint. It being now past eight at night, my Lord Chief Justice Keating went away. "Well," said Lord Tyrconnel, "I will come to you again to-morrow before I go out of town: I have only one thing more to say at present, and that is concerning Baron Worth, who, by G—, is a d——d rogue." "How so, my Lord?" said I. "A pox," said he, "you know he is a Whig, and the greatest favourer of fanatics in the world: he thinks he governs Munster; and he has been the greatest persecutor of the Catholics in the kingdom." "My Lord," said I, "I know not Baron Worth, but as I find him in the King's service here; and in that, I must needs say, he behaves himself as an honest man ought to do; and that all people, Catholics as well as Protestants, gave me a good character of him; and I did believe he would be content to be judged by the Roman Catholics of Munster themselves, for his behaviour towards them in the worst of times." "By G—," said he, "I will prove him to be a rogue." "Pray do, my Lord," said I: "any charge you bring against him shall be examined; and let him stand or fall according to his merit." "By G—, I will have it brought to the Council Board," said he: "the King has an ill opinion of him; and I will do his business." "My Lord," said I, "after what you have said, I shall desire your Lordship that the objections you have to him may be examined, and the more public the better for the King's service; and therefore I shall put you in mind of it: in the mean time," said I, "when will you be ready to have Mr. Price's business heard?" "What a devil," says he, "is to be heard? You have remedied the great matter, the impresting of money." "My Lord," said I, "I have the King's command to examine it, your Lordship not being satisfied with the answer Mr. Price sent into England; and therefore I must appoint a time for the hearing of it, and likewise of the other affair concerning the Muster-master General." "Well," said he, "pray let them both alone, till Macarty comes over, and then we will talk of it." It was now pretty late, and so we parted.

Thursday the 17th. About ten in the morning Lord Tyrconnel came to me. He asked me if I had given order for the pay of the reformed officers whom the King intended to provide for as vacancies should happen; and in the mean time that they were to be dispersed into the several companies to do no duty, and to have an additional allowance besides their pay. I told him, I knew nothing of these men, and had received no orders concerning them. "Sure, my Lord," says he, "you forget; for I brought you

the King's letter concerning them." "Indeed," said I, "you brought me no orders concerning these men." Finding he had nothing else to say, I said I hoped he had remembered Baron Worth, and would tell me some of the particulars against him; for if he were the man he had represented him to be, he ought not to be in the King's service; and it was a grievous thing for a man's reputation to be blasted without a possibility of being righted. "G— d—— me," says he, "I know nothing of him, but what the people say; and common fame makes him to be a fanatic." "My Lord," said I, "if you will allow of common fame, neither you, nor I, nor any one can be safe." "By G—, then," said he, "to be plain with you, pray ask my Lord Chief Justice Keating about Worth." "I know," said I, "Keating's opinion of him; and that Keating on Sunday night last, at my Lord Chancellor's, gave you a very good character of Worth, upon his own experience and acquaintance; and therefore why do you bid me ask him?" "By G—," said he, (though a little blank) "that is true; and I know, the King has no ill opinion of him; (observe these contradictions,) but people tell me things." "My Lord," said I, "you will have things enough told you, and be troubled enough, if you will seem to believe what is told you, and not enquire into the truth." "Well," said he, "I have told you all I can say." "My Lord," said I, "why did you not, (as you promised me) appoint Mr. Hoare and Mr. Lincolne to be here; who were two of the persons (as you said) that told you they suspected me to be inclined the other way, by reason of the sheriffs which I had made upon my first arrival here?" "Well, well," said he, "they are honest men." "I believe they are," said I, "by all I have ever heard; and therefore I desire to hear what they will say as to my partiality, which was a fault I was resolved I would not be justly charged with." "Fie," said he, "you have talked of what I said to you upon that matter." "I have," said I, "to Mr. Justice Daly, and to one Roman Catholic more, who have been pretty often with me, and who know me: and, since your Lordship will not bring Mr. Hoare and Mr. Lincolne to me, I will send for them myself." And so we parted, with a thousand compliments of friendship, &c., and that I should be sure to hear from him from every place he went to. As soon as he had dined, he went out of town to his own house, and from thence goes to-morrow to Wexford, to the waters, but will see my Lord Blessinton's troop by the way at Naas. Indeed, the method of his proceeding is very extraordinary, with that extravagance and violence, that one would think him discomposed in his mind: and some of the Catholics have talked pretty plainly to him. He said

nothing more to me of the reformed officers, whom the King intended to provide for, than what I have told you in the first side of this sheet; but just before he went out of town he sent for Colonel Russell, and told him he must observe that order, a copy whereof is here enclosed.* Sure it is a little odd that a subordinate officer (for so I must have leave to say he is at present to me) should order men to be received into the troops with particular privileges of being duty free, and not so much as to tell the Chief Governor of it: sure this would be put upon nobody but me; and I dare say was never put upon any one, whom the King did not intend to mortify to a great degree. Pray observe his skill: there is no date to the order, nor any recital of the King's order to him for the providing for those men; and it is directed to Colonel John Russell, whereas his name is Theodore. But his Lordship thinks me very scrupulous, that I will not, upon his telling me it is the King's pleasure, order them to be paid 6*d.* a day besides their pay; and I think there are sixty of them. One of his methods is, when he has seen a troop, he sends for, or writes to the Captain, and tells him the Lieutenant has informed him so and so; and that he has given him, the Lieutenant, order to put such men out, and to take such others in, as he, the Lieutenant, shall approve of. Certainly this is a very unusual way of giving orders; and methinks the Captain might have been trusted; for had he not done what had been expected, there would have been more advantage against him than I believe any of them will give. In truth, I could have done all that

* TO COLONEL JOHN RUSSELL.

His Majesty having thought fit to order, to put the officers that could not at present be provided for into the respective Regiments of the Army: you are hereby to receive into your Regiment the respective persons hereunder named, who are to be in your Regiment duty free, and place them in your respective companies.

Lieutenant Cornelius O'Bryan.
Lieutenant James Brady.
Lieutenant Patrick Crogh.
Lieutenant Terence O'Bryan.
Lieutenant Edmund Fitz-Gerald.
Lieutenant Redmund Bourke.
Lieutenant John Fitz-Gerald.
Lieutenant Edmund Grady.
Ensign Daniel M'Carty.
Ensign Charles M'Carty.
Ensign Matthew Quirke.
Ensign Marquis Heine.
Ensign Turlogh O'Bryan.
Ensign John Coppinger.
Ensign Daniel M'Carty.
Ensign Maurice Bryan.
Ensign William Hales.

TYRCONNEL.

Indorsed, "Lord Tyrconnel's Orders to Colonel Russell, given me by the said Colonel, June 18, 1686."

my Lord Tyrconnel is to do, full as well to the King's intent; for which I would have been judged by those officers, whom the King has the best opinion of; and not have made those jealousies, which his unhappy temper strikes into people: but the King's pleasure is to be fulfilled; and so it has been, and ever shall be by me, notwithstanding the mean opinion it begets in people towards me. But it is not the first mortification I have had in his Majesty's service; and I confess I did not now expect any, if I did not deserve it; which I would be very sorry to do, and do not know that I have.

Friday the 18th.—I have very little to say to you to-day, more than that I received yesterday yours of the 8th instant. I will say nothing at present upon the projected commission, but observe the directions you give me. If my Lord Chief Justice Keating's paper be minded, methinks he states the question of a Parliament very fully; and thinks it better to have this commission before a Parliament be called here. If I am capable of making any judgment in this matter, this commission would do more than any thing towards the quieting men's minds; and it being executed before a Parliament be called, would rather increase than lessen the gift of a Parliament. The King will always have it in his power to bestow such graces upon his people, as they will be always ready here to give him whatever he asks, or shall have need of: but I doubt men's hearts will not be much at ease to give, whilst they are afraid they shall lose their lands. And I pray, let it be considered, that if it should be thought fit to call a Parliament, and that the King will have an Act to confirm the possessions as now they are, that Act must be prepared at the Council Board here; which will bring multitudes of people to Dublin to see themselves provided for; and all that time the trade and business of the country will be at a stand. When the Act shall come to be thus agreed to here, it must then go into England; where, at the Council Board, it is to receive alterations and amendments, such as the King shall think fit: and most certainly half Ireland will go over to obtain and prevent provisos; and in the mean time it cannot be expected that there should be any considerable trade here, while things seem to be in a suspense: whereas, if the commission be first executed, a very short Act of few lines will serve for confirmation. These are my rude thoughts for the present; and much more may, and can be said by wise men upon this subject.

Saturday the 19th.—This morning I sent for Mr. Hoare and Mr. Lincolne to come to me. The latter was abroad, the first came: my two secretaries were present. I told him all that Lord Tyrconnel had said to me; at

which he seemed a little surprised. He said, he would tell me truly all that had passed between Lord Tyrconnel and him; that five or six days since Lord Tyrconnel had sent for him, and after he had talked with him a little of other things, he asked him what this mayor elect was, and whether he were not a fanatic. Hoare says, he answered that he had not much acquaintance with him; that he never heard of his being a fanatic; that he believed he was no great statesman, but was reputed a very honest man. Then Lord Tyrconnel asked him what the two new sheriffs were. He said one of them he did not know, and that he was not much acquainted with the other, but had heard heretofore that he used to go to meetings, but could say nothing of his own knowledge. "But, my Lord," said Hoare, "your Excellency's name was never mentioned between us; nor did I so much as mention to Lord Tyrconnel any thing of the sheriffs in the counties; for I do not understand it, nor is it my business to go out of my way. My Lord Tyrconnel sent for me, and I went to him; and if I had any thing to trouble your Excellency with, I shall take the boldness to attend you:" which I said he might do very freely; and so we parted. Judge now what a fine business this is; and whether the imagination of my being partial does not arise from Lord Tyrconnel's own invention, or from somebody whom he will not name. Well, after all this, I will carry myself towards him as I ought. I am just now informed from a good hand, that Lord Tyrconnel has sent into England for larger powers: sure methinks, the King might think how by his letter he has retrenched the power and authority he gave me under the great seal; and I do not know that I deserve that mortification, which will make all the world quickly look upon me as a most pitiful creature. God keep you and all yours.

CLII.

CIRCULAR TO THE CORPORATE TOWNS OF IRELAND IN FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICS, BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

After our hearty commendations. Whereas we have received his Majesty's commands by his royal letter, bearing date the 23d day of March last, taking notice, among other things, that his Majesty is informed that several of his Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom are considerable merchants and dealers, who by their industry and undertakings do carry on a great part of the trade of this country, by means whereof trade is, and is like to be

much improved, and his revenue considerably increased; and yet at the same time, his Majesty is given to understand, that these merchants and dealers are so little countenanced and encouraged in his towns and cities here, that they are generally refused to be admitted freemen of the several corporations of this his Majesty's kingdom, much less admitted to bear any office within these towns or cities; and yet, as his Majesty is informed, there is no law in this kingdom that excludes them from being capable of being free of towns and cities: His Majesty does therefore will and require us in his said letter, forthwith to take care that the said Roman Catholic merchants and dealers, their heirs, widows, and apprentices, and such other of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects here that have or will apply themselves to any trade or calling, be admitted freemen in the several corporations of Ireland.

We do therefore will and require you to take such effectual care, that the said Roman Catholic merchants and dealers who shall desire to be admitted freemen of the city of Limerick, and are otherwise intituled to their freedoms, shall be forthwith admitted to their said freedoms, without tendering the Oath of Supremacy, or any other oath, other than the oaths of fidelity and freemen. And in case any of the said Roman Catholic merchants, traders, and dealers, who shall be admitted to be free of the said city as aforesaid, shall at any time hereafter be elected to the magistracy of, or to bear any office within the said city, Our will and pleasure is, that you do return unto us the names of such Roman Catholics as shall be so elected, to the end that we may dispense with their taking the said Oath of Supremacy, as we shall see occasion for it. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 22d day of June, 1686.

Your loving friend,
CLARENDON.

"To the Mayor and Aldermen
of the City of Limerick."

The like to

Cork	Belfast	Kilkenny	Catherlough
Waterford	Charlemont	Galway	Wicklow
Youghal	Strabane	Drogheda	Naas
Kinsale	Clonmell	Dundalk	Sligo
Londonderry	Athlone	Wexford	Athenry, &c.
Coleraine	Navan	New Ross	
Carrickfergus	Dublin		

CLIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Tory Hamilton and his Lieutenant.—Could procure an Address from the County of Connaught for the renewal of the Commission of Grace.—Lord Tyrconnel's terrible swaggering conduct.—Alarm at the changes, and even the Catholics not pleased.—Numbers preparing to leave the kingdom.

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1686.

I told you in my last I had received yours by the Tory, who is very sensible of the favours you have showed him. As to the prosecutions which are now against him, I will take care to see justice done. I could have wished he had had any other Lieutenant than the one he has. He who was his Lieutenant, is (as many other good and brave men are) put out without any fault laid to his charge; and the person put in is one Magennis, with whom the great contest has been, and is still depending before the Council Board. They are both good men, and will do the King good service; but, it is to be doubted, such feuds as have been between these two, cannot so soon be made up as to make them fit to live with one another;* but this, as all other things, must be as the King pleaseth. I fully understand what you say concerning honours to be done to my Lord Tyrconnel, and will take care therein as you advise. In my postscript to my last, which I confess was too long a letter, I acknowledged yours of the 8th, and said as much as was fit then upon the material part of it, the Commission of Grace. I have punctually followed your directions, and not said one word more to my Lord Chancellor, or Lord Chief Justice Keating, than you directed: and so I will say nothing more upon that subject, till I have occasion given me from England.

On Sunday I received yours of the 12th instant, to which I think I have not much to reply at present. I will only say one word more to the Commission of Grace; that if I had thought it fit to have proceeded that way, I could have had an address (and I believe I could have yet) made to me from the whole province of Connaught, to petition the King to grant such a commission as is desired; but I, who have always in more dangerous times opposed popular petitions, did not think fit to countenance that method: and so that design was laid aside, as I am credibly informed by several Roman Catholics, which was intended to have been carried on at the last Lent assizes. Whether my Lord Tyrconnel will continue to be so terrible as he is at present, nothing but time will determine: at present nothing can more dissatisfy

* This is almost prophetic. It will be seen in the sequel that Magennis stabbed Colonel Hamilton.

honest men than the ranting, swaggering way he is in, and the abominable, insolent language he treats men with. He has had very good counsel given him by some Roman Catholics, whom he cursed to ten thousand devils for their pains. He is gone to the waters, which, it is hoped, may cool him; if not, he will be looked upon as a man beside himself. I have not heard a word of him since he went. The great changes which have been made in the Council, do not please even the wisest of the Catholics, it being the too common practice of the world to be dissatisfied with what our superiors do; but many old cavalier soldiers of that religion do think themselves neglected, when young men of no experience (as they say) are made counsellors, and others are put into the army because they have served beyond sea; which, they say, is not true; for several are now made officers who never served any where, and no care taken of them who have been in all the battles, and lost their blood and relations in the service of the crown. These changes, and the common discourses which are given out by some of the new officers, (by authority, as they pretend,) that they will not leave an Englishman, or a Protestant in their companies, do very much terrify the trading people, for reasons too obvious to every man's apprehension. In a word, it is impossible to tell you the alterations that are grown in men within this month; but the last week (for I am very inquisitive to be informed of those particulars) one hundred and twenty people went in one ship from hence to Chester, and multitudes are preparing from all parts of the kingdom to be gone as fast as they can get in their debts, and dispose of their stocks. Great sums of money are brought to town, and more is daily coming up to be sent away; and, in regard the exchange is so high, (for it is risen twenty shillings in 100*l.* within these four days,) and that no returns, even at these high rates, can be gotten into England, they are endeavouring to remit their money into France and Holland, to draw it from thence hereafter at leisure. In the mean time there is no money in the country, and the native commodities yield nothing. The King's quit-rents, and chimney-money come in very slowly. To distrain signifies nothing, or very little; for the collector cannot sell the distress when he has taken it; that is, nobody will buy it. These are sad stories, but they are great truths; and I will, by the next, entertain you more at large concerning them in a letter to the Treasury, which may be showed; as this may, if you think it proper. I have received yours of the 12th, from the Treasury Chamber, concerning reliefs, which I have referred to Mr. Solicitor General, with the paper given to his Majesty; which every body who has seen it, (for I have sent it likewise to the Commissioners of the Revenue,) do take for

granted to be a project of Mr. Sheridan's, with a little help, perhaps, of Sir William Petty's calculation. It seems it has been an old beaten proposal here, but you shall speedily have the opinion of the King's Council upon it. I will say nothing more concerning Mr. Corker till I have your determinate answer. My Lord Roscommon arrived here on Saturday night. I will try to make this letter no longer: God Almighty keep you and yours. You have here a copy of my letter to my Lord President, which will save me the pains of writing much to you, which I should otherwise have done.

CLIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Desires to know how far the King will extend his mercy to the widow and children of Mr. Aston.—Protection for Mr. D. Maxwell.—Complains of the mortification arising from the power delegated to Lord Tyrconnel.—Uneasiness of the people's minds only to be allayed by putting an end to prosecutions for words spoken.—Remonstrates against interference with his privilege of disposing of offices.—Colonel Salkeld and Lord Ikerine, their agreement about the command of the Horse Grenadiers.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 22, 1686.

Your Lordship was pleased to tell me in yours of the 3d instant, that the King was well pleased with what I wrote concerning Mr. Aston; but your Lordship made no mention how far his Majesty would extend his mercy towards his widow and children; for whom I took the liberty in mine of the 18th past to acquaint your Lordship the Judges had interceded. He is dead without issue male, and so the estate (which is not great) goes to his brother by another mother, according to his father's settlement: so that what would have come to this poor woman and five children, had not this attainder happened, is not, as I am credibly informed, 40*l.* per annum. To have that seized, and the little stock upon it carried off, (which I have for the present stopped) would turn these poor people begging; I would therefore beg to know his Majesty's pleasure herein.

Since my last I have received another from your Lordship of the 3d instant, acquainting me with his Majesty's pleasure, that I should give protection to Mr. David Maxwell, who is molested for having given information sometime past against Sir Robert Colvill. I do beseech your Lordship to believe that neither Mr. Maxwell, nor any one else, shall have the least disturbance for doing any thing which his duty to the government obliged him to; and I cannot but wonder why those who think they may be

concerned, will give themselves the trouble to send into England for recommendations to me, when they know they may have all the countenance and support they can desire by applying directly to me; but some people think their cases require more than ordinary favour. As for this Mr. Maxwell, I can assure your Lordship he is not in the least molested as yet, nor will I suffer him to be, while I have the honour of being here, for any thing he has informed, wherein the King is concerned; but if he should be liable to be prosecuted by other men for debt, (which is too often the case of these informers for words spoken five or more years since,) I am sure his Majesty would not have any man exempted from such just prosecutions, for having given informations of words so long since spoken against him.

On Thursday last my Lord Tyrconnel went from hence to Wexford to drink the waters. I gave him orders, pursuant to the King's commands, as full as he could desire; and having done so, and obeyed the King, as I shall always do, I beg your Lordship's leave to lament the mortification I am under. Certainly never any Chief Governor before me was directed to devolve all the power granted by his commission to another in command subordinate to him. There is nothing the King has directed to be done, that I could not have performed as fully to his Majesty's satisfaction, even by the judgment of those whom my Lord Tyrconnel has employed, and whose advice and assistance I would have taken. The same work should have been done much more for his Majesty's service; and I will have the vanity to say, not near that dissatisfaction given, which, I fear, is occasioned by the unhappiness of his Lordship's temper; and I should not have been exposed to the descants of every man, how little the King thought fit to trust me, and how ill an opinion he has of me, by whom those discourses are made and improved. I will not at present complain; but, as I have ever obeyed the King, and will do so whilst I live, so it shall not be my fault if all his commands do not succeed as his Majesty himself wishes, though I cannot be responsible for the actions of others. All necessary orders are given for admitting the Roman Catholics into the several corporations throughout the kingdom, and for putting them into other commissions as his Majesty directs; and nothing is now to do on my part for which I have had the King's orders. I have taken the liberty to represent in several letters the great damp and uneasiness which is upon the minds of most of the people here, insomuch that many do every week go away out of the kingdom, which will very much prejudice the King's revenue, as it already is too manifest by the deadness

upon the inland trade. It is very worthy his Majesty's consideration to quiet men's minds; and if I may be allowed to offer one ingredient towards that end with all submission, it should be, that I might be empowered to issue a proclamation, whereby an end might be put to all the prosecutions for words pretended to be spoken so many years since, which would contribute as much as any one thing towards making men easy at home, and I speak it knowingly, would be full as grateful to the prosecutors as the prosecuted. There is one thing more concerning myself, which I will venture to lay before your Lordship, depending upon your friendship therein, which is concerning the King's laying his commands upon me to dispose of offices, which by my patent he has been pleased to trust me to dispose of; as particularly the two Barons of the Exchequer. I did obey the King's commands in admitting Mr. Baron Rice as soon as I had them, and would not mention any thing thereof to your Lordship till after I had done so; but that being over, I hope hereafter, upon any other occasions, your Lordship will afford me so much of your favour, as to help me to preserve those privileges which are granted me in my commission; and the rather, because I would not have the world too apt to believe that the King is displeased with me: I am sure, if I know my own heart, I had rather die than do any thing whereby justly to deserve his displeasure. I have but one thing more to add, and then I shall ease your Lordship of this present trouble. My Lord Tyrconnel told me, though I had nothing of it from your Lordship (which I should have been very glad to have known the King's mind in), that the King gave Colonel Salkeld the command of the Horse Grenadiers as a recompense of his former services, in lieu of his employment of Lieutenant-colonel, and in order to his disposing of it to his advantage. Though I know it is against his Majesty's resolution of not suffering commands in the army to be sold, yet, considering what has been told me, and that there can be no harm in making the proposition, I am desired by my Lord Ikerine, that the King may be acquainted, that his Lordship and Colonel Salkeld are agreed for that command of the Grenadiers; but then my Lord Ikerine hopes the King will give him leave to surrender the company, which he now has, to a friend of his; and he desires it may be to one Lieutenant John Roth. If his Majesty approve hereof, your Lordship will be pleased to let me know it, and to send over the commissions. I am with very great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

A letter current reporting other great changes to be made in Ireland.—Lord Tyrconnel's proceeding.—Lords Clanricard and Antrim sworn of the Council.—Recommends two Catholic officers, Colonel Garrat Moore, and Captain George Matthews, to be of the Council.—Soldiers cashiered from the Guards.—Shabby appearance of the new recruits.

Dublin Castle, June 26, 1686.

Since my last I have had no letters from England, and so I shall have the less to say now; but a letter out of England from Sir Maurice Eustace, which came by the last packet, walks about the town, and tells of further great alterations, which are presently to be made here: as, that six Privy Counsellors are to be put out; that the Court of Exchequer (Baron Rice excepted) is to be totally changed, and even the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be put out; that my Lord Chancellor is to be sent for home, and several other of the Judges to be put out. I am promised a sight of this letter. If I have, you shall be sure of a copy of it; if not, you must take the report as I have it. I have not had one word from my Lord Tyrconnel since he left this town: but I hear fine stories of his way of proceeding, of which you shall have a collection by a safe hand, who goes hence the next week. The Earls of Clanricard and Antrim are come to town, and were yesterday sworn of the Council. Now the King thinks fit to employ so many Roman Catholics in his service, and considering the qualifications of some of the new counsellors, (if I may venture to say so to you) I could wish some men of experience in the state and condition of the kingdom, and of eminent merit, had been remembered; and such I could have offered, had I been worthy to have been consulted, as once I confess I had the vanity to think I should. I would at the present offer two to your consideration, Colonel Garrat Moore, and Captain George Matthews. The first is an honest old Cavalier; served the crown in all the late wars, both in England and Ireland, and is a very discreet man: he is of Connaught, and I think has only his old estate. The latter you know as well as I, and to whom he is half-brother: his estate is all upon the new interest; and I take him to wish well to the present settlement. If you think it proper to get them made of the Council, I would be glad the letters were sent immediately to myself, that they may know it is by my means. I have given you an account in my letter to the Treasury of the soldiers who

are to be dismissed out of the Guards for selling of drink: for one reason or other, here will be turned out of these Guards near 500 men; 350 whereof are in all appearance very able and lusty men, but it is said they are too little. Fourscore new men are come to-day to town to be admitted in the rooms of some of the others; and I am sure they are full as little, and look very shabbily: I wish there may be no stealers amongst them. Pray remember my Lord Chancellor, and let him own his additional allowance to you. I have no more to add at present, but my prayers for you, and my sister, and all yours.

CLVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD MOUNT ALEXANDER.

Mr. David Maxwell and his pretended molestation for informing against Sir Robert Colvill.—Lord Tyrconnel's opinion of that information.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 26, 1686.

I confess I was surprised with my Lord President's letter of the 3d instant, which told me, the King had been informed that Mr. David Maxwell was molested upon the account of having given an information against Sir Robert Colvill, and therefore commanded me to take him into my protection: but your Lordship's letter of the 12th hath something explained the matter to me; and I do assure your Lordship, I shall be very ready to bestow any church preferment upon any friend of yours, when it is in my power; but I have hitherto had very few, and those very small benefices to bestow. But indeed Mr. David Maxwell does not do well to pretend to be molested for having informed against Sir Robert Colvill, when there is no such thing; but when there is, certainly I shall not so much forget my duty as to suffer him to be prosecuted upon that account. It may not be amiss upon this occasion to acquaint your Lordship, that my Lord Tyrconnel seemed to wonder I sent the King that information against Sir Robert Colvill; and told me, that your Lordship had acquainted him therewith, and that he thought it so frivolous, that he would not meddle in it. But, with respect to his Lordship, I think I had not done my duty if I had concealed it; though I do as little approve, as any man can do, of informations about words spoken so many years since. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with at present, but that I am with great truth, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

CLVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.

Plans of the Encampment.—Deductions from the pay of the Army fraught with mischief.—Other matters relating to the Army and its regulation.

SIR, Dublin Castle, June 26th, 1686.

I am now to thank you for yours of the 1st and 12th instant, and for the plan of the first encampment; I shall be very glad to receive that of the second when it is perfect. I suppose the Horse and Dragoons appeared on the day appointed, the 22d instant, except the weather hindered. We have had here terrible great rains all this week. I give you many thanks for the deductions which are made from the soldiers; which indeed are very great: but if the King will not take notice of and forbid them, he must not wonder his forces are not so good as they might and ought to be. At one time or other, the agents will be the ruin of the army here; who, I perceive, are not to be controlled by any but by the colonels, who will support them. I have still some questions to ask, which I would be glad to be well informed of, and I know not of whom so well to enquire as of you. I find our new officers pretend to be guided by what is done in England, which occasions my asking the more questions. If a trooper be not fit to serve, and is put out, and has a good horse, it is said that in England, the captain (if the new man who is to come in have not money) is to pay the man who goes out such a price for his horse as two of the troop shall judge it to be worth: I would be glad to know the truth of this. There is one thing more which is much disputed here. The regiment of Guards ought to have been new clothed two months since: the clothes were ready, but my Lord of Ossory sent directions to his Major that they should not be put on till my Lord Tyrconnel arrived. It is now thought fit to put near five hundred men out of this regiment: they say they have paid for their clothes, and pray that if they may not have them, they may be repaid the money which has been deducted for clothes; which the old officers say has been the constant practice here, for the captain to pay the men who go out for their clothes, and to reimburse himself by deducting from the new men who come in. The new officers say, the clothes being paid for out of the money deducted for that use are the King's, and the soldiers who go out ought to have no consideration for

them, and yet they own they will take the same deductions from the new men, from the time they come into service; but this is to be guided by the practice in England, which I would be glad to know, as soon as you can conveniently.

I thank you for the account you have sent me of the alterations in the English army, which is much plainer than what you sent me formerly. I say no more to the business of the Plantation trades, but only this, that of the ships that went from the several ports in this kingdom, (not being allowed to unlade here) when they had touched in England, and left there the $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. on tobacco, three of them are gone directly into Holland, thinking to find the better market there; by which means the King has lost $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., which ought to have been paid here: and probably the rest of the ships will do the same. I do not forget to send you an account of the pay of the army here, which you shall have very exact after this muster, when all the changes will be made. I am Sir,

Your's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Petition of Major Talbot and Captain Eastland for pay from the date of their Commissions.—Sir John Coghill, his case and character.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, June 29, 1686.

Major Marks Talbot and Captain Eastland have lately presented a petition to the Council here, setting forth the hardship they conceive themselves to be under upon the account of their pay, in regard they are to have none (by virtue of his Majesty's commands, signified in his royal letter of the 24th of May,) but from the time they enter upon their commands here. That your Lordship may the better see their pretensions, I send you their petition. I cannot relieve them without the King's particular orders, and therefore I am sure it was improper for them to apply to the Board; but it seems they were advised to do it; what the King pleaseth to order in it, shall be immediately obeyed. Some days since, one Mr. Hugh Reily brought me the King's letter for making him Master of Chancery here in the room of Sir John Coghill, who, his Majesty is informed, is not fitly qualified for his service. I have presumed to defer executing the King's commands till I

have represented the case to your Lordship, which I beseech you to do to the King. I should not have delayed it upon my own account, though by his Majesty's grant those places are in my nomination, if I did not really think it for his Majesty's service. This gentleman, Sir John Coghill, is come of loyal parents; his father was killed at the head of his company in the service of King Charles I., and he himself has always been loyal, and never in any employment, but in the service of the Crown. He is about forty-four years of age; a very good civilian, inferior to few in England; and at this time he is employed by me for improving the King's revenue of the First Fruits, which I am directed by my instructions to do, and in which affair, as in all things relating to the church, he is most knowing. The masters of chancery's places here are very inconsiderable, not being worth above 50*l.* a year apiece, so that the King can never be well served in those places but by such who have fortunes of their own; here are but four of them, and those who now enjoy them are men of great merit and abilities. I am with all respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLIX.

THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF CORK TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

Respecting the Oath to be taken by Catholics when admitted as Freemen.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Cork, 2d July, 1686.

We have received your Excellency's commands in your letter of the 22d ult., and in obedience thereunto, did call a public hall, where your Excellency's letter was read; and in order thereunto, proceeded to make the Roman Catholics free of this city; but when the Oath of Allegiance was presented unto them they refused, but produced us another oath of their own framing, which for quietness' sake we accepted of, they appearing in great numbers, and swore forty of them free, but omitted swearing any more until we know your Excellency's further pleasure therein. The copy of both oaths we have here enclosed sent unto your Excellency, and humbly beg your Excellency will be pleased to signify your pleasure, whether we shall admit them on the oath they have produced themselves, or insist on the former ancient oath of allegiance, which was not till now refused. We also beg your Excellency's commands in the following queries:—

First, whether it be your Excellency's pleasure that all Roman Catholics who live out of the city in the country, and have pretensions of freedom by their ancestors, shall be admitted freemen, without first coming hither and setting down in this city, and driving trade; and whether such as live and drive trade in Kinsale, Youghall, and Limerick, who are by virtue of your Excellency's letter made free of the corporations they live and reside in, shall be contented to rest satisfied with their freedoms in the corporations where they live, or have the benefit of every corporation; which is more than ever their ancestors had, and will be so great a hardship upon the inhabitants of this city, that reap only the benefit of this one, that they will not be able to support the great charge they lie under. Whether your Excellency designs to extend freedom at large to all tradesmen of mean callings, as butchers, bakers, shoemakers, &c., or that they shall be only free of their several companies. These things, with all humility, we presume to lay before your Excellency, humbly begging your Excellency will be pleased to consider of, and give us your commands, which shall, with all willingness and cheerfulness be obeyed, though it will be to our ruin and destruction if commanded to admit all men who live in the country, and those in other corporations who are freemen there, to reap the benefit of this city, without contributing the least penny to support it: but all that live in the city, or that will come and live and trade here, shall be immediately admitted free, provided your Excellency is pleased to direct what oath shall be administered unto them. We humbly beg your Excellency's pardon for this trouble, and most heartily beg and pray for your Excellency's health and long life and prosperity, humbly subscribing,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servants,

Chris. Crofts, Mayor. John Newenham
Noblett Dunscombe Timothy Tusckey
James Finch John Bayly.

CLX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Notwithstanding all attempts to provoke him, he will still keep his temper.—Punishment of a soldier for speaking disrespectfully of Tyrconnel, contrary to the Articles of War.—Pains taken to cashier the Protestant soldiers, and to raise recruits among the Catholics.—Proceedings at the Council.—Misconduct of a Justice of Peace.—Smuggling at Limerick.—Major Macarty.—New recruits, their strangeness.—Brawl in the streets of Dublin.—The cashiered soldiers cuff the new Irish recruits.—Peaceable disposition of the Citizens of Dublin.

Chapel Izod, July 4, 1686.

Tuesday, June the 29th. Though you will think by the date of this letter, that I am got into a little retirement, I can only tell you that it is to be alone for an hour or two in a day, which is always pleasant, but especially in the hot weather; and this place is so near the town, that it is almost as easy for company as if I were at the Castle, which I have hitherto visited once a-day since I have lain here, and do intend to do so yet for some time, for reasons you shall shortly know by another conveyance. If I should pretend to tell you all the follies which are committed by some men, and the attempts they make to provoke me, I should write volumes; but I should (though I say it) make myself a very pattern of patience. Though it be not allowable to brag of one's self, yet you will give me leave to be very proud that I have so far mastered my natural unfortunate temper, as not to be angry, though the trials I daily receive would perhaps justify another man's being provoked; but as I do give God thanks for having showed no passion hitherto, so I doubt not by his blessing to go through with the resolution I have firmly taken, of not suffering myself to be provoked, till it be directly declared that a man of my principles is not longer fit to be in the Government; which (if some men are to be believed) may ere long fall out to be the case. When that is, I shall not murmur; but as long as I live, pray God bless the King. He may do what he pleaseth, but I will never make myself incapable of doing good; nor will I do what those, who wish no good either to the public or myself, would have me do on purpose to be rid of me. It may not be amiss, however, to tell you some stories, not only for your entertainment, but to enable you to justify me, if you hear some things spoken of. The last week a soldier in the regiment of Guards was brought before a Council of War, for having spoken disrespectful words against my

Lord Tyrconnel, which, just as execution was to be done, Lieutenant-Colonel Dorington gave me a short account of; and truly, by what he said, one would have thought that the fellow was only to be disgraced and cashiered in the head of his company; and I would not concern myself at all in it, because it was the case of Lord Tyrconnel. But when the execution was over, and that I had heard the manner of it, (for the fellow had run the gantlet quite through the whole regiment, and was beaten with that severity that he fell down twice by the way, and was afterwards committed to prison to the Marshal,) the next day after this, when Dorington came to me for orders, I told him, without entering into the particulars of the fellow's punishment, that it was a very good thing to keep good discipline in the regiment, and to punish men for any affronts done to superior officers; but that he must look to observe, in all such cases, the rules prescribed in the Articles of War, which, I doubted, had not been done in the late case before him, and I was pretty perfect in them; that I had been told the Judge-advocate was not present at the trial of this fellow, and that no examinations had been taken upon oath, which was always practised both in England and here, when any severe corporal punishment was inflicted in time of peace; and that, after the trial, the practice here had always been for the Judge-advocate to attend the Chief Governor, and give him an account of the proceedings, it being fit he should know every thing. I told him that as it was of absolute necessity to observe good discipline in the army, so I did expect to be made acquainted with every thing. He pretended to excuse himself by saying, he did not know the customs of this place. I told him I was not willing to believe he intended any thing amiss, but he would do well to enquire into the customs of this place; and, as to what related to the military affairs, he would find them the same as in England, and that what I expected, was done to every general-officer in England, when he was upon the place. On Midsummer Eve (which was two days after this conversation) I appointed the regiment of Guards to be drawn out and to be mustered; which, I am sure, was not known till I came into the field. After I had seen the men exercise, (which, the Lieutenant-Colonel owned, they are as ready in as men could be,) I ordered them to be drawn into ranks, that I might see the men distinctly, who were marked to be put out, and who to be kept in; and to the view, I cannot but say, there are as proper men put out, and as seemingly lusty, as those who are taken in; but I took no notice of that. As I was going out of the field, Lieutenant-Colonel Dorington

desired my leave to go to a fair about a dozen miles off to see to pick up some recruits for the regiment, and to carry a serjeant with him: I told him, with all my heart. On Friday I was told by several people, that the day before (Midsummer-day) Dorington had been at St. John's Well, and beat up his drums for recruits: now St. John's Well is a place of devotion, to which the Roman Catholics go on pilgrimage at that season. I confess I did not like this; and was told by several Roman Catholics, that this way of proceeding was not the best way of doing the King's business, and would prejudice the country. The next day being Saturday, when Dorington came to me, I told him he had not done well in telling me he was going to a fair, when he knew there was none; that if he had named me the place, (which he said he had forgot when I asked him,) I would have convinced him of the indiscretion of going thither in that manner. He said, indeed he had been told of it since his return by very good people, but did not apprehend what he now found. I told him, if he would consider and advise, he might do the same thing he designed, and nobody dissatisfied: besides I told him, the beating of drums for men without order from the Government was penal, and nowhere allowed; and had it been another man, I should have taken another course with him. He made a fumbling excuse to me, saying, he was sorry for it, but that he did not know the customs of the place. I told him, I was very well satisfied he had no ill intent upon any account; and therefore I hoped he would be more careful for the future, and confer more freely with me. In truth all men, who have any consideration and care of the King's service, are extremely troubled at the method which is taken in doing of things. To turn out in one day 400 men of the regiment of Guards, 300 of whom have no visible fault, and many of them cheerfully went the last year, first into the North, and afterwards into England, does put apprehensions into men's heads, which they would have otherwise no cause for; and which nothing but finding themselves deceived by time can allay: and putting in none but natives in their rooms, who really to the eye, as to stature and ability, make worse figures than those which are put out, confirms their jealous apprehensions. At the same time, the same thing is doing with the rest of the troops throughout the kingdom. To give you one instance only: Mr. Nicholas Darcy, who has the company late Captain Motloe's, called his company together, and asked them if they went to mass; to which forty of them said, no: whereupon he immediately dismissed them, and said he had kept as many above a week at his own house upon his own charge, who the next morning were all admitted. To show his little skill in soldiery, (for

Mr. Darcy was never in any service before,) he would not stay two days, till the Commissary came down; and so dismissed the men without certificates of what pay was due to them: a method that will occasion great trouble and perplexities, which might have been avoided by regularity. Perhaps one reason thereof is to disturb me; but nothing shall do that, by the grace of God. These forty men are all come to Dublin: they are as proper lusty fellows as you shall see. Colonel Billingsley (who says his new company is a very ill one) has a great mind to entertain them; but I bid him think well of it, for it may breed ill blood for him to take them, being Lieutenant-colonel of Russell's regiment, in which Darcy is a Captain: but indeed it is pity such men as many of these disbanded men are, should not be in the King's service.

Wednesday the 30th. This morning I went to Dublin, and after I had done the business I had appointed, I dined at my Lord Chancellor's, having before promised my Lords Clanricard and Limerick to meet them there. I am sure it is best in all respects to live equally civil and kind to all men in their stations; and besides, the first is a perfect worthy man. After dinner we went to Council together; where we had two causes: the one was upon a complaint of the Commissioners of the Revenue, that a Justice of the peace in the County of Meath had discountenanced a collector of the excise in the execution of his office. Upon a full hearing, it was clearly proved, by the testimony of Irish as well as English, that the collector had a very good repute, and that the justice had been much to blame. When the Board came to deliberate what to do, this is remarkable, that several of our new counsellors (though the justice was an Englishman and a Protestant) were for putting up the business; and particularly the three new judges said, the gentleman would be more careful for the future, &c. I did not think fit to put it to the vote, but said, (as I may do by authority) that all men in employment were obliged to be aiding and assisting to the King's officers in the execution of their duty, and not to discourage them; and therefore I would do what I knew would be done in England in this case; and so directed my Lord Chancellor to put the justice out of commission: and being reputed a man of good principles, upon due submission and application he might easily be restored again; by which he would have learned to do his duty better hereafter. I am sure I am in the right in what I have done; for if the King's officers have not all possible support from the government, you will quickly find it in the revenue. The other cause was thus. Some months since a ship arrived at Limerick, entered her lading of walnuts, salt, &c. to the value of about 300*l.* While the King's waiter was

on board, the master of the ship offers him two guineas to let him carry two pieces of silk on shore: the waiter would not be bribed, and got more company to him; and then he searched every corner. In the hogshead of walnuts, and buried in the salt, they found silk and other fine goods to the value of 500*l.* which were not entered. The King's officers seized these goods, and according to the law they were forfeited, and so condemned. The merchants, one Macnamara and partners, concerned, appealed to the Council from this judgment, as by law they may do. This matter, upon the appeal, now came to be heard. It was fully proved, that the goods were, as I have said, concealed, and that they were intended to be stolen on shore: it was likewise proved, that there had been no duties paid to the King for any fine goods in that port, since his late Majesty's restoration; and yet there were all sorts of fine goods to be bought in the shops at Limerick: so that there had been no honest dealing there. Yet when we came to deliberate, though the mischievous consequences to the King's revenue were plainly manifested, and though almost every one of the Board declared they were satisfied that the design was to defraud the King of his duty; notwithstanding, several of the new counsellors, and the three judges likewise, said they thought the words of the law were not so clear as to make such an intention of cheating an absolute forfeiture: upon which I declared again that I was not satisfied by what I had heard to reverse the judgment, and that I thought to do it would be of pernicious consequence to the King's revenue. Then it was said, it was a business of very great importance, and deserved to be well considered; and then it was earnestly pressed to put off the determination for a week. I said, (and truly it was for the sakes of them who moved it,) that I would never be so unreasonable as to refuse time for consideration; but, if there were not such offers then made as would secure the King's duties for the future, the judgment should be affirmed. All the merchants in town were present; who, no doubt, have their eyes upon the success of this cause, and will accordingly be more or less able to cheat. These two hearings lasted till eight at night; and being wearied with the crowd, I came to my retreat, which is very refreshing. And having given you this imperfect account, upon which I leave you to make your own observations (for I will not make mine yet), it is time to go to rest; for I have appointed other business to-morrow: but first I must tell you, this evening are come in five packets from England; among which I have received yours of the 15th, 19th, and 24th past, which I will answer in order before I close this. It is now bed-time.

Thursday, July the 1st. This morning Major-general Macarty arrived. He came immediately to me, and so much other company of the new officers, who are some come over, and some come out of the country, that I have not had time to go to Dublin to-day; which is the first day I have omitted in ten days I have been here. Macarty is extremely civil to me, and I am sure he will find me so to him: I am very glad he is here. I have been informed that some of the new recruits are affronted by the boys of the town; which I do not like: the truth is, they are strange wretches, and cannot speak many of them one word of English; which does expose them, as circumstances are; and matters must be discreetly handled. I sent to my Lord Mayor, that I did expect he should keep the town in order, and not suffer any rudeness to be committed. I had some of the Judges, who begin their circuits to-morrow, with me, to receive instructions. So that you see, nobody is idle; at least, that I do omit nothing.

Friday, the 2d. In the morning I went to Dublin; where the first news I heard was, that last night there happened a quarrel in the streets between a cornet of my Lord Kinsale's and a grenadier: the latter was wounded terribly in two places in the body; but I found no examinations taken, nor any thing done in it; only two apprentices were taken and kept neck and heels upon the guard, whom I presently ordered to be put into the hands of the civil magistrate; who committed them to Newgate, where they now are. The man who was wounded is like to do well: however, I have directed examinations to be taken of the quarrel; and whoever appears faulty shall be punished. I dined at my Lord Limerick's, which I had promised to do the first council day: my Lord Chancellor was there. So that you see, we live very friendly together; and every body will do so, if somebody does not inflame the world. In the afternoon we went to Council; where Macarty was sworn: there was another cause heard; but it was not of any thing needful to inform you.

Saturday, the 3d. In the morning I went again to Dublin, and despatched several businesses with some of the Judges in order to their circuits, and with my Lord Mayor to preserve the peace of the city; which I will be answerable to keep quiet, though there are means used on both sides to disturb it; the soldiers who are put out saying they will cuff their successors, and then they will go and serve the King in England: and truly they do rap them soundly at fisty cuffs, for which they are laid by the heels upon complaint; but the putting one or two into Newgate will teach the rest. The natives are not behind-hand in insolences: I mean the new men. I never knew people more

disposed to be quiet, and to be obedient to their superiors, than the citizens of this town. It is now time, being come back from Dublin, to think of your letters: and now to your's of the 15th past. I give you many thanks for the hints you give me, which I will be sure to observe in my conduct in the great affair; which is a great one indeed, if luckily managed. Some account of the progress I have already made you shall have in my Tuesday's letter. I have received my Lord President's letter with the King's commands; a copy whereof you shall have here, if I have time to copy it; for I think fit to do it myself, because of the secret. To yours of the 19th past I say nothing at present, but leave that and your other to the next packet, being in truth very weary, and am called to church: it is not long to Tuesday. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

Dublin Castle, July 4, Sunday Morning.

CLXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Mr. Strong, Auditor of Excise, his proposal, and his malversation.—Mr. Pilkington a disturber of mankind, and ought to be well watched.—Miscarriage of a mail, and suspicion that it was contrived by Lord Tyrconnel.—Whatever may be his mortifications, he will not manifest any.—Takes an active part in the regulation of the Army, in order to show that he is not wanting in that particular.—Mode of paying the Army.—His observations upon the impolicy of having none but native Irish in the Army.—Chief Justice Keating thinks there is no disposition to settle men's minds.—His observations upon the line of policy pursued.—Mr. Trant, letters creating him a Baronet.—Report that Lord Tyrconnel will get Lord Clarendon recalled within six months.

Chapel Izod, July 6, 1686.

I was at Dublin both yesterday and to-day, and am returned hither at noon, to shut myself up for writing my letters. In the first place I am now to answer yours of the 19th past, to which there is not much occasion of replying. I have received several letters from you from the Treasury chamber, to all which I will return answers the same way. As to what you say to me in this, which I am now answering, of Mr. Strong's proposal for a further salary to the gaugers, &c. he might have told you that he had mentioned it to me, and that we were upon the consideration of it, and had resolved it in some cases, even before he went away; but it shall be done wherever it is necessary: though it will encourage the men to use more diligence, I doubt it will contribute little towards raising the excise, as the present circumstances are. As for Mr. Pilkington, I will observe your directions, and am very glad I

have liberty to join another with him, for such a fellow, a disturber of mankind, ought to be well watched. But I will make the right use of him, and quickly give you an account of the wheat from the chaff; but it is a wonderful thing how men do forget themselves in going between England and Ireland. Sure Mr. Strong thinks I forget as well as he, what he told me of the reasons why the Commissioners dismissed him; one of which was for downright knavery, and that he never made any discovery of the composition rents to them; which have ever been known. But of these things, and why he was put out of the Auditor's Office, you shall be at large informed in my letter to the Treasury, but you may be sure he shall not want all fitting encouragement from me.

I come now to yours of the 24th past; and as to the packet you miss, marked 40, it is a pretty odd thing. At the same time I received yours, which I am now answering, the postmaster here (whom I take to be an honest man) comes to me and tells me, that by some negligence of a postmaster at Holyhead, or Chester, the mail which carried the letters of the 15th, (wherein was mine, No. 40.) was brought back again hither. I am satisfied it had never been opened: so that whatever letters you saw of a fresher date must have gone hence by an express; and I have been told, that in that dogger Lord Tyrconnel sent one over. Now if that person could contrive to get that mail out of the way, that he might get first to London, and receive answers to his letters before that packet of the 15th arrived, it was a pretty artifice; and methinks it might be discovered. If Mr. Frowd do his part, and discharge some of the postmasters, truth will out; for that it should be purely an innocent mistake, I can only say it was what never happened before. As to my accounts with the Queen Dowager, I have sometime since sent over all the particular proofs I have; which in equity, I am sure, ought to be allowed as good vouchers; and I doubt not but they are by this time in the auditor's hands, where they ought to be.

Just now came in another packet from England, which brought me yours of the 29th past. I need say no more of my letter that is missing, than I have done above; I doubt not it is in your hands before this. You have done all that is possible (for which I can but return you my thanks) in giving my letters to my sister, that they may be read at convenient times to the Queen; and you may do so with the rest, if you find encouragement. Believe me upon my word, whatever mortifications I have, they do not ap-

pear to any creature living, no, not so much as by my looks; which I may say, is wondered at by some who can see as far into a millstone as others, and who are pretty inquisitive into transactions, and can make good observations. To show you that I will not desert myself, I have resolved to go to Kilkenny on Monday to see my Lord Ardglasse's regiment, which is to rendezvous there on Tuesday; and on the Friday following, the Duke of Ormond's is to be at the same place, from whence they are to march into Ulster, as the first are into Munster. I shall then have seen all the horse of this army; and I will likewise see some of the foot, as they are upon their march in shifting their quarters. And this I do to show that I do concern myself in the army, and in their affairs, notwithstanding the discourses which some men are pleased to give out. I have received from Mr. Gwyn the draught of the King's letter for the payment of the army here as it is in England, and I will in a very little time return it to you with the blanks filled up; but I must well consider of it, for though it be an excellent method, yet I doubt whether our cash will hold out to pay such a sum weekly, as this subsistence money will amount unto. I have been thinking of it ever since I received your first intimation, and some difficulties do appear, but I hope we shall remove them. If you please, say nothing of this till I give you a direct answer, which shall be with all speed. You will find by the enclosed copy, that I have written at large to my Lord President, and with freedom, as to the matters of fact and reports here. All that I have said of either can be proved; and if I do not make these representations, (whilst it is not yet too late) I should think myself inexcusable; and what can I do else? I hope still I have kept myself within the bounds of modesty and decency in my expressions; and that I have showed, (if my letter be exposed to candid readers,) that I am not partial, or that I think the King's employing Popish officers (as such) must ruin all; and yet I may say to you, the having none of the soldiers in the army but natives, will seem to reasonable men (all circumstances considered) a strange policy. You see, I have said nothing to my Lord President of what progress I have made in the great affair, because I think best to come first to some resolution, and to advise with more people than I have yet had opportunity in point of time to do. But I may tell you, that I have advised with my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who has this day begun his circuit. He shakes his head, and says, he does not believe, by what he sees done throughout the kingdom, that there is any intention of settling men's minds. "I think," says he, "it is demonstrable, that a commission with a promise or

declaration therein that the proceedings upon it shall be confirmed by Parliament, will both settle men's minds, and raise money considerably; and that the work of a Parliament will then be easy, and no disputes will arise about provisos, &c.: whereas it is plain," says he, "that a Parliament in the first place must (till the acts are past) increase the apprehensions people are now under; and how long acts will be in preparing here, and in England (when things are thought to be loose, as now they are), nobody," says he, "who knows any thing of affairs, can be ignorant; and all that time the kingdom will be at a gaze upon each other, and nobody will fall to their work. I would be glad," said he, "to see the reasons I have given in this point in my paper, answered by men who desire the settlement of this kingdom; but, my Lord," continued he, "it is plain to me, these furious men, who you see are now in credit, do resolve to make what haste they can to get all the army to consist of none but natives. They will get all the natives to be justices of the peace, and likewise sheriffs, and magistrates of towns; which may be effected towards Christmas: and then," said he, "I know, they design to have a parliament; and by a majority, which they have now at the Council Board, they will make what they please of the settlement; which yet will take up time afterwards, for the King will have men heard, who are vested in their estates by law upon valuable considerations. And all this while a kingdom, and industrious people will be in confusion and distraction, not knowing whether what they have will be their own; and at last, when they have a parliament of my countrymen, the King will see what work they will make." I have communicated with my Lord Chancellor; and we both intended to discourse with the three new judges, before they go their circuits; but I may venture to say, between you and me, that I know their minds already: they would have nothing done before a parliament; that is, they would have every thing as loose as it is when a parliament meets; and yet they do not think the time yet proper for a parliament, and that a parliament will be a great while in composing matters; that is, that bills for a parliament will be a very great while in preparing. But enough of this for the present. I send you here enclosed the copy of a letter from the collector of Wexford to the Commissioners of the Revenue; by which you may see the conversation of my Lord Tyrconnel, and that he will have his finger everywhere. I have received the King's letter for making Mr. Trant a baronet; which is despatching: he is expected speedily here. Lord Tyrconnel told the Lord Chancellor, that Trant was coming over, and he should convert him. The Chancellor answered,

"I am very glad I shall see my old client Trant; but I believe I shall convince him, instead of his converting me." This morning, when I was at Dublin, a very worthy person and man of quality told me, my Lord Chancellor being present, that Mr. Chetwood, my Lord Dartmouth's Chaplain, had written to his brother here, that Lord Tyrconnel would get me recalled within six months; and therefore he advised his brother to leave this kingdom. This is nothing; but it is not amiss to tell you forty stories, as they occur to me. God keep you, and all yours, and my sister.

CLXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

The prosperity of Ireland depends upon the speedy composing of men's minds.—Will advise with the Chief Justice, &c. upon the best course to be pursued for that purpose.—Lord Granard and Mr. Nangle sensible of the King's goodness.—Has seen the alterations made in the Commissions.—Movement of the Army.—The people alarmed at the changes in the Army, especially at the rejection of all Englishmen and Protestants; for they have still in remembrance the cruelties committed by the native Irish in the late Rebellion.—All this easily remedied if men would be discreet in their stations.—As some he mentions are.—The people disposed to obedience if they were let alone.—Has sent letters to all the Corporations to direct the admission of Catholics without the Oaths.—Compliance of the Corporations.—Reversal of the Outlawries of Lord Gormanston's and Lord Ikerine's ancestors.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 6, 1686.

The last week we had six packets from England; among which I had two from your Lordship, of the 14th and 15th of the last month. To the first I can make no return at present, but that I will strictly and carefully observe the King's commands, and will advise with the honestest and ablest persons of the several interests, upon the question your Lordship directs, and that with all possible speed; for the future prosperity of this country, and the settling his Majesty's interest here, depends upon the speedy composing of men's minds, and the freeing them of the apprehensions they are under, that they shall lose their estates, of which they are possessed by law, and upon which they have laid out so much expense and labour. I shall only at present observe to your Lordship, that my Lord Chief Justice Keating in his paper states and argues the question—whether a parliament, or commission first? and gives a positive opinion in the point; which I have some reason to believe was founded upon mature advice, as well as upon his own experience and observations: but I will advise again with him, and others with all possible

secrecy, and will transmit to your Lordship both the opinions, and the authors of them: your Lordship may be sure, I will not leave my Lord Tyrconnel out of the consultation.

I have acquainted my Lord Granard and Mr. Nangle with what your Lordship says; and they are both very sensible of his Majesty's bounty to them. The latter follows his business close, which is very advantageous to him: the first resolves very speedily for England. I have seen all the alterations made in the commissions which you directed, and have received the commissions for Sir Charles Fielding and the two lieutenants of the independent troop of Grenadiers; which are given out. The army are now all mustered in their old quarters, and are marching with all speed to their new; that is, to such places as are convenient for them to be in, the summer time, in order to be drawn together for exercise: but in the winter they must be dispersed into quarters at a further distance, for the conveniency of the men as well as of the country. My Lord Tyrconnel will be this night at Kilkenny, where the Earl of Ardglasse's regiment will rendezvous on this day sennight, and the Duke of Ormond's at the end of that week; and where I intend to be to see them, and then I shall have seen all the horse of this army myself. The officers proceed as fast as they can in putting what men they do not like out of their companies, and taking such as they please; so that I doubt not the whole army will be composed within a month, or very little more, as his Majesty would have it. There are four hundred men put out of the Guards, and their places supplied with natives; which hath something contributed to the jealousies people are too much inclined to have: but those jealousies will wear off, when they see by a little time they are groundless. The turning out so many men in an instant, taking in none but natives in their rooms, and the very indiscreet carriage of some of the new officers, in declaring they will entertain no English, nor any Protestants, does frighten people; and nothing but a little time can re-settle their minds. When I discourse with persons who ought to be wiser than to be alarmed with apprehensions, (for I think it my duty to use all endeavours that men may be satisfied with what the King thinks fit to have done,) they tell me they are not frightened; for they firmly believe the King will not suffer the Acts of Settlement to be shaken: but they tell me they cannot bring their neighbours in their countries to believe them. They say they have still in their memories the cruelties they suffered in the late rebellion from the natives, when they lived with all loving friendliness together; and how, say they,

can we help being frighted, when we see the sons of those very men who were most active in the rebellion, now in command? and then they proceed to reckon them up. And the truth is, some of these officers are so very indiscreet as to say, now they have got power, when they have modelled their companies to their minds, they will quickly get their lands again; which you will believe does not lessen the frights of the poor people. All this would be very easily remedied, and the King have all done he has a mind to, if men would be discreet in their stations, as several are; amongst whom ought to be remembered Sir John Fitz-Gerald, both the Dempseys, Colonel Sheldon, Lacy, and many more, who have moulded their troops and companies to their minds, without the least dissatisfaction to any one. They are beloved in their quarters; they cherish and comfort the people, and punish those who talk impertinently. But there are likewise several of whom I cannot give so good characters; and those who ought to reprove them for indiscretion, will only say, "Alas! poor man, he has lost his estate, you must give him leave to talk." I have taken the liberty to entertain your Lordship with these stories, that you may see something of the temper of persons as well as things, and to show you that it is not so much the King's employing Roman Catholics in his army which disquiets men, as that there are such, from whom by their own words and actions they fear to be oppressed instead of being protected. Believe it, my Lord, when it is known what the King would have, and which, with submission, (in some cases) ought to be known but to a few, it may be easily done to general satisfaction; for I must needs say, never were people in the world more disposed to obedience, and to betake themselves to their industry, than the generality of people here, if they are let alone. I am sure I will never be wanting in my duty to obey what the King commands; and if it be not done as it ought to be, it shall be known where the fault is. When the King knows what is done and said here, his Majesty best knows what is reasonable to direct thereupon. Though this letter is grown to a great length already, yet I must not conclude it without giving your Lordship an account of the execution of the rest of the King's commands. I have sent letters to all the corporations to give their freedoms to all the Roman Catholics, as to his Majesty's other subjects, without tendering them the Oath of Supremacy, and for presenting to me such as shall be chosen into offices, that I may dispense with their taking the said oath according to the rules. I have already received returns from about twenty of the corporations, and every day I receive from one or other, all full

of duty and obedience; some saying they have obeyed, and tell me what number of Roman Catholics they have admitted; others saying they have appointed such and such days for their public assemblies, that those who would be admitted may have notice: so that the King may be assured, that particular throughout will be settled as he has commanded. In some places where they have two bailiffs, (which are there the chief magistrates,) they have, without any contest, chosen one of each religion; and, if due care be taken, there is no doubt they will live very well together.

As soon as I had the King's letter permitting my Lords Gormanston and Ikerine to reverse the outlawries of their ancestors, I acquainted my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Attorney therewith: but the noise of this matter was come before the letter; for sometime before, caveats were entered against the granting any such writs of reversal by three persons, who, by virtue of the Acts of Settlement, are in possession of some lands, the ancient property of those Lords. I referred the matter to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, (for I could do no less,) requiring them to call to their assistance the rest of the King's learned counsel, several of whom are Roman Catholics, and to report their opinions to me: which they have done, and I herewith transmit their report to your Lordship; which I beseech you to lay before his Majesty. It is a thing of very great consequence, and deserves the most serious consideration; which I am sure it will have. I will here end your Lordship's present trouble, begging the continuance of your favour to,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Introducing Mr. Keightley.—Proceedings about the admission of Catholics into Corporations.—Difficulty started at Cork.—Requests that Colonel Anthony Hamilton may have the command of a regiment, and be of the Privy Council.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, July 11, 1686.

To-morrow, God willing, I go to Kilkenny; from whence, or at my return, which will be to-morrow sennight at furthest, your Lordship shall have an account of things there. I write this to be presented to your Lordship by Mr. Keightley, whose affairs call him into England: he has the honour not to be altogether unknown to your Lordship. He hath been some months in the

King's business; by which means, and by his long living in this kingdom, he has had the opportunity of informing himself in many particulars, and can answer any questions your Lordship shall think fit to ask him: I beg leave therefore to recommend him to your favour and protection.

Having had no letters of late from your Lordship, I shall have the less to trouble you with at present;—but that you may know that the King's commands with reference to the corporations are executing everywhere, as I can assure your Lordship they are with great cheerfulness, of which I have had returns from most places; I think fit to send you here enclosed the copy of a letter I received from Cork since my last to your Lordship; whereby you will find they desire to be satisfied in some questions: but you will be pleased to observe, that they had already paid so far obedience to the King's commands, as to admit forty Roman Catholics to be freemen; and then they adjourned their further proceedings till they had an answer to their questions; which I have given thus—

That as to the two oaths, they should administer only the short oath, which is the Oath of Fidelity taken by the Roman Catholic judges here; the other oath being the Oath of Allegiance taken in England, which is not enacted here: that all Roman Catholics, who have pretensions to their freedoms from their ancestors, shall be admitted thereunto, though they live out of the city in the countries, and though they drive no trade at all: but as for those who reside and trade in Kinsale, Youghall, and Limerick, and who are by the King's commands made free of those corporations, that they should not make those men free of Cork, no more than those towns would admit the men of Cork to be freemen with them. As for the tradesmen of mean callings, as butchers, bakers, &c., I have ordered them to be made free only of their several companies, as it is in other places; which will entitle them to all the advantages other men in their circumstances are capable of. This answer being gone, I am confident all things will be done there to the King's mind, as likewise in all other places.

I have only this one thing more to trouble your Lordship with at present, concerning Colonel Anthony Hamilton; that your Lordship would be pleased to be a means to get him a commission to command as Colonel, though he is but Lieutenant-colonel to Sir Thomas Newcomen, in regard of the commands he has had abroad: and I am told it is often done in France; which makes me hope it will not be counted an unreasonable request. I would likewise humbly recommend it to your Lordship, that the King would be pleased to make Co-

lonel Anthony Hamilton a Privy Counsellor here. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this presumption, and am with great respect.

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Mr. Lavallin.

Chapel Izod, July 11, 1686.

I must not suffer this gentleman, Mr. Lavallin, to go into England, without a line from me to you. He desires very much to be made acquainted with you: you know his character already, and how he suffered in the time of Oates's usurpation, by being accused by him to be one of the ruffians. He has served abroad, and therefore hoped, when the King employed men of his religion, that he should have had some mark of his favour, upon the account of his sufferings: he has a very good estate in the county of Cork, where he lives, and is very well esteemed by all the English in Munster. I must needs say he has been very civil to me, which I am sure you will return to him; and indeed most of the Irish were civil to me, till Lord Tyrconnel arrived; since which, (for he loves to make distinctions,) some of them, though very few, have made themselves strangers to me. But it is not to be regarded; for I dare say, when he has done all he can, the best of his own countrymen will speak well of me. God keep you and all yours.

CLXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Sir John Coghill, and reasons why he should not be removed from his office of Master in Chancery.

Chapel Izod July 11, 1686.

This bearer, Sir John Coghill, has my leave to go into England about his private affairs, and will be here again before Michaelmas Term. You see, by what I wrote in one of my late letters to the Lord President, my opinion of him. I beg you to give him opportunity to discourse with you of affairs here, especially relating to the Church; and I am sure you will think it a pity he should be removed from his place of Master of Chancery, *as unfit:* the expression in the King's letter. He is very knowing in all the affairs of the

clergy, and he is at present employed by me in a very great work, in order to the improving the King's ecclesiastical revenue, which I am required to do by my instructions; and which I am sure I shall give a very good account of, if I am not interrupted or deprived of those hands which should help me. Let me beg you to do this gentleman what good offices you can: you will have no cause to be ashamed of him. I shall need say no more upon this subject. God Almighty bless and keep you and all yours.

CLXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Introducing Major Brady.

Dublin Castle, July 11, 1686.

This bearer, Major Brady, being resolved to go for England, to cast himself at his Majesty's feet, is earnest for a letter to you, which I cannot refuse him. He was Major to Colonel Russell, and is one of the unfortunate gentlemen who are put out. I never in my life knew any man better spoken of by all sorts of people: his condition at present is deplorable; being, I believe, not worth fifty pounds in the world. I need not say much to you more; I am sure you love to do good, and will show him what kindness you can. God keep you and all yours.

CLXVII.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Captain Ridley to be continued in his command.—Allowance to the Roman Catholic Bishops.—Mr. Aston's forfeiture given to his widow.—Proclamation to quiet men's alarms.—Appointment of Baron Rice.—Commissions.—Lord Ikerine and Lord Gormanston's Outlawries to be reversed.—Mr. Reilly to be a Master in Chancery, &c.

MY LORD, Windsor, July 13, 1686.

I have your Excellency's of the 12th, 22nd, and 29th past; upon which I am commanded by his Majesty to tell you, that he has seen Captain Ridley's petition, which you transmitted hither, and does allow of your having stopped the commission whereby his company was given away: his Majesty's intention being, upon what you represent about Captain Ridley, that he should keep his said command.

The King has by his letters acquainted the Roman Catholic Primate

what he intended to allow to the Bishops of that Communion; and seeing you have no orders about that matter yet, his Majesty will direct they shall be sent forthwith.

His Majesty is also pleased to forgive the forfeiture of Mr. Aston's estate, and would have the widow and her children have the advantage thereof; which your Excellency is to give order in accordingly.

His Majesty has considered of your proposal for issuing a Proclamation to put a stop to all prosecutions for words said to be spoken some years since; and would have you, with the advice of the Council, issue such a Proclamation as shall be requisite in that behalf.

As to what you write about the places of the Barons of the Exchequer, and particularly your admitting the Baron Rice; His Majesty says, he thought it necessary for his service to have it done in this case by his immediate direction; but intends to use that method only upon extraordinary occasions; and your Excellency may be assured I shall always readily mind his Majesty of any thing wherein the rights and privileges of your place may be concerned.

The commission for my Lord Ikerine to have Colonel Salkeld's troop, and Mr. Rooth to succeed the former in his company, are both already sent; and upon this occasion I am directed by his Majesty to acquaint you, that his pleasure is, my Lord Ikerine and my Lord Gormanston should have the full benefit of his gracious letters for reversing the Outlawries of their ancestors. His Majesty is informed some stop or delay has been given in the matter; and therefore he would have your Excellency give order it be forthwith despatched. His Majesty would also have Mr. Reily admitted a Master of Chancery, according to his letters in that behalf. By my next I shall send you his Majesty's pleasure concerning Major Talbot and Mr. Eastland's pay; and in the mean time I am, My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND. P.

CLXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His reception in his journey to Kilkenny.—Reasons for sending Mr. Keightley into England;—his character.—Adverts to his Sister; does not expect much comfort from her.—Does not want for mortifications.

Kilkenny, July 14, 1686.

My last told you that I intended to be here this week to see the two regiments of horse, which were appointed to rendezvous here. And to give you

some account of my journey, let me tell you, that I left Dublin on Monday morning, and lay that night at Carlow; which is two-and-thirty Irish miles. All the way I went, I was met by the Sheriffs and sovereigns of the little towns I passed through, with all the respects due and usual. Two miles before I came to Carlow I was met by the Bishop of Lochlin and Fernes, (one Dr. Marsh, formerly a chaplain of my father's,) with many of his clergy, it being within his diocess. Carlow is a very pretty situated town: it belongs to the Earl of Thomond, who has an old ruined castle there pleasantly placed upon the river side. The town seems to be pretty well inhabited: but there are several inns stand empty; which, I was told, were deserted within these twelve months. On Tuesday I went from Carlow to this place, (twenty Irish miles,) where I arrived about six in the evening; and upon the road was met in like manner by the Sheriff, &c. and four miles from the city by the Bishop and his clergy. About two miles from hence, the troops which were here, in order to the rendezvous, were drawn up in a line, my Lord Tyrconnel, Major-general Macarty, and Colonel Hamilton, at the head of them. I entertain you with these trifles of my reception everywhere, (and it was as it ought to be in this city,) that you may see all due honours were paid to my character. I had very little discourse this evening, more than upon the ordinary matters of the troops, and ordering the review to-morrow morning: what shall pass during my stay here, you shall have an exact acccount of, as you have hitherto had. The particular occasion of this letter is to accompany Mr. Keightley, and to tell you why he goes into England. His pretence is about his own affairs; and he has real business of his own there: but in truth, though I have not owned it to any creature, but now to you, I have desired him to make the journey; for though I do write very fully and largely to you, yet it might be of use, I think, (at least it can do no harm,) if somebody were there, of whom questions might be asked, either upon what I write, or upon what is said or written by others, relating to the affairs of this country. And who shall this somebody be? Should I send an Englishman of the country, or an Irishman, though they might be both very honest, yet I fear they might be suspected to be partial to their several interests: I have therefore pitched upon this gentleman, as a man who has no real interest here, and who will inform you of the true matter of fact, and of the truth of what is said by every body. His integrity and real concern for you and me, is not to be questioned in the least, for many reasons, which cannot but be obvious to you. He is a man of very good sense, and of an excellent understanding: he has as general a character of a man of worth and sincerity amongst all sorts of people, as I have known; and his

abode in the kingdom has been so long, and his conversation so general, (for he has been in most parts of the kingdom,) that he has been enabled to make many useful observations, and is fully qualified to answer any questions that shall be asked him. I have, therefore, though fit to send him over thoroughly instructed to give you an account of every thing, and to take your directions how to behave himself towards others, and how far to discourse with the King, and how far with my Lord President, &c. I am sure he will be guided by you in every thing; and I beg you to give credit to what he tells you. If we are not condemned to be very unfortunate, the representations he can make may by your conduct do good: however, they can do no harm. If they do no good, then I should be glad he were here again within a month, or thereabouts.

I must not end this without saying something to you of my sister. I have taken her into my house, as long as I am at Chapel Izod; (at the Castle of Dublin I have no conveniency for her,) but God knows I neither have, nor expect to have much comfort from her; but no trouble she gives my mind (which I am such a fool as I know not how to help, considering who she is,) is to be imputed to her husband;* with whom, as to all things relating to her, as well as in other matters, and even in the main point, religion, I have reason to be well satisfied. I can add no more at present, being just going into the field to review the troops. You may expect my next to be a longer letter, and to be entertainment, which may probably make you laugh, though it be not pleasant. Mortifications every man must meet with in this world: upon my word, I do not want mine. God grant I may support them as I ought to do, and not prejudice the high character I bear, which is really a hard and difficult task. God Almighty support me; and I pray, believe that I have courage to think I shall not have cause to be ashamed. God preserve and bless you and all yours. Wednesday morning.

CLXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE QUEEN.

Complaining of the mortifications he has met with, which Lord and Lady Rochester will acquaint her Majesty with.

MADAM, Kilkenny, July 14, 1686.

I am perfectly ashamed to give your Majesty the trouble of my letters, when I have nothing to entertain you with; and yet I must do it sometimes,

* Thomas Keightley, of Hartingfordbury, in Hertfordshire, who was married to Frances Hyde, Lord Clarendon's second sister.

to present you with my most obedient duty, and to beg that I may not be cast out of your protection, by which, as I have been raised, I desire to live. I will never trouble your Majesty with complaints; and yet it is necessary (for me at least) in order to my support, and for the better enabling me to serve the King, that your Majesty should know some of my mortifications; which I have left to my brother and sister Rochester to acquaint you with, when it will be the least inconvenient to you, or else to let it alone. I desire nothing in this world but to serve the King in whatever station he puts me; and, as I would give any testimony of it that is in my power, even with the loss of my life, so, if I know my own heart, I had rather die than displease either of your Majesties: and I flatter myself that your Majesty does believe me; with which I comfort myself extremely. I beg leave, madam, to assure you, that there is not one command I have received from the King, which I have not obeyed with all possible expedition and zeal; and as there is nothing which the King would have done here but may be compassed with great ease, if those who are to do it have a mind to it; so I hope your Majesty will pardon me, if I presume to say, that if the King had so thought fit, I could have done what his Majesty has now directed, even the same things, to much greater satisfaction than has happened. But I will always obey the King, and, with your Majesty's permission, make my moan to you afterwards, with this further assurance, that I will never desire any thing of the King, but what will be for his service to trust me in, whilst I have the honour to serve him in this great station. But, as long as I have your Majesty's protection, I shall live with cheerfulness; and I humbly beseech you, let me not want that, whilst I am, which I will be as long as I have life,

Your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CLXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Has obeyed his Majesty's commands in giving Lord Tyrconnel full power to make what changes in the Army he thinks fit.—His other commands, relating to the Corporations, are executing.—Introduces Mr. Keightley.

SIR, Kilkenny, July 14, 1686.

I have omitted for some time giving your Majesty the trouble of my letters, that I might at the same time give you some account of the execution of your commands, which I received by my Lord Tyrconnel. I doubt not

but my Lord President some time since acquainted your Majesty, that I did immediately obey all that you commanded in giving my Lord Tyrconnel full power to put out and put in what soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the army he thought fit; of all which, and the methods by which the army has been purged, I have given so large an account (as I shall always do) to my Lord President, with my humble thoughts thereupon, that I need not trouble your Majesty therewith. A very exact account of all the alterations in the army shall be laid before your Majesty, as soon as the rolls of the last muster are made up. Your Majesty's other commands relating to the corporations are all executing by me, and obeyed already in many places: and I dare assure your Majesty, that within very few weeks they shall be performed throughout; that is, as soon as it is possible for returns (in point of time) to be made. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that your commands shall meet with no hesitation from me; and if they are not executed with that success and easiness as they ought to be, your Majesty shall know whence the difficulties proceed; which, I will presume to say, would not be hard to prevent. I have taken the liberty to send this by Mr. Keightley, whose private affairs call him into England; and therefore I have given him leave to be absent for a few weeks. Since he has had the honour to be in your Majesty's service, he hath applied himself with great diligence to understand every thing of your concerns here, particularly relating to your revenue, his immediate station requiring him to sit in your Court of Exchequer; so that he is very well able to inform your Majesty of any thing you shall require of him; and I am confident he will do it with all integrity imaginable. God preserve your Majesty many years, is the constant prayer of, Sir,

Your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CLXXI.

THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complimentary; and recommending Mr. Keightley to him.

Chapel Izod, July 14, 1686.

I should be too much elevated with your good opinion of me, if I did not bend my whole thoughts in endeavouring to keep what I have so happily gained; I leave to time the testimony of my sincerity in this matter, and only beg of you to lay some force upon yourself, to keep me where I am in your

esteem. The bearer of this, my cousin Keightley, does believe my interest so great with you, that he has earnestly desired me to recommend him to your favour; I believe my Lord has said what he thought fit of him, and I think that a very good character; for I am sure he believes him a very honest man, and fit for business. I am very sorry he cannot trust upon his lady's good word, for I must do him the right to tell you that he has behaved himself to her with very affectionate tenderness, and great respect to her relations: when it pleases God to bring her to a right sense of things, she must be of this opinion herself. I hope she is not far from it, being come to an age of consideration, and I am willing to believe she is changed something for the better since I came into this kingdom. I am sure I will never be weary of serving her as well as I am able. I never forget your instructions at our parting, and am willing to believe myself a little diligent, but am discouraged by the consternation that is now upon us. I fear it is not a time to expect to thrive in, but patience and perseverance will be so practised, that I hope soon to see the clouds disperse: in the mean time, I thank God, I live very merrily, and never want company. Poor Tory Hamilton is a most thankful humble servant of yours, which I must not forget to tell you. I pray God preserve and prosper you and yours.

CLXXII.

SIR WILLIAM WILLIAMS TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD, Gloucester, July 18, 1686.

I owe my liberty, the benefit of my profession, the remains of my fortune and reputation to your Lordship. When the capias issued against me for my fine,* your Lordship alone prevailed to have my bond accepted by the King, allowing me convenient time to raise and pay my money, and a present abatement of 2000*l.*: this is the product of your Lordship's generous and frank me-

* It was for having appointed (according to an order of the House of Commons) the printing of Dangerfield's *information*; he was fined 10,000*l.* Sir William Williams had been, for his zealous opposition to the court, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in two parliaments. After the Revolution, he attempted to get an act of Parliament to reverse the judgment, but did not obtain it. It was a singular case to punish a Speaker for obeying the orders of the House! The memory of Sir William Williams has been severely visited for his conduct as Solicitor-General, on the trial of the Seven Bishops. He had then joined the court; and it is said, that had he succeeded in procuring a verdict of guilty, he was to have been rewarded with the custody of the Great Seal.

diation with his Majesty for me without the aid or concurrence of any person; and what I value more, your Lordship hath disposed his Majesty to a good opinion of me: this adds to his bounty and clemency some care of me by concerning himself in the suit of the Earl of Peterborough. Whatever his Majesty shall please to command, shall be strictly observed on my part; and no acts shall be wanting to signalize my duty and loyalty to his royal person and government; and in all things wherein my services may be useful, they shall be paid his Majesty with sincerity and alacrity. Your Lordship is become my pledge in a great measure by your successful applications for me, by which his Majesty was influenced to use me with tenderness and mercy: these must produce their good effects, and that justly with me. I presume again to beg that I may borrow the continuance of your noble favour to complete the great progress you have made for my future quiet. Whatever your Lordship shall vouchsafe to say for me, shall be religiously performed, and remain an eternal duty upon me and mine.

Your Lordship's, &c.

W. WILLIAMS.

CLXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His presence at Kilkenny has allayed the alarm raised by Lord Tyrconnel's conduct.—Anonymous letter containing information of a Plot.—Scruples of the Corporation of Cork.—Lord Tyrconnel's return to Dublin.

Dublin Castle, July 20, 1686.

I returned from Kilkenny on Saturday, two or three days sooner than I intended; the reason whereof you will find in my letter to my Lord President, as you will the substance of our proceedings at Kilkenny; which, I hope, will make my excuse for not sending you the account I promised in my last by way of diary. It may seem vain that I should think my presence here, or any where else, should allay the apprehensions men are possessed with, but it is really true; and my qualifying the declaration my Lord Tyrconnel made, that none but Roman Catholics were to be admitted into the present vacancies, does in some measure prevail upon some men to think again before they leave the kingdom: though, with all my skill, many very wealthy men are gone already from Cork, and out of the North; and more will go, if some cordial be not administered before they wind up their bottoms,

which they are doing with all imaginable diligence; and this late Declaration will not give much invitation to stay. I have given my Lord President so particular a narrative, (and every syllable of it is true,) because I thought it my duty to speak a little more plainly than I have done; though I think I have not hitherto been mealy-mouthed: as to the success, God's will be done.

I have lately had another letter from an unknown hand; a copy whereof I have herewith sent you:* I have likewise sent it to my Lord President. I have told him my true sense of it: however, I thought it not amiss to send it to him. I have likewise sent my Lord President the copy of a letter I had from the city of Cork, as I have done to you too. Methinks, the questions they desire to be satisfied in are reasonable; and yet they have at the same time showed a readiness to obey the King. You will find by what I have written to my Lord President the answer I have given; and the town has proceeded according to those directions: and I am sure every thing in that whole matter will be as the King would have it. But some men are angry, that every Ca-

* ANONYMOUS LETTER, CONTAINING INFORMATION OF A PLOT AGAINST THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

MY LORD, July 15, 1686.

There is a most barbarous design laid for the destruction of your Excellency, together with all those of your Lordship's religion in this kingdom of Ireland; the time is not yet prefixed, because the army is not ready. I confess, though I am one engaged in the matter, and sworn several times to secresy, and who by my oath am engaged to act a considerable part, yet remorse of conscience, together with the horrid cruelties that are to be acted, do almost shake me in my principles, so much that if I had not travelled, and seen abroad better-natured people than I find here, of my religion, I should almost be of your Lordship's religion. The danger I run in writing this, though a counterfeit hand, puts me into very great fear, so great that your Lordship must never expect a greater discovery from me than what you find in this letter. Upon the whole, I advise your Lordship at all times to have a care of your Guards; and to have a care of Dublin, which is first to be surprised, and perhaps sooner than you are aware of, or than I can tell; that matter being solely left to a council of a very few of our clergy, and five or six of the laity. I do almost fear this will come too late, and therefore, pray, my Lord, make use of your time, and let not this be seen by all the council, but rather by a very few of them. Take this, I beseech you, as sent by God Almighty to you for the safety of many a poor soul as well as yourself, if it comes not too late. I never will further discover myself till I may do it safely, which under the circumstances I am, I can never; neither will ever, only by keeping a copy of this verbatim to show to your Lordship, if living, seven years hence; that then your Lordship may know me to be,

Indorsed by the Earl of Clarendon. Your Lordship's Well-wisher.

"Copy of a letter from an unknown hand, found at my closet door at Kilkenny, July 15, 1686, by Sir P. Rycaut, and given me by him."

tholic in Ireland, as being so, without any other reason, is not in office in every corporation in Ireland; which is more than was before the rebellion, or than is even consistent with the welfare of any corporation, every one of which must be governed by particular rules, that the whole may thrive. My Lord Tyrconnel came to town yesterday to see the regiment of Guards, since their new recruits. He came from his own house, and called at Chapel Izod in his way in the morning; but I being first come to town, where I staid the whole day, having appointed much business because of my absence the last week, he came to me in the evening. We had very little discourse, it being pretty late; but he said he would be in town again to-morrow at council. I told him that it was necessary, he and I, and my Lord Chancellor, should discourse a little together upon some commands I lately had from the King; which, he says, shall be to-morrow: and then you shall know his opinion with reference to a Parliament and the Commission of Grace. I have no more to add at present, but my prayers for you and all yours. We have just now received three packets from England, amongst which I have your's of the 10th instant; which I will answer by the next. You will herewith receive Mr. Price's abstracts for the two last weeks.

Tuesday, eight at night. I am going to Chapel Izod till to-morrow morning.

CLXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Review of troops at Kilkenny.—Proceedings of Lord Tyrconnel in cashiering soldiers, and evil consequences attending them.—His declaration that no distinction was to be made between Catholic and Protestant, and his proceedings at variance.—Cause of Lord Clarendon's prompt return to Dublin.—Lord Tyrconnel's general conduct, extraordinary.—Has recommended Mayors and Sheriffs for some towns where the Election would be doubtful.—Informations of Plots, &c.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 20, 1686.

I told your Lordship in my last, that I intended to go the next day to Kilkenny, which I did, and arrived there on Tuesday, where I found my Lord Tyrconnel, Major-general Macarty, and Colonel Richard Hamilton. On Wednesday I saw the Duke of Ormond's regiment, and seven troops of the Earl of Ardglasse's regiment. (the eighth troop being upon duty in this town) drawn up in the field. I think every body will own that they were as adroit at their exercise as any men could be, and that generally they were better

mounted than the light horse in England. In the afternoon I spent near three hours with the General officers, and think it my duty to give your Lordship an account of what passed, to the end that the King may be fully informed: and I would to God his Majesty could hear and see every thing that is done and said here; which would be great happiness to those who have the honour to serve him. Lord Tyrconnel told me, though the troops in the gross appeared well, yet he had marked several men, who upon account of their age, and for other reasons, were not fit for the King's service. I answered, that he well knew the King's pleasure therein, and that in obedience thereunto I had given him full power to put out and put in such common men, and non-commissioned officers, as he thought fit; and therefore I would not meddle in that matter: but I did desire, that whatever men he thought fit to put out, it might be done regularly, and due certificates made thereof to the Muster-master-general, whereby I might grant warrants for the pay of those men so put out; which had not been observed in several places in the countries, where the new officers had dismissed great numbers of men, some even whole companies, without giving them any certificates of what was due to them; whereby the men were necessitated to come to Dublin to look after their little arrear of pay, (which is all they have to trust to,) and to stay there till letters could be sent to their officers, and returns come from them. And this some would fain look upon as a mutiny, when they only (that is, one, or two of them together) petitioned me in the most submissive terms to consider their condition. I said further, that all the murmuring I heard of (and one might hear it as one went along the streets) was, that the men, as they walked two and three together, would bemoan themselves: "Why," says one, "may not I serve the King? I never served under any authority but of the crown:" "Nor I," says another; "and we went last year into England to venture our lives. We are as lusty as those who come into our rooms; and will go wherever the King bids us." My Lord Tyrconnel replied, that he was sorry there had been any such irregularities as I mentioned; and that, for the men whom he now intended to disband out of the horse, he would follow such methods as I would appoint; but the men he had marked must be put out; that he knew many of them were ill men, and not qualified for the King's service. I said, though the several officers were satisfied with their men, who by the articles of war were formerly to be responsible for their companies, yet I would not meddle at all in the matter; nor did I desire there should be any interruption given to the alterations he was making; and for the method of discharging the men

now to be put out, it was what is daily practised by all the officers of the army: my design was only to have things done quietly, that the men, when they were out, might have their money quickly, and go about their business without cause of complaint. I added, there was one thing more, which I desired he would take care of; and that was concerning the horses of those who were to be put out; that the men might be justly satisfied for them, which would be a great relief to them. My Lord said, that indeed many of the horses were very good, and it was very difficult to find any number of good horses here; therefore he intended to have the horses now in the troops to be valued by two officers, and the men should have the money for which they were appraised; but they must be contented to receive it at several payments, in regard that, he doubted, few of the new men who were to be admitted, could lay down money for their horses. I replied, that it would be very hard for the men who were put out, to be running once in three months, and that four or five times, to Dublin to look after their money; whereas, if a man had all his money at once, it would enable him to buy a few cattle, whereby he might get a livelihood: and therefore, to make that matter easy, if he would make a computation of how many horses would be bought in each regiment, and to what sum it would amount, I would impress it to the Colonels, and they should deduct it out of the new men's future pay; which will be no prejudice to the King, and, I find, pleased all the general officers very well. I am sure it shall be always my business to have the King's service carried on with all imaginable ease, and without raising difficulties where there need be none. My Lord Tyrconnel then said, the King would have no distinction made between his subjects; that he had never put out any man for being a Protestant, nor taken in one because he was a Roman Catholic; but always chose those men who seemed most likely to serve the King, without asking what religion they were of. And this he has often declared upon several occasions; and particularly one day, when he and my Lord Chief Justice Keating and I were together, and telling him that some of the new officers had declared they would have none but Irish in their companies, my Lord Tyrconnel exclaimed against it, saying, those officers who made those declarations, ought to be reproved, for it was the King's pleasure to be served indifferently by all his subjects of both nations and religions, and that there must be no distinction made; which is suitable to all the commands I have received from his Majesty, and certainly it is best that all his officers should act upon the same footing. I am the more particular in this narrative, because in this discourse we had together, my Lord

Tyrconnel seemed to find fault that there were no more Roman Catholics in the army; to which I told him, if he would consult the muster-rolls, he would find in nine months time two thousand three hundred new men admitted, five parts of six whereof were Irish and Roman Catholics. But, after all these discourses, on Thursday in the afternoon my Lord Tyrconnel, after he had taken his leave of me, just as he was going out of town, he told my Lord Roscommon (who was present at all the discourses the day before) in the presence of several of the officers, (and he had given the same orders to other officers before,) that he must charge him upon his allegiance to admit no men into the vacancies he had made in the Duke of Ormond's regiment but Roman Catholics. As this command did surprise every body, even many of the Roman Catholic officers, so your Lordship will believe it quickly spread abroad; for I can assure you it got to Dublin before me, and I returned thither on Saturday: the great reason of my returning so very soon was to pacify the apprehensions which would naturally seize men upon such a declaration. Whether my Lord Tyrconnel did well in his frequent and positive asserting, that no distinction was to be made between his Majesty's subjects of either nation or religion; or whether he has done well now to declare, that one sort of them are not to be admitted into his Majesty's service, the King himself is best able to judge. I shall only beg leave to repeat again to your Lordship what I have formerly said, that the King may have every thing done here which he has a mind to; and it is much more easy to do things quietly than in a storm: and I am sure it is more for the King's service, that what he would have done should be done so, as the trading people may not be terrified, and leave the kingdom by being possessed with jealousies and imagination of things which were never thought of. I have not said any thing of this to your Lordship to be thought to complain of my Lord Tyrconnel; for I will always live towards him as I ought to do towards one so intrusted by the King. But I am sure it is my duty to inform your Lordship of all matter of fact; and upon that account I must beg leave to say, that it were to be wished for the King's service, that my Lord Tyrconnel would put on another temper; for his treating of men of all sorts in the most public places is very extraordinary, and could not be digested but by a resigned deference and duty to the King. Other men whom the King employs, do their business and gain the good-will of those they deal with; which will the better enable them to serve the King. For my own particular, as far as I am trusted with the know-

ledge of what his Majesty would have, I am sure his pleasure shall be pursued; and I have given an effectual account of all the commands I have hitherto received, as far forth as the time would permit; and, as fast as it is possible, you will find an entire obedience to them all. It may not be amiss here to acquaint your Lordship, that it is thought fit I should recommend men to some towns (where it is doubted the elections may not be good) for mayors, and sheriffs, and for common council men. In such cases I advise with those who are best acquainted in those towns; particularly with Justice Daly, and others of the King's council of that persuasion: and the lists of names those men give me, are always equal, half English and half Irish; which, they say, is the best way to unite and make them live friendly together. I only tell your Lordship this, that you may see the difference of some men's tempers.

Since my being here I have had some letters from unknown hands, and some informations of strange things that were doing: but they were too impertinent to trouble your Lordship with, and I knew what credit to give to them; especially having traced out the authors of some of them, who prove to be Irish. But I have lately had one from an unknown hand of a more extraordinary nature; and, though I believe no more of it than of the rest, because, if it were true, methinks the same remorse of conscience which induced the author to write as he has done, should oblige him to discover enough to prevent the threatened mischief; yet I think fit to send your Lordship a copy of the letter:* but there is no more cause to apprehend what it mentions, than that Whitehall should be surprised at this time by the King's guards. I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am with all possible respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

I have just now received your Lordship's of the 13th instant; which I will answer particularly in my next.

* See this letter at p. 498, ante.

CLXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Apology for writing to Lord Sunderland about two petitions.—The Lord Chancellor of Ireland dissatisfied with the English Lord Chancellor.—Case of the Limerick Merchants, and their appeal about the contraband goods.—Lord Tyrconnel cannot keep a secret.—Curious scene between him and Lord Roscommon, whom he had commanded to admit none but Roman Catholics into his troop.—Major Macdonnel, his opinion upon that measure.—Sends copies of Lord Sunderland's letters, which he desires Lord Rochester to compare with his own.

Dublin Castle, July 22, 1686.

I told you in my last that I had just then received yours of the 10th instant, which I am now to answer; and I will begin with the last part of it, and do really ask your pardon for my writing to my Lord Sunderland about Major Talbot and Captain Eastland's petition. The day after I had sent away my letter, reviewing some of my letters against the next post, I found my error; and I protest I cannot imagine how I came to commit it. I go not about to justify it, and cannot make an excuse for it: you are in the right, and I do truly own myself to have been in the wrong. I will add but one word more, that it is the only mistake I have made of that kind; and I dare undertake it shall be the last. Certainly you need make no excuses for not writing to me, when you have not time: though it be the greatest comfort I can have to hear often from you, yet I know very well how you are almost in perpetual motion; and therefore I am not so unreasonable as to expect what cannot be. I have said what you directed me to my Lord Chancellor, who is very sensible of your kindness; but I find he is no way satisfied with your Chancellor, of whom he speaks terrible things.

Yesterday we had two packets from England, with which I received yours of the 15th instant. I must not omit to tell you one circumstance more of the cause about the Limerick merchants. When the cause was first heard at council, which was on the 30th past, I gave ten days time for consideration; and intimated, (because of the earnest pressing of some of the board,) that if the merchants would make such a submission as they ought to make, they should have no cause to repent it. But, at the ten days end, they were so far from making a submission, that they sent in a petition, justifying what they had done; which the whole board was sensible of, but some of their powerful friends undertook that they should by the next council day submit themselves: whereupon I gave them a week longer; but still their

proud hearts would not down; no submission came. And truly then, for example sake, and for the benefit of the revenue, as well as for the justification of the King's officers, who had done their duty honestly and stoutly, I thought fit to dismiss the appeal; whereby the judgment below on behalf of the King is affirmed. But when the order came to be signed, not one Roman Catholic counsellor would sign it, though there were six present, the full half of the board; which perhaps may be, at one time or other, fit to be observed.

Yesterday Lord Tyrconnel came to town to council; of which, and of what passed between us afterwards, I have given an account to my Lord President, to which I refer you. Pray observe the answer Lord Tyrconnel made me, when I recommended to him the keeping the secret; so that, if it be public, you may know how it comes to be so: and, between you and me, he cannot keep a secret. Indeed, it was a very extraordinary scene between the Lords Tyrconnel and Roscommon; the latter coming so pat into the room, when every body thought him out of town. He positively averred, that the Lieutenant-general had given him orders, upon his allegiance, to admit no men but Roman Catholics into his regiment; which Tyrconnel as positively denied, saying he could not, nor ever had committed such an absurdity. "G—'s! wounds," said he, "to ask a soldier, if he comes well mounted, and be a likely fellow, what religion he is of, is a ridiculous thing." Roscommon still averred it, and said, "his Major was of opinion with him, that the orders ought to be declared at the head of the regiment, that none of the officers might bring any other men ignorantly to be admitted; and added, that his Major had seconded what he told them, and declared that he heard the Lieutenant-general give those orders." Then my Lord Tyrconnel smiling said, "G— d—— me, Cary, I could not give such orders; for I knew you had taken some Roman Catholics into your troop: prithee let us talk a little, what passed, how could I bid thee do so?" Then my Lord Roscommon replied, "My Lord, I will say any thing you will have me; but, by G—, I will not deny the truth: if I were now to die, I must declare that you commanded me, upon my allegiance, to admit none but Roman Catholics into the regiment; and your Lordship knows you have given the same orders to several officers of the other regiment." "By G—," says my Lord Tyrconnel, "that is strange:" and so, after fending and proving, we parted. And I think it is plain by this, he had no orders to make this declaration: at least the world believes so, for this whole affair is no secret. The Duke of

Ormond's Major is an old German officer; his name is Macdonnell: he has the repute of a very honest man. He walked about at Kilkenny, and said, where he served, he never knew a distinction between soldiers upon the score of religion. I am very confident here are many men put out, whom the King would not dismiss if he saw them: but that cannot be otherwise. I think I write pretty often to you; which I will continue to do as occasions offer, and as things come into my head. I here send you a copy of my Lord President's last letter to me; and I think I have done so of all he has written to me. When you are at leisure one time or other, pray compare my letters and his; and judge whether I am answered to half what I write. God keep you and all yours.

CLXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Recommends T. Caulfield to succeed to the first vacant company.—Council and declaration for stopping all prosecutions for words spoken.—Commission of Grace.—Lord Tyrconnel seems averse to it.—Strenuously denies having given orders not to admit any but Catholics into the Army.—Is contradicted by Lord Roscommon.—The new Judges do all in their power, by declarations from the bench, to settle the minds of the people.—Some openly declare that there shall not be a Protestant left in the Army.—Measures to repress such discourses.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 22, 1686.

I told your Lordship in my last that I had just then received yours of the 13th instant; by which I find his Majesty is pleased that Captain Ridley should keep his company, of which I have sent him word. And now I must put your Lordship in mind of Captain Toby Caulfield, who was to have had Ridley's command; the company which he formerly had, having been given to my Lord Ikerine, which he has sold by the King's permission lately to one Rooth. Captain Caulfield is a very deserving man, of an ancient family, and has served the King very well at Tangier. Yesterday I called a Council, and communicated his Majesty's pleasure concerning the issuing a proclamation to put a stop to all prosecutions for words spoken several years since. I wish your Lordship had been more particular in limiting the time: the Board were all of opinion, that the proclamation should extend to forgive all words spoken before the King's access to the crown. Mr. Solicitor-general is directed to prepare a draught; which shall be transmitted to your Lordship for his Majesty's approbation before it be published. My Lord Tyrconnel came to town from his own house to the Council: afterwards I desired him to come to

the Castle; which he did: my Lord Chancellor was with me. I acquainted him with the King's pleasure, signified in your Lordship's of the 14th of June, concerning a Commission of Grace, and the calling a Parliament; this being the first opportunity I had of consulting him since the receipt of that letter. His discourse was so general, that I cannot yet tell your Lordship his opinion; only that he seems averse to a Commission, and says, many things must be prepared (which will take up much time) before it will be fit to call a Parliament. But he has promised to give us another meeting after his return from Mullingar: (whither he is gone to-day to see some of the foot, which rendezvous there,) when I hope we may have a nearer conversation, and that he may have thought upon some of the particulars which we had put to him; for he would now only speak of generals. I desired him to remember that it was the King's command this consultation should be kept secret. He answered, it was not such a secret, for he had an account of it from England. It may not be amiss to tell your Lordship, that in this conference there was occasion to mention the jealousies and frights people were generally under; which I doubt not, I said, a little time would wear off, and the prudent carriage of the Judges in their circuits would contribute much thereunto; but it was to be feared the general and positive orders he had given at Kilkenny, not to admit any but Catholics into the vacancies now made, would put the world into new amazements: to which my Lord Tyrconnel replied, that he never gave any such orders, and desired he might know who reported such a thing of him. When he was told that he had given those orders very positively to Lord Roscommon, as well as to several other officers, he firmly denied it; but whilst we were together, it happened that Lord Roscommon was in the next room, booted, newly come to town. As soon as he came in, he was asked what orders my Lord Tyrconnel gave him upon parting at Kilkenny? Lord Roscommon repeated the same I told your Lordship in my last. Lord Tyrconnel denied it: the other averred it, with this further, that Major Macdonnell gave the same orders at the head of the troops, and said he was commanded so to do by the Lieutenant-general. I think it my duty to give your Lordship these particular accounts of matters of fact, as I have done constantly since my being here, that so the King may know the truth of every thing.

By the accounts I have had from the Judges in their circuits, I find they use all possible means to compose the minds of people, and to prevent their leaving the kingdom; which very many in all parts are preparing to do.

Amongst other things, they declare upon the bench, the King's resolution not to have the Acts of Settlement infringed; and they give it in charge to the grand juries, to enquire after those who spread the reports of the present proprietors being to lose their lands; and that they should present all such, that they may be proceeded against as the divulgers of false news. This conduct of the Judges will, as they send me word, much settle men. I have had some informations against persons, who have openly declared, that by Christmas day there shall not be a Protestant left in the army: I have ordered them to be bound over to appear the next sessions. This course being taken at the beginning will make men keep their discourses within bounds; and it will be a great satisfaction to the generality of the kingdom, to see that the Government does not countenance the impertinent talk of very idle men. I must not omit telling your Lordship, that the new judges take as much pains as it is possible to settle the minds of the people, wherever they go; and they take care to have all the juries mingled, half English and half Irish. I am with very great respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Proceedings of Lord Tyrconnel at Kilkenny.—Reference to the relation in the two preceding letters.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 22, 1686.

By your Grace's favour I was last week at Kilkenny; but I must go again, before I can give your Grace, or even myself, any account of that noble place; for I could not see much of it, my stay having been there but two days: in which time I saw your Grace's regiment there, and my Lord of Ardglasse's, all but one troop, which was here upon duty. Your Major thought yours a very good regiment, and so did many other officers; but our Lieutenant-general had many exceptions to make to it, and particularly against your Quarter-masters; who, he said, must be displaced; of all which I doubt not but your Grace has had a particular account from your Lieutenant-colonel, who was very zealous, according to his duty, to preserve your rights and privileges in your regiment: and my Lord Tyrconnel thereupon directed him (saying, he had as much respect for your Grace as any man living) to know your pleasure, and to give you an account of every thing, before any of your non-commissioned officers were removed. But a great many of the common

men are put out; many of whom, I believe, nobody else would have dismissed: some, his Lordship says, he is satisfied are disaffected to, and not well qualified for the King's service; and the officers, who ought to know them best, are not to be believed in the characters they give of their men. That which was most remarkable at Kilkenny was the charge the Lieutenant-general gave my Lord Roscommon, upon his allegiance, to admit none into your Grace's regiment but Roman Catholics; which, you will believe, does not a little confirm men in the fears they were under before. But this Lord Tyrconnel has since denied; and Lord Roscommon positively avers it to his face. But it cannot be doubted that my Lord Tyrconnel gave him those orders; for he did the same to other officers, even Roman Catholics, who will own it, and were troubled for it. It would be too tedious to give your Grace a minute account of all these particulars; but my brother can do it, if you please. I have written at large all matters of fact to my Lord President: if the King reads my letters, and is satisfied with the proceedings, he is the best judge. I am with all possible deference,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Granard, his merits and faithful services.—Requests Lord Rochester will do all he can for him, and talk freely with him.—Lord Tyrconnel's resolution to accuse the Irish Chancellor of corruption.—His motive.—Report that Lord Clarendon himself is to be recalled in a few months.—Lord Tyrconnel's talk of going to England next month.—Will not leave Dublin while Lord Tyrconnel is in the country, but will make excursions into the North when he leaves.—Sir O. St. George, his petition.—Desires Lord Rochester's interference to protect Lady Clarendon against a suit about her estate.—Certificates of the disbanded soldiers.—Desires that Lord Cornbury should marry before any reverse of fortune may come.—Apprehensions on Lord Rochester's account.—Reports of his losing ground, and being out of favour with the Queen.—Observations on Lord Rochester's appointment to be one of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical affairs.

Chapel Izod, July 27, 1686.

To-morrow Lord Granard goes for England: he will not go without a letter to you, and in truth I cannot refuse him one. I wish either you or I had credit enough to get him to be looked upon as he justly deserves, upon the score of his long faithful services in the worst times; or to get him to be believed in what he can say of this country; but I doubt neither of those must be hoped for. I need not say any thing to you in behalf of this good Lord;

you know enough of him and his merit to do him all the service you can: I am only to desire you to let him talk to you, which he says he will do very freely. I do write so very often, and so full to you upon every thing, by the post, that I can find very little to add when any extraordinary conveyance offers; and yet one thing is come to my knowledge very lately, which I ought to tell you as soon as I can; and I am very glad I have a safe opportunity to do it by. A false brother has discovered that Lord Tyrconnel resolves, as soon as he comes into England, to accuse our Chancellor of having taken money from the other party (as he calls it); which, upon my conscience, is as true as that he has taken it of the Great Turk: but he shall be charged with it; and the King shall be assured it is true, but that it will be inconvenient to prove it. And this great Lord doubts not but he has credit sufficient with the King to persuade him that it is not fit to prove this accusation, but to remove the Chancellor in disgrace, whereby he shall have no access to his Majesty when he gets into England. This is the scheme laid for the Chancellor; and this you may depend upon to be true, that is, that a Roman Catholic and a man in very good figure has discovered this. I am told too, that within a few months I am to be sent for home; that the King will be kind to me in England; but yet it will be fit to put the Government into another sort of hands. As to what concerns myself, I do not much care: I have good ground to believe that this is said and designed by those who think they can do whatever they have a mind to; and I am sure the King may do what he will with me; and wherever he sends me, I will go. If any thing be ever laid to my charge, I doubt not the King will have it examined before I am punished, so that I am sure I shall not be removed for a fault; and for all other things the King's will be done. For what I have told you of the Chancellor, I would be very glad to find whether there be truth in it; and therefore I hope you will watch it. By the intelligence, the work should be already begun; and that methinks you should be able to discover, when you take occasion to move the King for the addition of the Chancellor's salary, whether you find the King any thing displeased with him. And I would be very glad to know what you observe in the King towards me, when the affairs of this country are talked of, if they are ever spoken of before you: perhaps they are only laid before the private junto, and the four new Privy Counsellors. Lord Tyrconnel is returned to his own house from Mullingar, whither he went to see Lord Mountjoy's and Colonel Russell's regiments: he speaks of going into England about the 10th of next month, though he

has not told me so. I have sent to him to be in town to-morrow, in regard he goes into the North on Friday; of what passes you shall have an account by the next. Whilst Lord Tyrconnel is in the kingdom, I will not stir from about Dublin; but if he goes so soon, I will make a journey into the country, to inform myself as much as I can of it. I have most mind to go into the North, and see all the Province of Ulster, those people being said to be the most disaffected; but then, if I should go to my Lord Massareen's and Sir Robert Colvill's, to both whom I am sure I shall be invited, perhaps it will be criminal; and how civilly to avoid it, when I shall be entertained almost everywhere, will be difficult. The same objections may be made if I go into Munster; though I should think I ought to be above those observations, as long as I go indifferently to all sorts, and am never in private with any; which has hitherto been my practice: I would be glad of your opinion herein. I am desired by Sir Oliver St. George to send you the enclosed petition; he is very sensible of your kindness; I think his request is very reasonable. Now I am upon this subject of the Baronet's, pray give me leave to move you in behalf of my wife, having been informed that process is gone out against her estate* upon the account of Sir William Backhouse's honour, who had no title to her estate, and who had a discharge for the thousand pound: I need say the less, because Mr. Shaw wrote me word that you had been already moved in it. I cannot help sending you for your entertainment the enclosed certificate, the original whereof I saw, every word in the hand-writing of my Lord Galmoy: the words under which the line is drawn, are in all the certificates of the disbanded men. It would be a great settlement of my mind, if I saw any probability of my son's marrying: if the King would heartily appear in it, methinks it might be compassed before we are quite eclipsed, which it is loudly said both you and I are to be very quickly. I am sure I am ten times more concerned for you than for myself, if I know any thing of myself; and for that reason I am very sorry you are gone to Tunbridge for three weeks, which all letters are full of. Though I ought to know the world better than to believe idle reports, yet I confess the things that are written over every week to the gossips here, which are presently divulged, of your losing ground with the King, and of the Queen's being displeased with you, do discompose me, though I do not believe them: and if some things are true, I wish Mr. Guy and Mr. Duncomb were both in the bottomless pit, which, I confess, I have done before now, upon your score. I know not

* Swallowfield, in Berkshire.

how to wish you joy of your new place in the church affairs: though we have forty abstracts of the Commission, yet I do not understand it; and I confess I am naturally no friend to new judicatures. God send those who contrived it are friends to our religion! For God's sake let me beg you to be careful how you act, and be not prevailed upon to hurt the best church in the world, and which, notwithstanding all the calamities she is now under, will yet flourish and be triumphant, even in this world. You will pardon me for my zeal. God Almighty preserve you and my sister, and all yours.

CLXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.

Thanks for the plan of the Encampment.—Governor of the Bermudas.—Has ordered that the disbanded Troopers shall have their horses, or the value of them; and the Foot Soldiers a consideration for their clothes: which dissatisfies some of the new officers, who are very mercenary.—Death of Sir William Soames.—Lord Chandos, Ambassador in Turkey.

SIR, Dublin Castle, July 29, 1686.

I return you many thanks for both yours of the 6th and 8th instant, and for the plans you sent me of the 2d encampment, and the review of the whole army; which were very easy to be understood; and certainly the camp must have been very fine, though I doubt it has been very expensive to the officers. I am very glad the King has provided a Governor for the Bermudas: I am sure Colonel Coney was no fit man for such an employment. I am obliged to you for the answers you have sent to my questions; whereby I perceive I was in the right before in my own thoughts; but some of our officers here think it very reasonable, that those men who are put out of the troops for no other reason but because they are not thought fit to serve, should leave their horses behind them, though they brought them with them into the troop; and I am sure, some of these unfit men would not have been disbanded if the King had seen them. But for the horses, I have ordered the owners shall either take them away, or be paid the value for them; which angers some men. I have likewise ordered the disbanded foot to have a consideration for their clothes; which wonderfully dissatisfies some of the new officers, though indeed, I think, without reason; but many of them are very griping, and sell their quarter-master's, adjutant's, and clerk's places for whatever they can get, which, with some other things, must in time undo an army. What will happen upon the death of Sir William Soames? Will my Lord

Chandos be continued in Turkey, or will the King recommend another ambassador to the Company? I doubt that trade is very low at this time: it were well if it could be in any degree encouraged, for it is the most beneficial trade in England. I am very really,

Sir, yours, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Tyrconnel's conference with Lord Clarendon and the Chancellor.—Inveighs against a Commission.—His discourse about bringing Popish officers and soldiers into the Army.—Lord Clarendon's answer that it was the indiscreet threats and vapouring of the Catholic party that did the mischief.—Lord Tyrconnel's conference with the Roman Catholic Primate and Mr. Nangle.—Conversation of Mrs. Keightley with Lord Tyrconnel, and his severe animadversions upon Mr. Price and Mr. Bridges.—Conference with Mr. Nangle and the Chancellor about measures for tranquillizing men's minds.—Dialogue between Major-general Macarty, Mr. Nihill, and the Chancellor, in which Macarty freely animadverts upon the Chancellor's conduct, and he answers him.—Lord Tyrconnel gone to the North; he seems out of humour, and it is said he loses credit among his own people.—His suspicions of every one who goes into England.

Chapel Izod, July 31, 1686.

I wrote to you on Tuesday by my Lord Granard, though he went not off till Thursday. I likewise wrote three or four other letters to you at the same time by so many of our unfortunate disbanded officers, which really I know not how to avoid: and several of them will not disgrace you, if you find you can do them good by owning them. On Wednesday Lord Tyrconnel came to town again to Council: afterwards we had some discourse together (though not much) upon the former affair. What he said was all upon generals, and that he had spoken to a friend who, he was sure, would be very secret, to draw up something in writing, which he would speedily show us; "but then," said he, "by G— I know not what I do here: you consult together, and are too strong for me." My Lord Chancellor was with me. I desired him not to think that we had any design upon him; that, as the King had given me leave to advise with whom I thought fit, and had named nobody but himself to me, so I had paid that respect to his Lordship, as to advise with him in the first place, my Lord Chancellor only excepted; and that, if he were now ready for a consultation, I would call some others to me, and particularly such as his Lordship should desire. He then fell to inveigh

against a Commission: the last, he said, was abominable and detestable, and another would be ridiculous and nonsensical. Then he fell into cursing and swearing, that he could not imagine why the bringing in a few Popish officers and soldiers into the army should make such jealousies and apprehensions among people, that they must lose their lands, and the Acts of Settlement were broken, when it would appear, after he had made all the alterations he now designed, that there would not be a seventh part of the army Roman Catholics. I told him, that it was not said the Acts of Settlement were broken by bringing in a few Roman Catholic officers and soldiers into the army, but the discourses some of those officers and soldiers made, that they should now have their lands again; that by Christmas Day there should not be an Englishman nor a Protestant in the army; and some of the natives having actually prohibited English tenants to pay their rents to their present landlords, who were in possession of their lands by law. These things, I said, put jealousies and apprehensions into people's heads, that there would be alterations made in the settlements. That as to what he said of the army, if his Lordship had a mind to see how he was mistaken in his calculation, I would show him in a minute that, since he was here this time twelve months, and before he arrived now, there were 2300 new men received into the army; above 2000 whereof were Roman Catholics: and how many would be admitted into the places of those whom he now put out, I would not say, till I could do it from the muster rolls, as I did the rest: to all which the answer was, "By G—, that cannot be." I told him, we need not run now into these discourses; that it was not material how many Roman Catholics were in the army, if the King would have it so; for whatever his Majesty would have should be made easy, as far as lay in me: but if those who were employed, and should be wiser, would give occasions by their discourses to fright people, some course must be thought of to be taken with them. After discoursing at this rate an hour and a half, at last we parted; and his Lordship desired, that when he returned from the North, we might meet again upon our great affair; and besides those I might think of to call to the consultation, he prayed that Major-general Macarty, Lord Chief-justice Keating, Mr. Nangle, and Mr. Solicitor might be there; and then he made an eulogium upon the perfect honesty and exact integrity of the Solicitor. I told him, with all my heart; they should be all appointed, and that I liked all of them very well. This Wednesday in the afternoon, Lord Tyrconnel was shut up three hours with the Roman Catholic Primate and Mr. Nangle:

in the evening he went to his own house. On Thursday in the afternoon my Lady Longford, and some other company, who had dined here, went to visit Lady Tyrconnel, the house being about eight miles off: my sister went with them. She tells me my Lord was at home, and that he singled her from the rest of the company. After some common things, he asked her what her husband was gone for into England?* She told him, he had several projects on foot, and that he hoped to succeed in some or other of them, that they might be able to live; for they were at present very low in their fortunes. "I hate a project," said he: "why do not your brothers do something for him?" She says, she told him that she doubted not her brothers' kindness to her when it was in their power. To which he replied, "My Lord Lieutenant may provide for you when he pleases. Here is Price, the Receiver-general, a great rascal; why does not your brother turn him out, and put your husband into his place? Do not you know Price to be an ill man?" "No indeed, my Lord," said she: "I only know that he has been always very civil to me." "And," said he, "here is Bridges, a Commissioner of the Revenue, a d——d fanatic: he is kept in by your brothers. Get my Lord Lieutenant to put him out, and to bring in your husband there." She says, she answered that neither she nor her husband desired to make their fortunes by ruining others: and so, after many compliments and professions of how much he would serve her, the conversation ended, as she tells me. It is not of any use to tell you all this; but, if it were possible, you should know all that passes here.

On Thursday my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Nangle dined with me: they came together. In the afternoon, we three had much discourse upon the great point of what was fit to be done for the quieting men's minds. I told him, I did intend shortly to call him and some others to consult seriously upon that subject, and that I was glad of this opportunity to confer a little beforehand with him. He said, my Lord Tyrconnel had told him something of it; and had bid him prepare something in writing. He said, he could not believe a Commission would be useful, or that it would bring in any money considerable; that whatever should be thought fit to be done, either for confirming the present settlements, or for the relief of such of the old proprietors as ought to be relieved, would be done best by Parliament: but that he thought it was yet too soon to think of calling a Parliament; that many

* It will be remembered that Mr. Keightley, to whom Frances Hyde was married, had been sent by Lord Clarendon on a mission into England. See p. 495, *ante*.

things were necessary first to be done, and even the Acts ought first to be prepared and agreed on; which, he owned, would take up very much time, for the several interests ought to be first felt and discoursed with, that is, some of the most considerable of them; and till he had done that and fully weighed things, (for there were many difficulties in the way) he could not put any thing into writing, though my Lord Tyrconnel was in great haste. This was the sum of our conference: after our intended consultation you shall have an account of the result; whereby you will see what these people drive at. And I will keep them to the point; that is, that Mr. Nangle and his people shall set down what they would have, and what they think fit for the King to do. You will see by the enclosed, what I have said to my Lord President. I have not written so particularly as I have done to you, because I thought it better to stay till after the intended consultation, when we shall certainly come to some sort of resolution, whereby much will be discovered. Yesterday (Friday) the Major-General and Mr. Nihill (a young lawyer, lately made of the king's counsel) made a visit to my Lord Chancellor. After the usual compliments and some ordinary discourses, Macarty told the Chancellor that he had extremely disappointed them (the Irish) in the expectation they at first had of him. The Chancellor asked, wherein he had deceived them? that he was a frank man, and would discourse very freely to him, if he would come to particulars. "Why then," said the Major-general, "we did expect you should have done all that the King commanded without any hesitation." "So I have," said the Chancellor: "there is not one command I have received from the King which I have not obeyed; and I will ever do so. I may perchance make some representations to the King sometimes contrary to what he has directed, as I have leave to do; but if the King orders his former commands to be notwithstanding pursued, they shall be obeyed with all possible readiness and cheerfulness." "You are very scrupulous," said Macarty, "in admitting Roman Catholics to be justices of the peace, though the King has directed by his letter that they should be admitted: you refused our primate's brother, and several others, for no reason but because they had no estates." "My Lord Lieutenant," said the Chancellor, "gave me the King's commands as soon as he received them, and I as presently put them in execution, that is, I immediately spoke to the three new Judges, and all the other Roman Catholics who are in the King's service, and others whom I knew, to furnish me with the names of men proper for that employment; that there were several lists given me for most counties; that I admitted all whom any of the

King's Council, or any other person of worth, fit to be credited, would answer for upon their own knowledge; that for the others, for whom they would not answer, he had informed himself of them, and found that they were men of no estates, that is, not of above 5*l.* or 10*l.* a year; that many of them were infamous men, some of them had been convicted of robberies, others stood accused for harbouring and protecting of Tories, and such I did not," said he, "think fit to put into the King's commission. As for your primate's brother, he is a poor country fellow, lives upon six pounds a year, which he rents of Sir Michael Cole, and has nothing else in the world. After all this," said he, "if you think fit for the King's service to have such a man come upon the Bench, he shall be a justice of peace." "No, in good faith," said Macarty, "I do not think it fit; and I wonder," continued he, "that any one should move for him; but," proceeded the Major-general, "you make difficulty in putting ill men out of commission, except they are proved to be rogues by some notorious villany they have committed, which will be hard for us to prove." "Sir," said the Chancellor, "it is not enough to say in the general, such or such a man is a rogue; the best of men may be so blasted. But if any man comes and tells me such a man is an ill man upon my own experience, that he lived so and so, and did thus and thus at such a time; without any further proof, I will put all such men out of commission." Whereupon Macarty named one or two whom he desired to put out, and gave very good reasons why they were not good men, but could not readily tell in what counties they were in commission. "Sir," replied the Chancellor, "send me a note of them to-morrow, and I will put them out." "Faith! my Lord," said Macarty, "I think you are a very honest gentleman, but they say you have taken 10,000*l.* of the Whigs, and there are thoughts of having you sent for home." "Sir," said the Chancellor, "I thank God I am above bribes; and I flatter myself that the King has a better opinion of me, than to believe any such thing till he sees it proved. I can safely take my oath, that directly or indirectly I have not had a penny since I came hither (more than the King's allowance) but 156*l.* from the profits of the place; that I had been told indeed, my Lord Tyrconnel had reported the Whigs had given me 10,000*l.*; that when I see my Lord Tyrconnel next, I shall desire him to give me an account thereof, for such aspersions are not to be borne." "The truth is," said Mr. Nihill, "my Lord Tyrconnel's temper is very inconvenient: he is hot and passionate, and sometimes reports things which light people tell him, without enquiring or considering; and if he takes a pique at a man, though he may

pretend to be reconciled, he has a sly way, and will never leave till he has ruined him, if he can." "Faith! Mr. Nihill," says the Chancellor, "if that be the humour of my Lord Tyrconnel, it is an ill one, and I will hereafter be more upon my guard when I am with him. As for my being called home," continued he, "I would be very sorry it should be with the King's displeasure; but without that, I shall be always ready to be disposed of as his Majesty pleaseth." "Come," says Macarty, "I will bring my Lord Tyrconnel to you, and we will talk as we have done now; and, by G—, if he be not your friend, he shall not be mine; and therefore pray, my Lord, do not take notice of these reports." "No," says the Chancellor; "but when my Lord Tyrconnel comes to town, I must desire him to explain himself about the 10,000*l.* and I will beg you, Sir, to be by;" which was agreed upon. This dialogue I had from my Lord Chancellor this morning, but he desired me not to take notice of it as yet. Though I think it very necessary that you should know every thing, yet it may not be proper, if you please, to seem to know this, till things are a little riper, or till you find how matters work there, because I have been so particular both as to things and persons; but ere long, possibly it may be fit to show all. After the next conference, I fancy I shall be able to tell you much. Lord Tyrconnel is gone this day (Saturday) into the North to see my Lord Forbes's and Fairfax's regiments, and then he will have visited all the army. He will be back about the end of the next week; and he told me that very quickly after he will be going for England. He seems much out of humour, and says people make stories of him, and pretend he gives orders, which he does not give, though they are offered to be proved to him. Lord Roscommon, I find, sticks in his stomach. Some say he loses credit among his own people; but that I do not assert. I am assured, Lord Tyrconnel seems to wonder why Lord Granard is gone into England; and one would think he were frighted when he hears of any body's going over: he says "Sure my Lord Lieutenant sends such a one." I told a friend of his the other day, speaking of such things, that truly I had sent nobody over; but it was no new thing for a Lord Lieutenant to send over frequent messengers to the King; and if I did send one when his Lordship was in the way, he should know it, and he shall carry any commands of his, if he had a mind to employ him. I think I have pretty well tired you: I am sure I am weary myself; but these letters will be good entertainment for you at the waters. I pray God keep you, and my sister, and all yours; and grant the waters may do well with you both, for which I shall be much the better.

CLXXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Sends a copy of the Proclamation for staying Prosecutions.—Mr. Meredith's trial and acquittal at Trim, for words spoken.—Other acquittals at Drogheda.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, July 31, 1686.

I told your Lordship in my last, that the draught of the proclamation concerning words should be transmitted to your Lordship for the King's approbation; but the last Council day, the Board having approved of the draught, were of opinion that it would come too late to stop many of the proceedings, if it should be delayed till I could hear again out of England, in regard the Judges were all in their circuits. And upon consideration of your Lordship's letter, which directed me with the advice of the Council, to issue such a proclamation as shall be requisite in that behalf, I thought fit to approve of the said proclamation; and it was immediately sent down to the Judges. I here send your Lordship a copy of it.* It may not be amiss here to acquaint your Lordship, that at the assizes at Trim, which were about a

* BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL.

CLARENDON.

For the quieting of the minds of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, and freeing them from any fears or apprehensions of their being hereafter questioned from any treasonable, seditious, or other words whatsoever, that may have been spoken by any of them before his Majesty's access to the Crown; We, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, by his Majesty's special command and directions, do by this our Proclamation order and declare, that none of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom shall at any time hereafter be sued, vexed, or disquieted, either by indictment, information, or otherwise, in his Majesty's name, or at his suit, for, or by reason of, any treasonable, seditious, or other words whatsoever, spoken, or that may be pretended to have been spoken, by any of them, before the decease of his late Majesty of happy memory, and his now Majesty's access to the Crown. And that in case any indictments or informations are now depending for, or concerning any such words, that there be no further proceedings thereupon: Whereof all his Majesty's Judges, Justices of the Peace, and other his Officers or Ministers, are to take notice.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 28th day of July, 1686.

God save the King.

Porter, C.	Limerick	John Davys
Granard, P.	Gormanston	Paul Rycaut
Roscommon	J. Macartie	Rich. Hamilton
Longford	Char. Meredith	Nic. Purcell
Tyrconnel		

fortnight since, Mr. Meredith came to his trial; a case which perhaps may have reached your Lordship, for it made a great noise here. I know nothing of the gentleman, but upon the account of this affair; for I never saw him in my life. He was informed against about September last, for words spoken five years before, and was bound to appear at the next Lent assizes; which he did. But it was then alledged the King's Counsel were not ready, and that the witnesses could not be found: so the trial came on at these assizes; where the witnesses did so contradict and differ with one another, that Judge Daly gave it in strict charge to the jury, to consider well what they did, for the prosecution appeared to him to be malicious. He enlarged much upon the unconscionableness of indicting men upon words spoken so many years since, when the prosecutors could not pretend to prove that they set down the particular words at the time they were said to be spoken; and that the former lives and conversations of the parties accused ought to be considered, and that most of those now charged before him in court, could give good accounts of themselves (Mr. Meredith particularly), and were well known in the countries where they lived. Hereupon the jury, the major part of whom were Irish, acquitted him, and the rest. Mr. Justice Nugent made the same declarations at Drogheda, where several persons were tried for words upon bills found at Lent assizes: and they were all acquitted, except one man, who was found guilty of words spoken about a year and half since, and was fined by the court five pounds.

My Lord Tyrconnel was here on Wednesday at Council. We had some discourse together afterwards, but not much upon the former matter; he desiring we might advise with more persons together; which will be done at his return from the North, whither he goes this day, and will be back towards the end of the next week. He speaks of going into England quickly after his return. I have nothing further at this time to trouble your Lordship with, but to beg the continuance of your favour to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful and most humble Servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXXXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Chief Justice Keating, his opinion respecting Lord Tyrconnel, and on the measures to be pursued for tranquillizing the kingdom.—Proposal for issuing a proclamation for that purpose.—Court news. —Sir Patrick Trant arrived in Dublin.

Chapel Izod, August 3, 1686.

You had scarce had a letter from me at this time, if by some neglect or other (and I cannot imagine how it happened) the enclosed copy of my letter to my Lord President had not been forgot in my last: it is of no great importance, but I have resolved you should see it, and know every thing I write to him; which I think you have hitherto done. My Lord Chief Justice Keating came to town on Saturday. Not being very well, as he is often out of order, he left Mr. Baron Rice to keep the assizes alone at Wexford, and he will meet him again at Wicklow, which is the last place. He was with me yesterday. I told him when Lord Tyrconnel came back, which would be before the end of this week, we were to have a conference upon the great affair, which he had been acquainted with, and that he was to be present. His answer was, that Lord Tyrconnel was a strange man; that it was very happy if his fury did no harm; that for his part, he could not believe any one who really wished the settlement of this kingdom, could think it adviseable to call a Parliament, till something was first done to allay the jealousies and apprehensions people were under. But, he said, he saw plainly that some now in credit do design the undoing the English interest; which is the reason they are against a Commission; because then all will be loose when a Parliament meets, and the adjusting of bills, which will be pretended for healing, will be so tedious, that the kingdom will be half ruined in the mean time. He says, in his opinion something ought to be done, without the loss of a minute's time, if it were possible; for that it is undeniable the insolence of many of the natives of all qualities is very great, in most counties where he has been; and their discourses, (being now in authority,) that they will speedily be in possession of their lands, are enough to fright poor tenants, who think they shall lose their stocks when their landlords lose their estates. "In a word," said he, "if the King be resolved, as he seems to be by all that has come to my knowledge, to support the English interest, and the Acts of Settlement, for God's sake see if he will give you leave to issue such a proclamation as was done in the Earl of Essex's time; there being the like

occasion in some measure upon kindness showed to the natives, though not in so great a degree, as now. But," said he, " that proclamation quieted men's minds then, and I verily believe would do an infinite deal of good now." And truly I am of that opinion too, for every body has a mind to believe what the King says; and in my life I never knew people more inclined to duty and obedience than the generality here are; and they would fain be at work if they were not frighted. My Lord Chief Justice concluded with saying he would not fail to be at the meeting; and if people would hearken to reason, they should hear it. Certainly this approaching conference will lay the whole state of this kingdom, with reference to the present tempers, plainly before his Majesty; upon whose determination will depend the future prosperity of it. When I send my Lord President an account thereof, I will likewise send him one of the proclamations I mention: in the mean time I here send you one. If you can do any good therein, and send me a surprising letter to publish such another, it would be a wonderful reviving of an industrious, dejected people, and the greatest encouragement could be at this time given to the increase of the King's revenue; which, God knows, is in a declining state, as you will in a few days see by what I shall send you. Every packet from England brings some entertainment or other: the last, which was of the 27th past, says, (at least I have seen mention of it in two or three letters hither,) that my Lord Montague was extraordinarily well received by the King, and that the general opinion was, that he should be secretary of state in the place of Lord Middleton, though it is not said that that Lord is in disgrace, or that he is to be advanced to a higher station: if that should be, I will only say, miracles are not yet ceased. On Sunday Sir Patrick Trant arrived here in a Chester ship: yesterday Major-general Macarty brought him to me. He told me he left my Lord Treasurer well, &c. God keep you and all yours.

CLXXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Council adjourned till Michaelmas.—Death of Tory Hamilton.—Recommends his brother to succeed to his command.

Dublin Castle, August 4, 1686. Five in the afternoon.

I came this morning to town to Council, where we had little or no business, and but a very small appearance, almost every body being out of

town; so that I have adjourned the Council to Michaelmas, except any thing of consequence require it, and then I can call one. This very moment, by an express, I have an account brought me of the unfortunate death of honest Tory Hamilton, of which I have given an account of all I know to my Lord President, as you see by what I have written. You shall have the particulars of the fact as soon as I know them. This poor man's family is very numerous, and ever loyal; which is the reason I have ventured to recommend his brother, who really purchased the command for the Tory. What success I shall have, God knows: however, I have done my part. The news was sent me by a very worthy clergyman, who was then upon the place; but he tells no more than I have written. No man in those parts can be more lamented than this poor William Hamilton by all the honest British, for the good he had done in securing the peace of that whole province: for though I must not say it aloud, none of the natives, whatever they promise, will endeavour to take any of their countrymen, who are upon their keeping. God keep you and all yours.

CLXXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Captain W. Hamilton stabbed by Murtagh Magennis.—Regret that he was appointed Hamilton's Lieutenant by Lord Tyrconnel.—Recommendation of Mr. John Hamilton to succeed his brother.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, August 4, 1686.

I should not have given your Lordship the trouble of a letter at this time, were it not to acquaint you (which I beg you to inform the King of,) with a very unhappy accident, which is this minute brought me by an express. On Monday last, Captain William Hamilton, in Colonel Hamilton's regiment of Dragoons, was stabbed with a skean* by his own Lieutenant, Murtagh Magennis,† at Down, and died that night. I have yet no account of the particulars, only that the assizes were then sitting at Down; so that I cannot doubt but the Judges will see justice done; of which your Lordship shall be informed as soon as I can do it. In regard this Captain Hamilton was a very honest man, and of a loyal family, and that his elder brother purchased this command for him, I humbly beg pardon, if I presume to mention that

* An Irish short sword.

† This is a mistake. Captain Hamilton's Lieutenant's name was Daniel; see the postscript to a subsequent letter to Lord Sunderland, dated August 14.

his Majesty may be moved to bestow this troop of Dragoons upon the unfortunate Captain's said elder brother, whose name is Mr. John Hamilton, who is likewise a very good man. They are a numerous family, and very honest. I confess I was sorry when I found this Magennis was made Hamilton's Lieutenant; for it was not likely they could agree, there having been long and great feuds between them, and the man might have made a good officer to another Captain, which I told my Lord Tyrconnel: but he was of another opinion, saying the King had been informed of all those differences; that they might both be in the wrong in those matters, and putting them together was the way to reconcile them. My Lord Tyrconnel will not be returned from the North till to-morrow or Friday. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CLXXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Further particulars of the death of Captain Hamilton.—The Judges' letter.—Chief Justice Keating obliged to return to Wicklow Assizes.—Meeting with Lord Tyrconnel for the Conference therefore postponed.—His intention of going into England, &c.

Chapel Izod, August 7, 1686.

In my last I gave you the best account I then could of the unfortunate killing honest, and infinitely to be lamented, William Hamilton. I have since had a further account thereof from the Judges, who were then upon the place; a copy of whose letter I herewith send you, as likewise a letter which I had from Sir Thomas Fotherley, who was then at Down,* having asked me

* The copy of the Judges' letter is now, for the first time, here subjoined. I have not found Sir John Fotherley's letter among Lord Rochester's papers:—

JUDGE NUGENT AND JUDGE LYNDON TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT, CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRACAS IN WHICH CAPTAIN HAMILTON WAS STABBED.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Newtown, Aug. 4, 1686.

The former part of our circuit gave little of moment to communicate to your Excellency. At Down we meet with a full gaol, eight convicted and condemned for burglaries and robberies. In the evening, upon the close of our commission there, notice was brought us in court that Mr. Murtagh M'Gennis had killed Captain William Hamilton of the Dragoons. When we came from Court, we found a great concourse of people, and feared some disorders might happen; but we went in person and dispersed them. The manner of this unfortunate gentleman's death was (as by the best infor-

leave to take a ramble into the North. When the Dean of Down, who is a very worthy and discreet man, sends up the examinations, you shall have an account thereof.

On Thursday last my Lord Tyrconnel returned out of the North to his own house, about eight miles from hence. Yesterday morning I wrote to him to put him in mind of the meeting he had promised, and to let him know that the Lord Chief Justice Keating was in town; and that it would be best to meet, before he went to Wicklow. His Lordship was pleased to answer my letter, and to tell me that he could not come to town yesterday; but that he would not fail to be at the Castle to-day at ten in the morning. At the hour appointed I was there; my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Solicitor with me. The first thing I met with upon my arrival from Chapel Izod was a letter from my Lord Chief Justice Keating, that he had last night received a letter (after he had been with me) from Baron Rice, who was taken very ill with the gout at Wexford; and therefore his Lordship was obliged to go this morning to Wicklow, or else the commission would fall; for I had resolved yesterday that he should not go to Wicklow at all. Well, we three continued together till near one of the clock, and no Lord Tyrconnel came. At length, as we were all taking coach to come hither to dinner, in came his Lordship, made twenty excuses for coming so late, that one of his horses had lost a shoe by the way, which kept him two hours before he could get it mended, &c. Well, I asked him where Mr. Nangle was? whether I should send for him? The Major-general was here. His Lordship answered, "Faith! my Lord, it is

mation we could have) thus: Captain Hamilton, upon his traverse for the words he was accused of, was acquitted in the morning; in the evening he, together with one Mr. George Maxwell, came to the house and lodging where Mr. M'Gennis was, with four more in his company, and taxing Mr. M'Gennis that he had reflected upon him and abused him to one Mr. Smith; when M'Gennis denying it, and Hamilton desiring M'Gennis to give it under his hand, which he refused, Hamilton struck him with his cane, on which M'Gennis drew his sword, (those in the company held Hamilton,) and so he received the wound, whereof he died in two or three hours; Hamilton's sword not drawn. Mr. Maxwell was slightly wounded, and an attorney, who was in company with M'Gennis, wounded in the belly (as said) by Murtagh M'Gennis. The Coroner's Inquest sat upon the body last night, and as we hear, have found it murder. We have ordered the examinations to be taken by the Dean of Down, and to be returned to us at Carrickfergus, whereof we will bring your Excellency a true copy. We have left M'Gennis in gaol, without bail or mainprize. We hope to despatch this whole circuit by this day se'nnight, and make all haste to pay our duty to your Eccellency, as becometh

Your Excellency's &c.

J. Nugent. J. Lyndon.

very late: we cannot talk much now. Mr. Nangle, I believe, is not so ready as he will be a few days hence; and besides, I would not be without my Lord Chief Justice Keating; who is both an honest and a wise man, and understands this country as well as any body." He then fell to discourse of his going presently into England. I desired him to appoint a day when he would certainly meet, and when Mr. Nangle would be ready. He then agreed it should be on Friday next, by which time my Lord Chief Justice Keating would be returned. I said, "I hoped he would not go for England before that day." He replied "No; but that he should be going quickly after." And so that day stands for the meeting. He has not thought fit yet to tell me the day he intends to leave us; but all his friends in the town say it will be on Wednesday come se'nnight. On Friday we do resolve to push them to some resolution; and it shall appear to the King where the delay is; and a representation shall be made, whereby his Majesty may know the truth of every thing here; and then he will best know what remedy to apply. Some encouragement must speedily be given, or else the King will lose a great deal of the profit of this (as it hath been) flourishing country; and will be deprived of many more of the laborious people than are yet gone.

I have sent you to the Treasury a state of the last quarter's accompt, with my observations thereupon; which, I am sure, are true. I shall very quickly send you an account of the exportations; and then you will see every thing as clear as if you were upon the place. God keep you and all yours.

CLXXXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Report of the state of the Revenue for the last quarter.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, Dublin Castle, Aug. 7, 1686.

I send your Lordship enclosed a view of the produce of his Majesty's Revenue here, for the quarter ending the 24th of June, 1686, compared with the like quarter of the last year; and lest it should be too troublesome for his Majesty's perusal, I have sent an abstract thereof, which shows the whole in gross, as the other shows how the Revenue ariseth in every district. Your Lordship will be pleased to observe that the Customs are 4422*l.* 15*s.* $6\frac{5}{8}$*d.* more than they were in the same quarter of the last year, which makes the income of the whole Revenue 2152*l.* 6*s.* $8\frac{5}{8}$*d.* more than it was this time twelve-

month; but you will observe likewise, that every one of the other branches are decreased, so much as amounts in the whole to 2270*l.* 8*s.* 10$\frac{1}{8}$*d.*, which is a great deal for one quarter. I pray cast your eye upon the accompt of Lady-day quarter, whereby you will find a decrease of 1036*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, and all upon the inland revenue; which I confess I cannot but be concerned for, that revenue having always encreased till this present year. I have taken all the pains I can to enquire into the reasons of the decay, and do herewith transmit you extracts out of several letters from the collectors to the Commissioners of the revenue. How ridiculous soever some of the reasons there mentioned may seem, I do assure you they are not altogether idle. But to be plain, the true reason is the dissatisfaction and uneasiness which is generally upon people's minds, as I have mentioned more largely in several of my letters to my Lord President. In a word, all society and commerce amongst men is at an end; and is not likely to be revived, till they are convinced by time that they have no reason to be afraid of the natives now in command, many of whom, by their carriage and discourses, do give them too much cause to apprehend the worst they can be afraid of. It may not be amiss here to make some few observations upon the Customs. Possibly your Lordship may believe that branch of the revenue to be encreasing, because the last Midsummer quarter is so much more than the like quarter of the last year: but I desire you to look upon another little paper herewith sent; where you will find the last three Midsummer quarters compared, and though this last quarter be so much more than the like quarter of 1685, yet you may observe it is not so much as the like quarter in the year 1684, by 7089*l.* 11*s.* 5$\frac{8}{}$*d.* In the year 1684, all things were quiet; the exportations of the preceding year had been great, which occasioned the importations then to be so high. Between Lady-day and Midsummer 1685, had been the rebellion in England, by which means (for I know not to what else to impute it) the Revenue of the Customs and Prisage in that quarter fell 11,506*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* less than the like quarter in the preceding year, as you will find by the little paper. And I doubt the encrease of this last quarter of the Customs and Prisage, more than those branches made in the like quarter Anno 1685, is to be imputed to merchants drawing home their effects; which though it has at present swelled the produce of the Customs, yet the ill consequence thereof will be quickly felt, for those traders who have got home their effects, have withdrawn themselves and their stocks out of the kingdom, which is undeniable matter of fact. I can name several who paid the King many thousands a-year to his duty, who

are absolutely gone, and left no factors to carry on their trade; by which means several thousands of natives, who were employed in spinning and carding of wool, are discharged and have no work. There are likewise multitudes of farmers and renters gone into England; who though they were not men of estates, yet the improvements of the country, and the inland trade was chiefly carried on by them. From these reasons, I am very much afraid there will be a greater decrease in this present quarter, except something be presently done towards the reviving and supporting men's spirits. I am sure I shall be very glad to be deceived; and I will use all the art and labour I can to prove myself to be in the wrong in my conceptions.

I am,

My very good Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

CLXXXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Enclosing the Judges' account of Captain Hamilton's death.—Conference with Lord Tyrconnel deferred.—Sir Arthur Gore's petition.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, August 7, 1686.

In my last, I gave your Lordship an account of the unfortunate death of Captain William Hamilton; since which I have had a short account thereof from the Judges, as much as they could then tell me. I send your Lordship herewith a copy of their letter to me; as soon as I receive the examinations they mention, they shall be likewise sent to your Lordship. My Lord Tyrconnel returned yesterday out of the North, and this day he came to town; but we could not have our intended conference, by reason my Lord Chief Justice Keating was forced to go this morning to the assizes at Wicklow, or else the commission must have fallen, Mr. Baron Rice being fallen so very ill of the gout at Wexford, that he could not stir from thence, so that our meeting is put off till Friday, when both these Judges, if well, will be in town.

Sir Arthur Gore, a gentleman of very good estate here, hath lately given me a petition, wherein he desires to have a grant from the King to create his said lands into a manor. I referred it to Mr. Solicitor General, whose report, together with the petition, I take the liberty to transmit to your Lordship, as

likewise the draught of a letter for the King to write to me, in case his Majesty shall think fit to gratify the petitioner, which I am told is usual to tender in these cases. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON.

CLXXXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Allowance of Stipends to the Roman Catholic Bishops.—How little they can bear prosperity.—Turlogh Magwire, the Primate's brother, now named for a Cornetcy, was but lately a Groom.—Cornelius, the younger brother, whom the Primate wishes to substitute, a poor creature, and cannot ride.—The Lord Chancellor and Solicitor have dined with Lord Tyrconnel, with whom the Conference is to be held to-morrow.—It appears plainly that he means to bring all into confusion.—Proposal for building a Palace for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; expense estimated at 5000*l.* *or* 6000*l.*

Chapel Izod, August 12, 1686.

I have received yours of the 3d instant, and am very glad Tunbridge agrees so well with you, and that you are so near finishing that course; for by the time this comes to you, I suppose you will be settled in your old quarters. I do extremely rejoice at what you tell me, that my sister is much the better for the waters: I pray God confirm her health. And now I might end here, and so you would have had a very short letter, but that what I have written to my Lord President (of which you have here the copy) does give me occasion to say something to you. Though it be a money matter, I think it is for those for whom you do not much care to solicit; and as they depend all upon my Lord President, so I am very willing they should see where the fault lies, that they have not what they expect, and that it does not lie at my door. It is really very hard to tell men that orders are sent me when there are none; and I think I could not say less than I have done to his Lordship upon that subject. The Roman Catholic Primate says, he was assured by my Lord President, that Lord Tyrconnel should bring effectual orders for their allowances; and yesterday he told me it had been better they had never been put in hopes of any thing. He said, Lord Tyrconnel had his head full of he knew not what, and never thought of them. Though he seemed to believe what I told him, that I had not any orders concerning him, yet he said it was strange his correspondent should write as he did from the Secretary's Office; and so he seemed to have as much dis-

trust, as his good manners would give him leave. In a word, you cannot imagine how little these men can bear prosperity: whatever the King thinks fit out of bounty to allow them, they think to be their due, as well as their merit; and if all forms of business are not leaped over for their sakes, and if things are not despatched sooner than is possible, they think themselves injured. This Turlogh Magwire, in the enclosed mentioned, is a sad soul, and was actually a groom, and looked to a gentleman's horse since I came into the country, and therefore may well not be thought fit to be a cornet: the truth is, it was laughed at by all his countrymen. The other, Cornelius, is a poor creature too, and will be as much laughed at when he is in the troop, and has learned to ride: but I find the prelate intends to keep him a good while from his colours; and the pay shall perhaps keep him, and Turlogh too. To-morrow will be our great conference, of which the next post will give you an account. Yesterday my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Solicitor dined with Lord Tyrconnel at Cartown, alias Talbot, its new name; where they had some discourse upon the main point. But my Lord Chancellor tells me, it is plain they intend to bring all to confusion, and to have nothing settled; which I suppose will not be the King's intention. They would have the King give no further assurances of preserving the Acts of Settlement, till a Parliament is called; and there arise so many difficulties in the matters that must be thought of preparatory to a Parliament, that no two of them can agree upon any thing, much less when a Parliament should be called; so that I imagine, if the learned of the gown of their side have not the luck to hit upon something to amuse the rest, and plausibly to desire longer time for solid deliberation, and weighing and examining all particulars, I shall give you good entertainment in my next.

The King's charge upon his revenue is so very great at present, (of which I will write particularly to you the next week,) that I know not how to move the laying out any money; but really the Chief Governor does extremely want a habitation. I do not think it necessary he should have a royal palace, fit to hold the King, Queen, and the whole Court: but a good house he ought to have, and the country deserves it. Such a one, fit for him to be decently accommodated in, I am sure might be built for 5000*l.* or 6000*l.*; and it should be a better house than any is now in London. If you please, I will send you over such a model, and an estimate. If that were once done, more might be added to it hereafter, whenever the King pleased; and in the mean time there would be no need: but in good earnest, as it is

now, I have no necessary convenient room. In a word, no gentleman in the Pall-Mall is so ill lodged in all respects. I hope I am not immodest in what I propose, especially considering that I have put the King to no expense since my being here, which every body cannot say. I might add, that the keeping up, that is, the keeping dry this pitiful bit of a Castle, costs an incredible deal, of which you shall have a particular account laid before you. God knows whether I am designed to be long-lived enough here to do any thing of this work; that pleaseth God, and the King. I will think no more of it till you direct me. God keep you and all yours.

CLXXXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Promised stipends of the Roman Catholic Bishops.—Requests instructions on that head.—Turlogh and Cornelius Magwire, brothers of the Primate, a Cornetcy to be bestowed on one of them.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, August 12, 1686.

In your Lordship's of the 13th of the last month, (and I have since had none from you) you were pleased to tell me that I should speedily have directions concerning the Roman Catholic Primate. He came to me the same day I received that letter from your Lordship, and told me he had an account from England, that orders were sent me for his supply. I assured him I had none, and showed him that clause in your Lordship's letter; at which he seemed much to wonder. He hath been with me twice or thrice since: I could but assure him that I had received no orders as yet concerning him; and that as soon as I had, he should have an account thereof. Yesterday he was with me again, and showed me a letter from his correspondent at London, dated the 3d instant, wherein he writes to this effect; that he had been at my Lord President's; that Mr. Bridgeman told him he could not then speak with my Lord, he being very private, but that he need not trouble himself, for full orders were sent to me concerning the Roman Catholic Primate. When he showed me this, I could but assure him that I knew nothing of his affair, and that I never had a word concerning him, but what he saw from your Lordship in yours of the 13th past. My Lord, I do never solicit the King in disposing of his money; but when any, such as these Roman Catholic Bishops, tell me the King has promised them support, and beg

me to write about it, which I promise them to do, I am sure they shall have no cause to think I do not deal candidly and sincerely with them. This good man is willing to believe me; and yet he knows not well how to look, when I truly deny what his agent so positively writes from your Lordship's office. I do therefore humbly beg your Lordship, that you will give directions that people may not be told I have orders concerning them, till such orders are really sent away.

There is another particular I am to acquaint your Lordship with. In the list of new officers, Turlogh Magwire is made cornet in Captain William Hamilton's troop of dragoons: he is brother to the Roman Catholic Primate, who tells me he is not fit for that employment; which is not to be doubted, if what I hear from other hands be true. But he tells me, he has another brother, whose name is Cornelius; upon whom, he hopes, the King will bestow that command. If his Majesty shall so vouchsafe, I may, upon his pleasure signified by your Lordship, alter the name in the commission. The Roman Catholic Primate tells me further, his brother Cornelius is young; he has brought him to town from school, and desires he may keep him sometime at Dublin to learn him to ride; all which I thought fit to impart to your Lordship, and am ready to follow such orders as you shall give me therein. I am with great respect, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXC.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Petition of Mr. Hill, appointed Consul by the United Provinces.—Advantages to be derived from this appointment.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Aug. 12, 1686.

I have lately received from your Lordship his Majesty's reference upon the petition of Mr. Hill; who is appointed by the States-General of the United Provinces to be Consul, and to reside in this Kingdom for the affairs of the merchants who trade hither from those parts. I thought fit to advise thereupon with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council here; who were unanimously of opinion, that it might be a great encouragement to the trade of this Kingdom to have such a Consul live here. I have likewise advised with the most considerable merchants of both nations, I mean English and

Irish, trading into those parts; and they all agree that a Consul from the States-General residing here, as is proposed, may be of good advantage to the trade of this kingdom, and consequently to the King's revenue, both which have need, at this time, of all possible support.

It would be unnecessary to entertain your Lordship with any thing relating to the affairs of this place, for fear of diverting you from your more weighty employments; and not doubting but your Lordship knows as much of them as you have a mind to, from what I write to my Lord President. I am very glad to lay hold of this, and of all opportunities to express my respects to your Lordship, and to assure you, that I am with all possible esteem, My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXCI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Lays before him his thoughts on the present condition of Ireland; the causes of the discontents; and the most probable means of tranquillizing the fears of the English settlers and Protestants.—Recommends a renewal of the Proclamation which was issued in the late King's time.

SIR, August 14, 1686.

My Lord President will give your Majesty an account of the consultation I had yesterday with my Lord Chancellor, Lord Tyrconnel, and others, your Majesty's officers and servants here: I humbly beseech your Majesty to be pleased to call for it. Though I am told, Sir, by some, that I ought not to make those representations I do to your Majesty; yet, till I am forbid by your command, I should think myself inexcusable, if I did not lay before you my thoughts of the present condition of this kingdom, abstracted from all interest or designs but your service; and I flatter myself, your Majesty thinks me uncapable of any other. I am unwilling, Sir, to give a rash judgment or censure upon any men; but I doubt there are some who have no mind to make much haste to settle this poor country; or rather, who will ravel so far into the present settlements, under which your people have flourished for twenty years past, as will confirm men in the opinions they have had, (though without ground hitherto) that they should lose the estates they have been so long possessed of: all which apprehensions were easily to be pacified by telling them, that they are safe in their possessions by laws which cannot be altered but by their own consents; and that your Majesty will not

suffer those laws to be infringed. As this will at all times satisfy reasonable men, so a little time would convince the more ordinary (though more numerous) sort; who are not of a capacity to examine into the grounds of their fears, which are raised by the discourses and threatenings of wiser, and in appearance better men than themselves. Not to trouble your Majesty with longer discourses than are necessary, I will only give you some heads of the causes, upon which the English ground their apprehensions. In the first place they are alarmed at the great alterations made in the army: for, though it be positively averred by some of the great officers, that, when all the changes are made, there will not be above a seventh part natives, it is notoriously known, that there are already 2000 Irish, (which is a fourth part) besides those who have been received since the last June muster; which in all probability will make above that number more. That which adds to their fright is the report, which comes from considerable officers, that there will be another purge of the army after Michaelmas, and that by Christmas-day there shall not be an Englishman left in it. When men are reasoned out of these fancies, which it is not hard to do by telling them, that by the times mentioned they will find the falsehood of those suggestions, and that your Majesty will be served equally and indifferently by all your subjects; the answer is, "Why should we not believe what the officers say themselves? especially when we see whole companies disbanded, and the men plainly told, if they would keep any of their religion, they would not discharge them. When we see," say they, "all our countrymen disarmed, and that the arms and the power are in the hands of the Irish, how can we forget the barbarous murders committed on us by their fathers? And when we are told plainly that we have no right to our estates, what violence may we not expect from those who have now power to take what they think their own, and which they have been so long injuriously kept out of?" The other causes given for their fears, are the Irish maintaining that there was no rebellion in 1641; which may occasion warm debates: that all grants made by the late King, not in pursuance of the Acts of Settlement, and all provisoes in the acts whereby estates are granted to any persons, not directly according to the King's declaration, (which was the ground of the settlement) were a surprize upon his Majesty, and are void; which will leave all, who have purchased under those grants or provisoes, to the wide world. The old proprietors have in several places forbid the tenants paying their rents to their present landlords; which, though perhaps the landlord (when he hears it) is wiser than to be much startled at, yet it makes the

tenant raise what money he can; for, when he finds his landlord's title questioned, he thinks the best thing he can do for himself is to secure his own stock, and put what money he can make into his pocket: and thus many of that sort of men are withdrawn, who were the great improvers of the country.

The Roman Catholic clergy in several places have forbid the people paying their tithes to the Protestant ministers; of which I have had several complaints upon oath sent to me out of the countries; which I have hitherto suppressed, and only acquainted some of the Roman Catholic bishops therewith, who do not approve of any such proceedings, and have promised me to reprove those priests who do things for which they have no orders. I do not tell your Majesty these things as fears and apprehensions of my own, for I cannot have them. And, by what your Majesty has been pleased to write to me, as well as by what you said to me before I left England, I know there is not the least ground for any of these apprehensions; and I know it is my duty to decry and discredit them; which I am sure I do, and ever will do to the utmost: but I think it my duty likewise to acquaint your Majesty with them, that you may be truly informed of the ground of your people's fears; whereby you will best judge whether they are worthy your taking notice of, and what remedies to direct to be applied.* It may not be amiss here to let your Majesty know, that once in the King your brother's time, upon a representation made to him from hence, that people were afraid the Acts of Settlement would be shaken, because of some liberty his Majesty had granted to Roman Catholic natives to live and purchase in corporation towns, which was said to be an infringement of those acts, his Majesty was pleased by his letter to order his Lieutenant here to issue out a proclamation to quiet the minds of his subjects in that particular; a copy whereof I have sent to my Lord President, and am humbly of opinion it would have a great effect towards composing the minds of men at this time; which is entirely submitted to your Majesty's judgment. I can with assurance say, what I have often declared of your Majesty's gracious resolutions to preserve the Acts of Settlement, did satisfy all people, even the Catholics, who had a mind to thrive,

* This appeal to the King's former professions, so entirely at issue with his present conduct, could not be very palatable to him; indeed, the whole letter, notwithstanding Lord Clarendon's declaration of his entire devotion to his will, has too much the air of a remonstrance, not to give offence to such a mind as that of James. He seems himself to have been aware of this, for in a subsequent letter to his brother he says, "You will think I have written very plainly to the King."

and to have their country settled, as well as the others, till some men, who are in places of trust, by their actions and words, were thought to know more of your Majesty's mind than I do. I do most humbly implore your Majesty's leave to beg of you that, whilst you do me the honour to repose any trust in me, you would vouchsafe to let me know your pleasure. Sir, I can say I never hesitated at any of your commands: and can give an effectual account of all I have received from you since my being here. I have never offered your Majesty my thoughts in what I have presumed in my letters to say to you, but it has been with perfect submission to your royal judgment, without so much as mentioning them to any one else; and what representations or informations I have laid before you of matters of fact, have been with the exactest truth, without partiality, or upon hearsays. If your Majesty shall please to condescend to let me know what you would have done in any thing; what proportion of natives you will have in your army here; if all, and no English; when I know your pleasure, Sir, my business shall be to execute your commands to the satisfaction of your people: which I am sure you will be better pleased with, than that they should be frighted with the apprehensions of things which your Majesty does not intend to have done. It is a great opinion, Sir, among some men, (who may be better informed if they please) and they take the liberty to say that your Majesty believes it, that the gross of the English in this kingdom are fanatics of Cromwell's brood, and the offspring of those who served in the rebellion against your sacred father; which, I will presume to say, is a very great mistake. As little as I may be thought to understand Ireland, I will undertake to make it appear, whenever your Majesty shall command me, that there are very few of the original soldiers and adventurers now left, or of their descendants; of the latter, not twenty families, and no great number of the former. But the generality of those two great interests sold their lots; many of them to honest men, who upon the King's restoration brought with them out of England to lay out here that little which remained of their fortunes, after their families were ruined for their loyalty; and many of them to a new sort of people, who are always to be found when fortunes are to be made, and who never had any thing to do in the rebellions. Of these men, and of those called the 49 interest, who were by all accounted loyal, and of old English planters in Queen Elizabeth's time, and since before 1640, does the bulk of the English interest and inhabitants consist: these men carry on six parts of seven of the trade of this kingdom. And I must be very injurious

to them, and not inform your Majesty truly of the state of things here, if I do not tell you that, generally speaking, they are of the Church of England by constant practice, and not by a late going to church only; and I must further say, that in my life I never met with people fuller of duty to your Majesty, nor more desirous of opportunities to manifest their loyalty. I have said nothing of the Scotch, because I am not yet so well informed of them as I will speedily be. I most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this long letter, which is only for your information; and I beseech you to believe, when I know your pleasure, your commands shall nowhere meet with a more punctual observance, than from, Sir, your Majesty's &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXCII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Account of the Conference with Lord Tyrconnel, and its unsatisfactory results.—The apparent intention of some men is not to settle, but to disturb the Nation.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, August 14, 1686.

Yesterday we had our consultation: there were present my Lord Chancellor, Lord Tyrconnel, Major-general Macarty, Lord Chief Justice Keating, Mr. Baron Rice, Mr. Solicitor-General, Colonel Richard Hamilton, and Mr. Nangle. Though we were three hours together, I cannot undertake to give your Lordship an account of the result; for in truth, we came to none. My Lord Tyrconnel had promised three weeks since, that Mr. Nangle should bring his notions in writing; which I should have been very glad of, that we might have had some particulars to have debated upon; but none appeared, Mr. Nangle saying, he had drawn up nothing, and that many things were to be considered of before matters could be put into writing; but he and Mr. Baron Rice were both of opinion that a Commission would do nothing, and bring in a very small sum of money, if any; but would confirm those estates which ought not to be confirmed. Lord Tyrconnel and the Major-general closed with that opinion with much vehemence; the first wondering, with expressions which had better been forborne, that such a thing should be mentioned to the King. Some men would have nothing told but by themselves: whereas I wish the King knew every thing that is true; and then I am sure he knows best what to direct, which will be always obeyed by me; nor shall I be one jot concerned, if another man's opinion or information be taken as

well as mine, provided it be examined which is truth, or who is in the right; for all men may mistake, and I am sure we ought all to intend the same thing, the serving the King and settling this poor country. My Lord Chief Justice Keating said, he was of opinion, as circumstances were when he gave me the paper which I transmitted to the King, that a Commission would raise a very considerable sum of money; and if that paper were considered, it would appear he likewise proposed a Parliament to confirm the proceedings of that Commission, who would give the King a further considerable supply. I need mention no more of that paper, because your Lordship has it by you: but my Lord Chief Justice said, though he thought he had made it clear in his said paper, that it would be the interest of almost every man to come in, and take out a confirmation under the Commission, which most of the Roman Catholics had as much need of as others; yet he was now against a Commission, because he saw those honourable persons present would use their endeavours to dissuade people from coming in. It was then moved to know what consideration should be had of those persons who had purchased any of those estates which, Mr. Baron Rice said, ought not to be confirmed: it was answered, the particular circumstances of such cases must be considered. It was then asked, whether it could be imagined, that a Commission would raise near such a sum as would satisfy those, for whom the King was bound in honour and conscience to provide? The answer was, that nobody could make a certain computation of what would arise from a Commission, if it should be thought fit to proceed that way; nor could any body guess what sum would satisfy, except the number and qualifications of the persons were known, who were to be provided for. Lord Tyrconnel said, very few of the persons mentioned in the Acts were yet taken care of: Lord Chief Justice Keating replied, that he had offered him several times to make it appear to him, that there were very few of those persons unprovided for. In a word, as I told your Lordship at the first, we came to no resolution; Mr. Baron Rice, and Mr. Nangle, and those of their opinions, declaring that they thought nothing ought to be done, but by Parliament. But for the time of calling a Parliament very little was said; and I believe, men will be very much divided about that; and with humble submission, that matter cannot be too well considered, before it be resolved. If I may be allowed to make any judgment upon this whole consultation, and from the discourses I have had at other times with some of these persons, I must needs say, that I do not think they design to have the present settlements confirmed, but, on the

contrary, quite shaken; that is, that all provisoes in the Acts of Settlement and explanation, whereby estates are settled upon any persons not directly pursuant to the King's declaration, (which was the ground of those acts) shall be liable to a new inquisition: that all lands by the Acts of Settlement were vested in the late King as a royal trustee; and that therefore, all subsequent grants made by his Majesty, not in pursuance of the Acts, must be made void; though there are good opinions, that the King might make those grants by law, and that men have purchased and made settlements under them. Your Lordship will easily perceive from hence, how loose some men would have things here, which, if permitted, must put a stop to the improvements of the country, and consequently to the growing trade of it. What designs some men have by ravelling into all again, is not hard to divine: for my part, I can have no end nor interest (nor am like ever to have any in this country,) but to inform his Majesty of the whole truth, as far as I know, that he may be the better able to examine into all, and then to obey what commands he sends me, which I humbly beseech your Lordship to lay before the King, and to believe, that I am with all possible respect,

My Lord, &c.

In mine of the 4th instant, wherein I gave your Lordship an account of the killing Captain Hamilton, I told you it was by Murtagh Magennis, his own Lieutenant, which was a mistake, for his Lieutenant's name is Daniel, which I ought to set right.

CXCIII.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Upon the result of the Conference, which has convinced him, that from the opposition made to a Commission of Grace, by Lord Tyrconnel and others, it would now be unproductive of good without a Parliament to confirm it.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, August 14, 1686.

Though yesterday's debate produced nothing material, yet I presume your Excellency will give the Lord Treasurer, and other the ministers there, some account of it (as I believe the Earl of Tyrconnel will) by this night's post. And therefore, to prevent all mistakes, and one particularly which may be of ill consequence, viz. That all who were present at the meeting, were of opinion that a Commission of Grace would not produce a sum suffi-

cient to answer the ends for which it was designed, which no man ever thought it would, without the assistance of a Parliament, I crave leave to mind your Excellency of what I humbly offered to you, and the consideration of those persons of honour who attended your Excellency at this consultation.

In the first place I then did, and do now declare, that under the circumstances we were at the time when I gave your Excellency that paper, I was fully persuaded that a very great sum of money would be raised upon that Commission, which I think is manifest from the reasons therein given, to which many more, and very pregnant, may be added.

But when I saw yesterday how much the Earl of Tyrconnel, Major-general Macarty, Mr. Baron Rice, and Mr. Nangle were bent against it, which I conclude is (or at furthest after advice will be) the sense of all the old proprietors, I did then, as your Excellency may remember, declare my sense against a Commission only; and must beg of your Excellency to do me that justice, as when you mention my opinion of this matter, your Excellency will be pleased likewise to take notice of the reason I gave therefore: which was singly this, that the Earl of Tyrconnel and those gentlemen declaring so positively and with that vehemence against it, must of necessity render the product of it from the ancient proprietors little or nothing; since it may be rationally concluded, that if such a Commission should issue contrary to their sense, few or none of the Roman Catholic proprietors will come in upon it. I shall trouble your Excellency no further, though I have a volume in my thoughts; but will presume to affirm, that in case we differ concerning words, as in truth we did much of the time yesterday, this great and general good will not be effected, and I am resolved never to quarrel with any concerning the manner of doing, so the thing may be effected. If therefore, a method for doing this great work be offered by any whatsoever, I thank God I never was, and I am sure never shall be so fond of any proposal, or reason of my own, as to insist on either to the loss of time, or endangering, or delaying of his Majesty's service; which I shall always prefer before any other consideration. I am,

May it please your Excellency,

Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient Servant,

JOHN KEATING, L. C. J.

Thus countersigned by Lord Clarendon.

" This is a true Copy.

CLARENDON."

CXCIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Refers to Lord Sunderland's letter for an account of the Conference.—Is desirous the King should know the truth on all sides, which will never be known from Lord Tyrconnel's representation.—His inconsistency and passionate conduct.—Lord Chief Justice Keating's opinion.—Has written plainly to the King, desiring to know what he would have done; for Lord Tyrconnel's conduct embarrasses him very much.—That Lord has ordered a vessel to convey him to England without delay.—His intentions in going to the Court.—Mr. Nangle goes with him.

Chapel Izod, Aug. 14, 1686.

Yesterday we had our great consultation, upon which we came to no resolution. It would be tedious to go about to tell you all the interlocutory discourses, who said this, and who replied so; which possibly I might mistake in, writing upon my memory; but I have given an account of the substance of it to my Lord President, to which I refer you. And in that, I am sure I am not mistaken; nor in the opinion I have given of what, I believe, some men intend; which they do plainly own in their discourses, as if they were sure of settling every thing as they have a mind to: and for aught I know they may prevail. All I contend for (and I am confident it is honest so to do) is, that the King may know the truth of all sides; and then his pleasure must determine all our world. As it is not likely that any man can know the truth, where many parties are concerned, without hearing them all; so I doubt not but his Majesty will do in what concerns his subjects of this country, where there are so many different interests and parties; who must be all regarded in some measure or other, if the King will have them live, and be useful to him here. But I do assure you, truth, even in bare matter of fact, will never be known from my Lord Tyrconnel; which you may think I say in anger, but seriously I do not. It is impossible you can believe, except you found it, as we do here, how wonderfully false he is in almost every thing he says. What he desires to be done one day, or avers he has done, he will as positively deny another, though witnesses can prove him in the wrong; nay, though sometimes his own hand is shown against him: really his passion, and his rage, (we know not for what,) makes him forget what he says and does; and when he is convinced that he is in the wrong, he is then in such a fury, that the like is not usual. Yesterday, at the consultation, he wondered that I should move for such a Commission, and that my Lord Chan-

cellor and Lord Chief Justice Keating should give their opinions in it; and this in a more magisterial way than you can imagine. He was answered without passion, (besides being told the true history of the matter,) that certainly a Lord Lieutenant might propose what he thought fit to the King; which his Majesty might quash, or order to be further considered of, as he pleased; but surely his Lieutenant was not to be reproved by any but the King himself, or by his command; and he found his temper was not approved of. This morning I had a letter from my Lord Chief Justice Keating, which I think so material that I send you a copy of it:* I should think you may do well to produce it. What he means by declaring his sense against a Commission only is, that he would have a Parliament follow to confirm their proceedings. Indeed, I could wish his paper were read and considered; for I have some reason to imagine, that it may not have been read to the King, or even by my Lord President; which, if true, is a little hard. A great friend of Lord Tyrconnel's told a friend of mine the other day over a bottle, that the business which angered my Lord Tyrconnel so much was, that he was not in the government; that he would never leave, till he got me out; not doubting but he should then be the man. I never knew I stood so much in any man's way before: it is very probable, if his invention is believed, (and he thinks he ought to be believed in all he says, without enquiry,) he may get the better of me. I was never given to contention; but I know the King is just, and I will ever submit with cheerfulness to what he determines concerning me. If I should be continued, or if I should be recalled, and this great Lord not succeed me, he will be mad.

You will think perhaps by the enclosed copy, that I have written very plainly to the King: in good earnest, I think it high time to do so; and then I cannot be blamed hereafter for not informing truly, when most of the trading men are gone. I confess, I push to know what his Majesty would have done; which, I should be very glad, he would tell me; then I should know what to think of: but really to be told that Lord Tyrconnel has no orders to do any thing but what I give him, (and I give him all I am directed to give him,) and for him to give directions which I do not know of, as if he had some secret instructions from the King, and which yet he will not own, makes me make a strange figure: and perhaps I shall be the worse thought of hereafter for bearing what I should not, nor would, but that I have no

* This letter stands in its chronological order, preceding this.

mind to do any thing which may in any manner displease the King. And that consideration alone has, I am confident, kept him from being affronted; and in time men will be weary of being abused by him. God keep you and yours.

August the 16th.

Finding the packet not yet gone off, I think it fit to tell you, that Lord Tyrconnel has ordered a vessel to be ready for him at an hour's warning; and he intends to be gone this week. I am now assured, Mr. Nangle goes with him; which I have reason to believe from what I have by a sure hand, that it is to make projects for bills; and, by the discourses he and his friends make here, they are such as will turn this kingdom topsy-turvy. I hope you will take care he may give in his papers in writing; and that they may be sent over to me: an answer, or concurrence, shall be quickly returned. But, if that will not do, pray let Mr. Keightley have them: he shall be enabled to answer them. I hope all the world may see that I have no design but to have the country settled for the King's service and honour: whereas those, who would have alterations, have designs to enrich themselves, and their friends, as I shall quickly make appear by undeniable proof. God keep you and all yours.

CXCV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Captain Grahame, who has been scurvily used by Lord Tyrconnel.

Dublin Castle, Aug. 17, 1686.

Captain Grahame will not be satisfied without a line to you: he has been very scurvily used by the Lieutenant-general. I dare say the King himself would not have used a gentleman so at the head of his troop; but some men love to swagger and abuse men, when they cannot be called to account for it. I thought fit to give him leave to go for England, to try what interest he can make by his friends. That which he is most grieved in, is about the precedency of his troop; and certainly by the rule which the King has made in England, he ought to have had it; for Grahame has several commissions to be a Captain, and has actually served as such; and his and Anderson's commissions for the troops they now enjoy, bearing the same date, and Anderson never having served as such till now, Grahame should have the precedency. But I must confess, he has hurt himself by submitting to throw dice for it; and so

I have not yet thought fit to determine it. He says he would not have cast dice, but that the Lieutenant-general was so rough with him, that he durst not refuse. How penal it is for an inferior but to speak to this mighty superior, I have already told you upon other occasions. I need add no more at present, but God keep you and yours.

CXCVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Referring to Mr. Savage, for an account of the state of things in Ireland.

SIR, Dublin Castle, August 17, 1686.

Though I have very lately given your Majesty the trouble of a very long letter, yet I cannot let Mr. Savage return into England without presenting my most humble duty to your Majesty by him. He has spent some months here, Sir, and will be able to give your Majesty some account both of things and persons from his own observations: he has no interest here, and therefore cannot be suspected of partiality to the country. For myself, I beseech your Majesty to believe, that it is my whole business to serve you according to your commands; which will always appear upon the strictest examination. As I have been supported many years by your Majesty's countenance, so I am sure I can never be happy without it. And I take more comfort and inward joy in pleasing you, than if you gave me millions; and I desire to be proud of nothing in this world, but of being what I ought to be,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant,

CLARENDON.

CXCVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lady Dorchester's departure for England.—Lord Tyrconnel delayed by indisposition.—Proceedings of the Judges in regard to Magennis, who killed Captain Hamilton.—Interference of Lord Tyrconnel to have him bailed.—Supposes he will be tried in Dublin.

Chapel Izod, August 19, 1686. Thursday.

On Tuesday my Lady Dorchester and her company went hence in the yacht for Chester; so that you will quickly have her in London. On the same day the Major-general came to me, and told me, my Lord Tyrconnel

intended to have been in town to-day, but had for these two days been very much indisposed; and therefore desired me to excuse him till Thursday, when he designed to be in town with his family in order to his journey for England. Yesterday I sent a gentleman with a compliment to see Lord Tyrconnel: he brought me word he was something better, and hoped to be in town within a day or two. I carry this letter with me to Dublin, the packet being to go off with the first tide: if his Lordship comes thither this morning, or any thing else happen, you shall have an account of it. The Judges being returned, and several others being come to town, who had been at Down-Patrick when Tory Hamilton was killed, I have had some further account of that matter, which I think fit to give you, to make what use of you think proper. The first news brought into court, when the Judges were sitting, (which was about five or six o'clock at night) was, that Hamilton had killed Magennis; upon which Judge Nugent clapped his hand, and said, "By the grace of God we will try him before we leave the town:" but quickly after, the truth was brought in that Magennis had killed Hamilton; upon which the whole court was emptied in a minute, and only the judges and the prisoners left in it. The judges adjourned the court till the morrow morning; when they had nothing further to do, but to receive the presentments of the grand jury, and to dismiss the country. Of the disorder that was like to be in the town, and how all was pacified, you had an account in the letter which the judges wrote to me. An express was immediately sent upon this affair to Lord Tyrconnel, who was then at Lisburne, about twenty miles from Down. The next day, whilst the judges were yet in Down, comes a letter from Lord Tyrconnel to the judges, telling them that he had received an account of the killing of Hamilton; that he believed Magennis had done it in his own defence, and therefore that they might bail him; and that very good bail would be given for his appearance the next assizes. But the judges thought not fit to bail him, in regard the Coroner had not then sat upon the body; and so, after they had given directions for a substantial and indifferent jury to be returned, they left the town, and went to Newtown, Sir Robert Colvill's house, where they lay that night, and whither the coroner's inquest was sent to them, and from whence they wrote to me. The next day the judges went to Carrickfergus, where they received another letter from Lord Tyrconnel, giving many precedents of people's being bailed for murder; and therefore pressed extremely, that Magennis might be bailed, setting forth the great merits of the man. The judges answered, that they could not do it, but by Habeas Corpus; which they could

not grant at that place, not having the seal with them. I suppose, now the judges are returned, a Habeas Corpus will be moved for; which must be granted, and Magennis will be brought to Dublin: and then we shall see, what the judges will do upon the solicitation of a great man. All that I can say is, that if I should interpose in a thing of this nature before trial, I think I should show my partiality, and do the King very ill service; and I am sure my Lord Tyrconnel ought to have applied to me, if to any, in the case: but he thinks himself beyond control, and does every day things, which I am very often fain to contradict; which, I am sure, is not the way to serve the King. He is of a very unhappy temper.

Dublin Castle.

Since my being here, I am told Lord Tyrconnel continues indisposed, and cannot be in town to-day. Just now are come in three packets from England, wherein I have yours of the 9th instant; which requires no further answer at present, than the acknowledging. I am very glad the waters agree so well with you, and that you are so near finishing your course. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CXCVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

Concurs with his Lordship in the necessity for repairs to the fortifications at the ports and depôts.—Reasons why they have been hitherto neglected.—State of the Revenue still an impediment.—Course to be pursued.—State of the Arms and Ammunition of the Army in Ireland.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, August 19, 1686.

Your officer, with your Lordship's letter of the 14th past, arrived here on the 5th instant. He has delivered me all the books and papers which your Lordship mentions in your letter, some of which I have already perused; but I am sure you do not expect that I should so soon give your Lordship an opinion upon any of the particulars. I do perfectly agree with your Lordship, that it is most necessary almost every one of the ports, and other inland places for magazines mentioned, should be better fortified, it being a shame indeed to see in what miserable condition some of them lie. I doubt, the reason there was no more care taken of them in the time of former Chief Governors, was the want of money; for the charges upon the revenue did always come so very near the income, that really there was not sufficient left to make any the

most necessary repairs upon the fortifications. I have some time since represented the charge upon the revenue at my coming hither, which is since much increased, and the revenue not augmented. I have again represented the whole, as my Lord Treasurer can inform you; and if his Majesty does not take it into his serious consideration, he will not be able to do more than has hitherto been done. If the King could contrive it so as to lay up 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* per annum of his revenue here, then he might be able in few years to put all the fortifications and magazines into the condition they ought to be, and every year to do something considerable; but God knows whether you or I shall live to see that time. I will every week be writing something to your Lordship, that so we may be ready, as far as we are able, to begin something in the spring, as your Lordship wisheth. But in the mean time there are some things of immediate necessity to be done in some places, and some things desired by some of the Governors, which I will give your Lordship a particular account of in my next, so that, by looking upon the draughts you have before you, you will be able to tell me your thoughts thereof. And now, to entertain you no longer upon this subject at present, I will say a few words to your Lordship upon what most immediately concerns us, that is, the present arming of the troops. When my Lord Mountjoy went hence, I gave it him in charge to represent the pitiful condition both of the stores and of the arms in use, which were so very bad, and all the fire-arms of so many different bores, besides other defects, that it was necessary for the King's service that his army here should be all new armed; and I desired your brother to represent the same thing to your Lordship. A computation of what arms are necessary for the completing all the forces here, your Lordship will find enclosed, and those which are new arms are marked in the margin; but though they are new, the officers do not like them, nor any of those which are in our stores, which, though they are returned serviceable by Mr. Phelipps and Mr. Povey, yet they are old arms, and many of them not good. The pikes, though they look fair, are many of them rotten, and break when they come to be used at exercise; as the stocks of the muskets do likewise. In a word, the King will not be pleased to see any of his army here, when he sends for them over, (as he has spoken of,) with the best arms I can furnish them with. I do intend very speedily to send an officer of the army, and an officer of the ordnance here to Chester, to choose out a quantity of the best arms there, and to bring them hither for present service, some of the horse having really no arms; of which your Lordship shall have an account from

me, as well as from your own officers. I intend likewise to send for five hundred barrels of powder from Chester: we have not in the kingdom above eight hundred barrels, and the expense is about three hundred barrels a year. Methinks, your stores at Chester and Carlisle (if those are there which are mentioned in the third column to be sent) are very small. Your Lordship will find there is no great difference between the account Phelipps and Povey took, and that which the store-keepers here give me, that which I mentioned in my letter to your Lordship, was rather to the King's advantage; but as your Lordship says, some little mistakes will happen in so great a work, though every body did their duty; but they will be very small. Though I cannot say we have any place here fit for a royal magazine, yet I will tell your Lordship that we have room for 10,000 arms in the Castle of Dublin, as bad a place as it is, and for 50,000 at the New Hospital; and they should be as safe in both places, as in the Tower of London: therefore, I beseech you, let not the want of a place keep us from having arms necessary for the army. I shall entertain your Lordship again very speedily; therefore I will trouble you no more at present, but with the assurance of my being, with all possible respect and esteem,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CXCIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Introductory of Lord Ikerine; nature of his Petition to the King.

Chapel Izod, August 21, 1686.

My Lord Ikerine is going to England, to solicit the King's favour upon the petition which you referred to me, and upon which I have transmitted a report some time since; he thinks it is not favourable enough in his behalf. I tell him it is wholly matter of favour, and I do not use to solicit his Majesty in matters of bounty, but I shall be very glad if the King extends it to him in as large a proportion as his Lordship desires, and I shall very readily obey the orders I shall receive for him. He will not be satisfied without a line to your Lordship, which I must not refuse him, because he desires it. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

CC.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Judge Lindon, and his petition for a privilege to export wool from Ireland, as a means of providing for his family.

Chapel Izod, August 21, 1686.

It is some months since I made you a report on the behalf of Judge Lindon, as effectually as I could; but I then told him, I doubted the King would not think himself bound to pay old debts, as it has proved; but the poor man has really need of the King's favour, having a multitude of children, and his fortune but low. He serves the King very well and honestly in his station; and though he despairs of getting any ready money from the King, yet he would be glad of something to enable him towards the advancement of his children; and therefore I thought fit to give him leave to go into England to see what he could do: he will be back here before the end of the next month. He designs to make you a proposal, that he may have liberty to transport a certain quantity of wool into foreign countries. I know it is against the law, but there is a precedent that it has been done since the King's restoration, for the relief of a deserving gentleman; and if the King shall think fit to gratify this worthy Judge, (who will acquaint you with what was done in the case I mention) it will be very well disposed. This may further be said, that the giving this gentleman a dispensation to export so much wool into foreign parts, (limiting the quantity) may do some good, by raising the price of that commodity here; and I would be very glad that I might be able to do somebody a little good, which God knows I have not yet been allowed to do. God keep you and all yours.

CCI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

All things pretty quiet, except that the new Irish Recruits are sometimes disorderly.—Allusion to Lord Tyrconnel's interference about bailing Magennis.—Sir Nicholas Atchinson's request to cede his commission to Mr. Barnewell.

Chapel Izod, August 21, 1686.

Where your Lordship's of the 7th instant had lain I know not, but it came not to me till yesterday, when we had letters of the 14th, and the

letters of the 7th came to us just a week before. Your Lordship is pleased to acknowledge the receipt of mine of the 11th, 20th, and 22d past: I hope mine of the 6th of the last month was come likewise safe to you, there being something of business in it. I have written so fully to your Lordship in my late letters, that I have the less to trouble you with now. All things are, thanks be to God, very quiet here, and will continue so, if all in employment do their duties. That which is most troublesome is, that the new men are yet sometimes irregular, and too often commit disorders, as particularly, two days since an Irish soldier killed an English one; the first is in prison for it, and will be prosecuted according to law. The doing justice equally and strictly will in a little time bring them into good discipline, especially if the officers do their parts in discountenancing the disorders, which some of the new ones are sometimes a little backward in. And if great men will concern themselves less in interposing with the ministers of justice, to take bail in case of murder, it will contribute much to the quieting of things: for certainly if a man have the misfortune to kill another, he may be contented to lie in prison till he is tried; and the King's mercy may be extended to him after conviction, according to the merit of the person, or as his circumstances shall prove hard and compassionate: whereas the interposition of great men make ordinary matters become national concerns; which I am sure is not for the King's service.

My Lord Gormanston was lately with me to tell me, that his Cornet Sir Nicholas Atchinson, being lately married, and finding it inconvenient to be so much at his quarters as he ought to be, upon the account of his private concerns, does desire the King's leave to quit his employment; and my Lord makes it his request, that he may have leave to quit it to Mr. Nicholas Barnwell, nephew to my Lord Barnwell, and my Lord Gormanston's cousin-german: Sir Nicholas Atchinson has likewise been with me, and joins in the same request.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most faithful and most humble servant,
CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCII.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Approves his Proclamation concerning seditious words, and writes him that orders to pay the Catholic Bishops their stipends are on their way to Dublin; or more likely in his hands by this time.

MY LORD, Windsor, August 21, 1686.

I have your Excellency's of the 31st of July and the 4th and 12th instant, with the Proclamation you have issued lately concerning treasonable or seditious words, which the King approves very well of; but as to Captain William Hamilton's troop, his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, that he has thought fit to dispose of it to Mr. Mathew Ford. In your Excellency's of the 12th, you take notice of what passed between you and the Roman Catholic Primate concerning the monies to be paid to those Bishops; upon which I am to acquaint you, that when the Primate's correspondent was told the orders were given for their supply, it was upon his Majesty having been pleased to say, he would immediately do it. But it seems his Majesty forgot to speak to my Lord Treasurer for some days, as I found when I mentioned that matter again to him. The orders are now sent, and I doubt not but you will before this time have received them.

My Lord Kinsale having desired leave from the King to come into England, his Majesty would have your Excellency, if you have nothing to object against it, grant him leave for some time. His Majesty does also approve of Mr. Cornelius Maguire to be Cornet in his Brother Turlogh's place, and allows that the name should be altered accordingly. I am,

My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND, P.

CCIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Complains of Lord Sunderland neglecting to answer the representations contained in his letters.—Wishes that a Committee was appointed for the affairs of Ireland.—All that he desires is that the truth may be known.—Lord Tyrconnel's feigned indisposition.—Request that Sir T. Fotherley may succeed to Mr. Bellasyse's company.—Payment of the arrear due to the Yacht.—Lord Ikerine, his ulterior views in going to England.—Design of laying more persons aside.—Hopes that he will hinder their being pensioned.

Chapel Izod, Aug. 22, 1686.

I know not how to leave off the custom of writing, though I have very little to say at this time; and so possibly you may have a short letter, which

I have often promised, but never performed. The only thing, I think, I have now to say, is to send you the copy of my Lord President's last letter to me, and of my answer to him. We have since had three packets from England, but nothing from his Lordship; so that perhaps it is enough, that he has acknowledged my letters, and I am to expect no further answers to them; which I am pretty well used to. However, I will continue my practice of representing; which at one time or other will justify me. I wonder there is not a committee appointed for the affairs of Ireland: it would ease my Lord President, and the profitable part would still continue to him. I care not who were of it: you would be one, and every thing would then be read. All that I desire in the world is, that all the truth might be known; that when things happen which are not expected, (because the King believes that those who inform him tell him the whole truth,) the King may not say, I have not done my duty, because I did not acquaint him with those things which then appear manifest: and when the King has heard all, he will then best know what and how to direct; and God will govern the world as he pleaseth.

My Lord Tyrconnel has been at his own house, and not in town since the consultation, which was Friday was sennight. It is said, he has been much indisposed; and I know people have been to visit him, but refused to see him, with this excuse, that he was very ill: and yet he rides abroad every day. Some say, he had lately an express out of England, which has much angered him by the letters he brought. I am told, he will be in town to-morrow in expectation of the return of the yacht, (which went on Tuesday to Chester with my Lady Dorchester) and that he will immediately embark for England. We take it for granted here, that Mr. Belasyse, nephew and heir to my Lord Fauconberg, is killed before Buda; which you must needs know better than we. He had a company lately given him in the regiment of Guards here: if he be dead, pray do me the favour to use your interest to get the company for Sir Thomas Fotherly; who, you know, came over with me. He is a very honest man, and a man of honour, and every way fit for it. I must put you in mind of sending me the directions you once mentioned, for paying the arrear due to the yacht. I offer it to you, whether it were not as well to be paid out of the tobacco money, as out of the 30,000*l.*, which goes for England: but which you please, so it be done; for in good earnest the poor men are in grievous want, and the clamour of their creditors grows very great. Among other recommendations I have lately sent you, I have

written a letter to you by my Lord Ikerine, who goes over, as he says, to see what he can get upon his petition, which you referred to me; but perhaps he has some other designs in his head: one can scarce believe any thing that sort of people say. He is wonderfully pressing, as all his countrymen are, and think they are injured, if they have not all they desire. I have by this post written you a long letter to the Treasury of the state of the Revenue: I perceive, (even by Lord Tyrconnel) there is a design of laying some more men aside, and giving them pensions; which I hope you will hinder, when you see how the revenue is charged. God Almighty keep you and yours. I suppose Mr. Keightley shows you what I write to him, and therefore I need not repeat any thing here.

CCIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

In favour of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.

Dublin Castle, August 23, 1686.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton having asked my leave to go for England, I cannot refuse him a letter to you, to desire you to promote his pretensions what you can; he is a very worthy man, and of great honour, and will retain a just sense of any kindness you shall do him; he has been in very good employments and esteem when he served abroad; and men of honour cannot always brook the having little men put over their heads, who in the judgment of all the world are not equal to their stations. This gentleman has lived as he ought to do towards me, which I cannot say of every body here; I would therefore be glad he should receive some countenance, if it were possible, upon my account. He will give you a different account of many things here, from those of his own religion. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

CCV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Thanks him for his attention to the Corporation of Reading.—Trusts he will procure that place a worthy minister.—Begs he will get the King to approve of Mr. J. Dalby as Recorder, and Mr. Giles Pocock as Mayor of Reading.—Choice of a Member of Parliament for that Borough left to Lord Clarendon; he recommends Mr. George Blagrave.—Second Conference with Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Nangle, &c.—Their intention to disturb the kingdom.—The Chief Justice, the Solicitor, and the Chancellor honest men.—Illness and death of Mr. Trumbull, the Accountant-general.—His colleague, Mr. Bonnel, an inefficient but honest man.

Chapel Izod, Aug. 24, 1686.

I find you have had some trouble from the two corporations of Abingdon and Reading upon my account: but you promised me to take them into your protection when I came away; and I have letters from both of them, acknowledging the great countenance and favours they have received from you, which I am sure you will not repent; for though there are too many factious people in those towns, yet the magistracy are very honest and loyal, and you may govern them as you have a mind to, in all things relating to the King's service. I do, in their names and my own, thank you for your kindness to them, and particularly for getting the assizes to be kept at Abingdon; which town hath lately made an application to you to help them to a good Minister. I doubt not but you will procure a prudent, as well as good man, to be amongst them; for a good minister, and one who will live well with them, will contribute more towards the making such a town what it ought to be, than any one thing else can do: the living is in the King's gift, but it is a very small one. I got it for the last man, when you were a Commissioner in Ecclesiastics, and I got the late man at the recommendation of the Bishop of Oxford; and the town at my request gave him 20*l.* or 30*l.* a-year more than was usual: and I doubt not they will continue (upon your letter) all they gave the last man; for in truth the living of itself is so very inconsiderable, that without some encouragement it will be impossible to get a tolerable man to live there. It were to be wished that you could get somebody thither, who has a sinecure, or a prebend somewhere, that he might not be compelled to humour the factions for his bread: such a corporation ought to be provided with a good minister.

I have lately had a letter from the town of Reading to acquaint me

with the choice of a new Recorder there, in the place of Sir Thomas Holt deceased. The person whom they have chosen, Mr. John Dalby, is a very honest and ingenious young man, and fit for the situation: his father was of eminent loyalty, and as wise a man as I have known, of his rank. I beg therefore you will obtain his election to be approved of by his Majesty; as likewise, that the Mayor elect, Mr. Giles Pocock, may be approved of by his Majesty: he is a marvellous honest and discreet man, and served Mayor once before in my time. You see, (for I send you their letter) they desire my advice whom to chose for their Parliament man: I would not lose the liberty they are willing to give me; and therefore I wish you would recommend Mr. George Blagrave, who is a very honest man, and has a good estate near the town, to which his family have been great benefactors. There may be some objections against his brother John, but there can be none against George; who was as eminent a Tory as the other was thought to be a Whig: William Aldworth will give you the best informations of that place and people. By bringing in George Blagrave, you will be able to keep out both Sir William Rich and Sir H. Vane; neither of whom are good. I have written an answer to their town, to thank them for their civil letter; but I have said nothing of a Parliament man, but that you would advise them whom to choose.

We had to-day another conference, by the desire of my Lord Tyrconnel, who was with me yesterday in the evening: but though it lasted three hours, it was to as little purpose as any of the former. And when you discourse with Mr. Nangle, (who, it cannot be denied, is a very able man, and therefore the more to be watched) you will find they intend nothing but to set this kingdom loose again: they will pretend to confirm the settlement, but with so many exceptions and alterations, as will in truth overthrow it. Wherefore I still press, that whatever papers he gives in may be transmitted to me. I must need say, my Lord Chief Justice Keating and Mr. Solicitor, and my Lord Chancellor carry themselves with great courage, and like honest men: they have infinitely the better of the argument, and Mr. Nangle cannot answer them, nay, yields to what they say; and if he does so, I need not say any thing of Judge Nugent, or Baron Rice; who, God knows, are weak to Baltazar.

Mr. Trumbull, the accountant-general, has been very ill of a fever these eight days past; and I fear he will not recover. If he dies, we shall lose a most admirable knowing officer, as well as an exact honest man. Pray be not

engaged for a successor till you hear again from me: I have nobody yet fixed in my thoughts, nor have any thoughts but what shall be best for the King's service. I wished Trumbull had had the office to himself, for his encouragement; for the benefit he had was infinitely too small, considering the pains he took, and must take to do his duty; for he was a true drudge, and deserved a better employment. His colleague, Mr. Bonnell, who is joined in the patent with him, is an honest man, and, I hear, of deserving parents; but in good earnest he is no more fit for that place than I am; and if it should rest upon him, I am sure the King must suffer, for it is an office of great trust and importance: I shall say no more at present. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

Dublin Castle, August 25, 1686.

P. S. This morning, at my coming to town, the first thing I meet with is the news of Mr. Trumbull's death, which is all I can say at present: you shall have more from me by the next.

CCVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.*

Announcing Lord Tyrconnel's departure for England, and the probable complaints he will make against him.—Requests he may not be condemned unheard.

SIR, Chapel Izod, August 26, 1686.

This morning my Lord Tyrconnel embarked for England, and, as he says himself, intends to make representations to your Majesty of some persons, which will not be to their advantage: possibly I may be in the number; for every man is to be well or ill thought of as they agree with him. I must confess, I have not been of his mind in some things: but I am sure, your Majesty will not condemn any man unheard; and so long I am safe. I gave my Lord Tyrconnel all the powers your Majesty commanded, and never interposed in his execution of them, whatever the methods were which he took therein. Indeed, I have not thought fit to put meanings upon your Majesty's letters which the sense of them will not bear; and which he himself, upon debate, has been convinced of, though I cannot say he has been satisfied. I

* It is probable that this letter to the King, and that which follows addressed to the Queen, never reached their hands. They were sent under cover, unsealed, to Lord Rochester; and Lord Clarendon tells him, if he does not approve them to burn them, if he does approve them to seal them and deliver them, or let Mr. Keightley do so.

hope your Majesty believes I have no will but to please and obey you; and when you know every thing here, whatever commands you send me shall be observed punctually; and I hope it shall not be interpreted disobedience, when I do not comply with what another man says is your pleasure, if he shows no authority for it, and I have no commands from your Majesty. Sir, if I know my own heart, I do not desire to live longer than your Majesty finds me to be, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE QUEEN.

Complaining of Lord Tyrconnel's conduct, and desiring, through the Queen's means, to know what the King would have done.—Infrequency of Lord Sunderland's letters, &c.

Chapel Izod, August 26, 1686.

In obedience to your Majesty's commands of writing freely to you, when I thought it needful, I most humbly presume to do it at this time, and to cast myself at your Majesty's feet. I do assure your Majesty I have obeyed every one of the commands I have had the honour to receive from his Majesty since my being here; of which I can give a very effectual account upon occasion. I am sure, I make it my whole business to inform the King of every particular, both as to things and persons; and when his Majesty knows all, (and I would to God he knew all that I say, and all that is said to me), his orders and commands shall punctually be obeyed by me; but Madam, though all this be true, and I am confident will not be denied by any; yet there are people who are not satisfied that I do not believe they know the King's mind, when they will not show me authority for it. My Lord Tyrconnel has alarmed some people with telling them how he will represent them to the King. Whether they will deserve his Majesty's displeasure will be found upon examination; but in truth, by his own discourse one would almost believe he could get every body, whom he does not like, turned out of his Majesty's service; which, I confess, I could not but smile at, when I heard him. I have had the luck to differ with him in some things; which has displeased him: so possibly I may be in the bundle of the black characters which are carried over. But as long as I am under your Majesty's protection, I am sure, whatever any one shall say to my prejudice will be fully examined, before it makes any impression in you: and I had rather be dead than to lose

your favour, or commit a fault towards either of your Majesties; which I will never be found guilty of. I gave my Lord Tyrconnel the orders the King commanded me to give him, and I never interposed in his execution of them. I never complained of any thing till I had first obeyed his Majesty's commands; which shall always be my chief business: but then I hope your Majesty will give me leave with all humility to make my moan to you, that the King would not be pleased to let me do what he had a mind to have done in his army. I would have done all that is now done, by the assistance of the same persons who have done it; and I am sure, should have performed it more to the satisfaction of his subjects; which will always be for his Majesty's service. There is nothing, Madam, makes any thing difficult in the King's business, but the not knowing perfectly his Majesty's mind; and for some to pretend to know it, when he who is trusted in the Government does not know it, makes things more uneasy than they would otherwise be. I would, therefore, humbly beseech your Majesty to be graciously pleased to be a means, that I may know what the King would have done; and, if it be not performed as he directs, and as he would have it, then let me be blamed. I do not love to complain of any body; but when it is in order to the King's service, I hope your Majesty will forgive me, and let it not be to my prejudice. If your Majesty could imagine how little and how seldom I hear from the Court, I am sure you would pity me. I write very constantly to my Lord President, but I have had but three letters from him these three months; which if your Majesty saw, you would not wonder I think myself in the dark. But I most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for saying thus much, and for this great presumption in tiring your Majesty with so long a letter in making my moan to you: but the same goodness which encourages me to do it, will, I doubt not, be graciously pleased to forgive what is done purely with an intention to make me the more able to serve the King; which, as it ever has been, so it ever shall be the business of my life. I beseech your Majesty to order some of my friends to let me know, that your Majesty is not displeased with me: that you are so, some would have me believe. I do not know that I have done any thing to deserve your anger, and I am sure I never will; nor do I desire any greater comfort in this world, than your good opinion, which I will by all means possible study to preserve, as becomes, Madam, &c.

CLARENDON.

CCVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lord Tyrconnel embarked for England.—Mr. Nangle's new notions.—Sanguine about the affairs of the kingdom.—Strange and unwarranted conduct of Lord Tyrconnel.—Encloses letters to the King and Queen.—Lord Tyrconnel's opinion of the Chancellor.

Chapel Izod, August 26, 1686.

This day, about noon, my Lord Tyrconnel embarked for Chester. I have written by this packet at large to my Lord President upon several things; whereby you will see as full an account as I can give you of our last conference: and so there is an end of that matter, till we have some new notions from Mr. Nangle; which, I assure you, are but notions; for he cannot support (though he is an able man) what he asserts against my Lord Chief Justice Keating and Mr. Solicitor; nay, he yields and submits to the answers they and my Lord Chancellor make. Well, I cannot yet help being sanguine in the affairs of this kingdom; for if the king will but hear his English subjects, and consider, what he did believe when I left England, that the contest here is not about religion, but between English and Irish, which is the truth, all will do well: if not, God's will be done; I shall have the comfort of having done my duty. Perhaps you may think I have written too freely and plainly of my Lord Tyrconnel; but really it is time: and the manner of bailing Magennis makes more discourse, and breeds more ill blood, than you can imagine, at a time when all uniting remedies ought to be applied. I dare say such a thing would not have been endured in England from the greatest nobleman; and I think it very necessary the King should know of such irregularities as are committed here. He will have his oar in every boat: he has summoned people before him in the King's name, by writing under his hand, in the most ridiculous manner imaginable; which I could not have believed if I had not seen the papers myself, and taken copies of them, and of his letters to corporations, recommending men to the magistracy, which I will transmit in proper place. I have written to the King and Queen, which I send you here enclosed; if you do not approve them, burn them; if you do, pray seal them, and let them be delivered. If you have no mind to deliver them yourself, let Mr. Keightley do it, as if they were sent to him. Lord Tyrconnel was so ingenuous as to tell my Lord Chancellor, that they had written to the King, that he was not so well served by him as he expected.

It is a fine pass we are come to, when men in such stations must be represented according to other men's fancies; and I doubt not but he has his informations to give of me too; but my hope is, we are not to be tried and condemned by fancy. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Account of the second conference with Lord Tyrconnel, and propositions made at it for an Act to enable the King to compensate the holders of forfeited lands to be restored to the old proprietors.—Objections to this measure.—Is still in favour of a Commission of Grace, if it were not likely that the Catholics would oppose it.—Departure of Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Nangle:—alarm occasioned by it.—Hope that any propositions made by the latter, will be submitted to him.—Interference of Lord Tyrconnel about bailing Magennis.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, August 26, 1686.

In mine of the 14th instant, I gave your Lordship an account of the consultation I had the day before with Lord Tyrconnel, &c. together with my opinion thereupon; in which, I doubt I shall prove to be in the right. On Monday in the evening, my Lord Tyrconnel was with me, and desired I would appoint the same company to meet again the next day; that he thought something might be offered which would give satisfaction, pursuant to the King's commands, signified in your Lordship's of the 14th of June. Accordingly, on Tuesday we met, and after much discourse, as loose, and as far from coming to a conclusion, as at our former conference, it was proposed, that an Act of Parliament should pass to give the King a considerable sum of money; whereby his Majesty might relieve those persons who, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, were intended to be provided for; and that the money so raised, should be given to those who ought to be reprised with other lands of equal value, worth, and purchase; and so the old proprietors should come into their estates again, as by the Acts was intended, when the present possessors were so reprised as aforesaid: but neither the quantity of how much money would be necessary, nor the number of the persons which ought to be relieved, was agreed upon; only it was mentioned that in laying the tax there might be different proportions; that all who claim under the Acts should pay after one rate; that those who have grants from the late King, (whereby it is said the stock is lessened) should pay more; and that all, even the old innocent proprietors, both English and Irish, who had no benefit by the Acts, should pay something.

To make this matter a little plainer to your Lordship, you will be pleased to observe, that by the Acts several persons are restored to their estates, after those in possession are first reprised with lands of equal value, worth, and purchase; they would have been reprised, if the stock of lands had not failed: so that after the time for executing the Acts by commissioners was expired, (and none but those commissioners could grant reprisals, if there had been lands) the people in possession fell to plant, and improve, and have settled their estates. Now, whether these persons thus settled, and who by the law were to be reprised in land of equal value, worth, and purchase, shall be now compelled (perhaps the children and widows of many of them) to part with their possessions for a sum of money, (though to the value of the land,) or whether the people who ought to be relieved, and who have been without land these thirty years, may not now be contented with money to the value of what their lands are worth, will be the question. This being the case, I shall take the liberty to offer my opinion with all possible submission; which is, that if his Majesty, when he shall think it convenient to call a Parliament, (the time whereof cannot be too well considered,) shall be pleased to resolve to confirm all possessions, (which are settled by the Acts) no doubt a very considerable sum of money will be given to the King to obtain a lasting settlement, if possessions are confirmed in the same Act which gives the money; and the King may then distribute the money to such persons, and in such proportions, as he shall think fit: but if the intentions be to alter the possessions, and to gratify the present proprietors, who have enjoyed the lands so many years, with money, I am humbly of opinion that such an Act will not pass, and that it will be thought an invasion upon the settlement; and that, when it is broken in one particular, it may be in another, and so to the end. I beseech your Lordship to take notice, that this whole matter in debate ariseth upon a letter of mine to the King, dated the 17th of April last; wherein my proposal was, that if his Majesty should think fit to issue another Commission of Grace to confirm men in their estates, I was of opinion it would bring in a vast sum of money; and, upon his Majesty's command to consider further of the matter with my Lord Chancellor, and such other persons as I thought fit, I transmitted their opinions; which agreed with mine in substance, and with whom I had not conferred, till I had the King's direction so to do. I beg leave to say that I was, and still am of opinion, that a commission to confirm possessions with good instructions to the commissioners, in such

manner, and with such qualifications as are expressed in the papers I sent over, would raise a very great sum of money, if it were declared in the commission that the proceedings thereupon should be afterwards ratified by Act of Parliament: and with submission, it would have been the most equal way; for when all men had been upon one foot, the Parliament would still give a very considerable sum for confirmation; but I am never fond of my own proposal, for that reason only. And I have therefore changed my opinion, and am now against a commission, because my Lord Tyrconnel, and the Irish Catholics of the King's council (though many of the natives have as much need of confirmation as others) will oppose and obstruct it; which will render a commission ineffectual, and make it bring in very little; and my business is to endeavour all that lies in me the settlement of the country, and to get the King money, wherewith to gratify those who deserve his favour; which, I fear, will not be easy to do, if possessions are disturbed.

My Lord Tyrconnel embarked this day for Chester: Mr. Nangle the counsellor, is gone over with him. The town is much alarmed at his going, and think, from the discourses some of the natives give out, that he is gone over to make proposals for new settlements, and for a Parliament; but I do not mind common talks, though sometimes they prove true. Mr. Nangle told me, when he took his leave of me, which was yesterday, and when he first told me of his going over, that he went upon his private account for his health, and not at all upon any thing relating to the public, whatever the talk of the town was: if it prove otherwise, I doubt not but the King will direct, whatever proposals or papers he shall give in may be transmitted over, that people of other interests may be heard to them; which is the best way of coming to an amicable composure. There is one thing more I think fit to acquaint your Lordship with. I have in my former letters told your Lordship all I knew of the killing Captain Hamilton; Judge Nugent has since his coming to town, upon the pressing letters of my Lord Tyrconnel, thought fit to bail Magennis, which gives too much occasion of discourse: the Judge himself told me, that my Lord Tyrconnel had written to him, that he had examined the business, and found it fit to bail him. I confess, my Lord, for a man in my Lord Tyrconnel's station to meddle in a thing of this nature, wherein he is not concerned, and to talk of examining a matter twenty miles distant from the place where the fact was committed, which the Coroner's inquest had found murder, does give too much countenance to those who have a mind to say there is too much interposition used by great men in the

course of justice, which ought to be uninterrupted. I only tell your Lordship this particular, that the King may know every thing which happens here; which I am sure he does from your Lordship. I long for answers from your Lordship to several particulars in my former letters. I am with great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCX.

COPY OF A LETTER FOUND IN CHRIST CHURCH, AUGUST 31, 1686, AFTER MORNING PRAYER.

Intelligence of the intention of the Roman Catholics.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN, August 26, 1686.

The enemy be ready, and ye be not aware how soon they will fall upon you all. They have lately assembled at the other side of the water, upon the 17th, 18th, and 19th of this present August: in which assembly there were nine Roman Bishops, ten Jesuits, and eighteen Friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis' order; there were six Romish officers attending on four Romish noblemen, all of which were sworn to secrecy; these had nine lawyers, unto whom they opened their several cases, and one judge: the judge is gone over into England, and so are four of the lawyers, with two of the Peers which there assembled. There were queries whether a Parliament should be called, or a Court of Grace; if either, a troop of horse and a foot company to attend them during sitting; and so a company or troop to be appointed in every city or borough town against the election, if it be consented unto, to keep off the English. They had, as is said, letters from the Queen, and a message from the Earl of Castlemain, from the Pope and the Cardinals, and from the French King. Send this speedily for England, or Ireland may repent it before Christmas Day. I confess I politically go to mass, and have thereby discovered an hundred times more than here I dare express at present. Keep copies hereof, and make no great noise, and send the original here found to some special trusty friend; for in plain dealing all Protestants be in great danger of lives and estates; and if I could be but cherished, I shall prove who has seen me at mass, and who has given me the eucharist of the priests, and where I have received the same. But my heart is right, for what I have done was not out of zeal to the Romish religion, but to find out their intrigues, and am just now going from hence to prevent the evil of days to come. God be with you.

This church never believed what I formerly wrote, which is now come to pass: you have not long time to enjoy it, whether you preach for or against the Church of Rome.

This letter was directed thus
" For Christ's church."

CCXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Explanation of the views and intentions of Mr. Nangle, in accompanying Lord Tyrconnel to England.—Hopes the Duke will interest himself in the affairs of Ireland, and let him be apprized of any propositions that may be made.

MY LORD, Chapel Izod, August 28, 1686.

I have received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 3d instant; and lately your other of the 16th was given me by the Earl of Westmeath, whom I shall be very ready to serve, as I shall every body who is related to or hath dependence upon your Grace, to the utmost of my power. My Lord Tyrconnel went for England on Thursday, and Mr. Nangle the counsellor is gone with him; whom your Grace knows better than I, to be a very able man in his profession: but, notwithstanding all the moderation he was formerly thought master of, I am deceived, (and I shall be glad to be so) if he be not as earnest as any of his countrymen for breaking the Acts of Settlement; that is, for putting such explanations upon them by a new law, as will quite unsettle the kingdom. The last proposition my Lord Tyrconnel made, and it was seconded and vehemently enforced by Mr. Nangle, was, that a sum of money should be given to the King by Parliament, wherewith those English should be satisfied, who ought to leave the lands they are now possessed of, when they are reprised with other lands of equal value, worth, and purchase; that is, that the ancient proprietors, who by the Acts were intended to be restored to their estates after the present possessors were first reprised, should now be put into possession of their old estates, and that the present possessors, who by the laws expressly are to be reprised with lands of equal value, worth, and purchase, shall be compelled to take money after so many years quiet enjoyment, and such variety of settlements, deaths, marriages, and other alienations as have happened. Your Grace knows, the reason why those men were not reprised, nor the others restored was, because the stock of lands failed: certainly, if money can be got by Parliament, as I believe it may, to purchase

the confirming and quieting possessions, (which will be the only motive to induce men to give liberally) the best way will be to gratify those men, who were intended to be restored after previous reprisals, with money, in such proportion as the King shall think fit. But, with submission, the time of calling a Parliament, and the circumstances of the kingdom, ought to be very well considered. My Lord Treasurer will give your Grace an account of all the consultations I have had with Lord Tyrconnel and others about a Commission of Grace; in which I humbly beg you will inform yourself, and particularly that you will well consider my Lord Chief Justice Keating's paper; which, I doubt, has scarce been thought of in England: he is an able man, and very honest, and so looked upon generally by all men. I hope your Grace will concern yourself in the affairs of this country, where your interest is so great. I perceive, they will speedily come upon the tapis in England; and I have reason to believe, that Mr. Nangle is carried over in order thereunto, though he assured me he went only upon the account of his health, and not at all upon any thing relating to the public. If he gives in any papers or proposals relating to the settlements, which is what all men look after, I hope they will be (by your Grace's interposition) transmitted hither, where other persons concerned may be heard. I beseech your Grace to believe that I am, My Lord, &c. &c. CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Death of Mr. Trumbull the Accountant-general.—Wishes his successor to be sent from England.—Review of those who have been proposed to fill the office.—Mr. Strong's return to Ireland very desirable.—Another Commissioner of the Revenue much wanted.—Lord Limerick, desperate state of his fortunes; solicits for his promised pension.—Lord Dongan, a similar petition from him.

Chapel Izod, August 28, 1686.

In a postscript to mine of the 24th instant, I acquainted you with the death of Mr. Trumbull; and I told you in my next I would say something to you of a successor. I must, I think, desire you to send somebody from England. It is an office of great trust, upon the well governing of which the keeping the accounts of the revenue in good method does perfectly depend. The Commissioners of the Revenue here have named to me one Southcote, who was accountant-general to the late farmers, of some of whom in England (for there are none of them here) you may inform yourself concerning

him, if you think fit: though the man be in town, I have never seen him, and so can say nothing of him upon my own knowledge. Some very good men here have mentioned to me one Temple, whose brother was a considerable goldsmith in London; but I know him not. I have been spoken to for one Fowles, who is a very able clerk under the Commissioners of the Revenue; but he cannot well be spared from the post he is in, for which he is very fit. Mr. Bridges has likewise made application to me for this place, I mean him who was designed for Genew's place: I have no objection to him, but know not how he is qualified for it, having but a very small acquaintance with him; and you know him better. By all the observation I can make, I am of the same opinion I was, that Mr. Bonnell (though a very honest man) cannot fill the place alone. I shall say no more upon this affair, than to recommend it to your care, that you will give us an honest and an able man, and one who well understands his work, and will take pains. It may not be improper here to ask when Mr. Strong returns; nobody here has heard from him these six weeks: he promised me to be back before Michaelmas, which now draws near; and indeed he is much wanted. Mr. Bridges is now in his circuit, so there are but three in town; and there is often occasion of sending into the country to look into the excise; which is done with more authority, and would be more regarded, if performed by a commissioner, than by an ordinary surveyor. By the Act of Parliament, all the ports of the kingdom ought to be visited every year; and if there were one commissioner more, (which I doubt will not be hearkened to by reason of the charge,) I would have one constantly abroad; and so they should take their turns, every one a year: the benefit whereof would quickly be found.

Yesterday my Lord Limerick was with me; I must needs say he is always very civil to me, notwithstanding his relations. He makes wonderful professions of obligations he had to my father, and likewise to yourself. He tells me sad stories of the ill condition of his own fortune; how he was forced to sell 400*l.* per annum, to pay the debts which he contracted in the King's service, and that he never had any thing since the King's restoration; that the late King promised, and his present Majesty said he would make it good, that he should have a pension of 500*l.* per annum, till 5000*l.* were paid. He says you are no stranger to this, and have promised to assist him in the settling of it, which he has desired me to put you in mind of, and I have promised him to do it. This morning my Lord Dongan was with me, and desired I would send the enclosed letter to you from him, upon the same

business. I know not what to say to it: it will be a great addition to our burden here; but the King will be the best judge of that, if he considers the state of his revenue here, which you can show him: all that I desire is, that you will send me such a civil answer as you would have me give to this Lord. And I say in this case, as I do in some others, if you find the King will be disposed to grant this boon, I would have these Lords, father and son, know they are obliged to you. I need say no more upon these matters. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

Pray remember the arrears of the yacht.

CCXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Appointment of an Accountant-general instead of Mr. Trumbull.—Is going to Kilkenny, and from thence will make a journey into Munster.—Surmises about Mr. Nangle's object in his journey into England. —If his object be to fix the reversing the outlawries generally; it is a matter which requires mature consideration.—Encloses the copy of a letter, giving warning of certain designs of the Roman Catholics.

Chapel Izod, August 31, 1686.

This letter will now welcome you from Tunbridge. I give God thanks the waters have done so well with you, and that my sister has obtained so great an amendment of health by them: God grant she may be careful enough of herself not to lose it again in the winter. I have written my mind to you freely about the Accountant-general's place; and I have no end but an ambition to put in the man that can be found the best qualified for the King's service. It is a place of very great trust, though he does not touch money; and therefore it is of absolute necessity he should be very honest: but honesty alone is not sufficient, without it be accompanied with ability: he must be a perfect accountant. Yesterday the Commissioners of the Revenue brought me a petition from Mr. Bonnell (the surviving patentee) to them, together with a representation thereupon to me, which I herewith transmit to you. I can say nothing of Mr. Bonnell's father's merit but what I have from report, nor of the trust pretended to have been in Dr. Wood, the former patentee. This gentleman was bred by Secretary Jenkins: he is an ingenious man, about thirty years of age; but in good earnest not qualified alone for such an employment. And I must needs say, if another good man be joined equally in the patent, (as able a man as Mr. Trumbull was,) the salary (which is but 400*l.* per annum for themselves and clerks) is much too

small; for they kept five clerks, and then they had not much to divide between themselves; which, I am afraid, made Trumbull drudge too much. But I have said enough of this matter; which, though it be a Treasury affair, I thought it more proper to speak of it in a private letter. The very beginning of next week I go to Kilkenny; where I intend to leave my wife, and to make a progress* for ten or twelve days into Munster; which I am sure shall be to the King's advantage: and it will put a little life into poor people in those parts; for it is my duty to assure all the King's subjects, that they are all equally under his Majesty's protection; and that he will be served equally by them all, till the King himself makes the distinction, and gives me rules therein, which when he does, (between you and me,) it will be fit for me to think a little. People now begin to talk what Mr. Nangle's business is in England: besides projects about new settlements, some say it is to be made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the room of Sir William Davys, who is now in England for his health, and is an honest, discreet man, and was hurried into England in the time of Oates's plot, for his duty to the King, and his steady asserting the Duke of York's interest. Others say it is to be Attorney-general; if so, it will be a hard matter to persuade men the English interest shall be preserved, when an Irish Roman Catholic is Attorney-general. And some say he is gone only to make propositions, in order to a new settlement; and likewise to fix the reversing the outlawries, which is a great point indeed. And though there may be no great harm in gratifying the Lords Gormanston and Ikerine, as I have heard they have ordered the case; yet, whatever Mr. Nangle may say, to do it generally will be of vast consequence; and the influence it will have upon the settlements ought to be very well considered, and other men, who are as conversant in the Acts as Mr. Nangle, should at least be heard. Methinks the case of this kingdom should be made an affair of state, and thoroughly debated at the Council Board in England, which is a constituent part of the government of this kingdom; and though possibly nothing that can be done or said, will alter the measures which some seem to have taken, yet I am still for every man in his station using all honest endeavours to have the truth known. Reason will have its weight, and England will at one time or other know the concern and interest it has in this kingdom.

* A *progress*, in the language of this and the preceding century, signified a *journey*. The royal excursions were called *progresses*. Shakspeare has used the word rather ludicrously in this sense in Hamlet.

On Saturday my Lord Burlington and Mr. Boyle arrived here: to-morrow they embark for England. I send you here enclosed the copy of a letter, which was this day found at Christ Church: the original I have.* I will not say any thing of the letter, as to the truth of it, because it is impossible to guess at the author; but it is most true, that there have been of late very private meetings here, at which the two Lords mentioned in the letter to be gone for England were present, viz. my Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Ikerine; and if one who was of the company may be believed, the methods of calling a Parliament and choosing the members, was a principal head of their debates; and at one of those consultations it was, that the resolution was taken of Mr. Nangle's going for England.

I have this day received yours of the 23d and 24th instant, for which a thousand thanks: I will answer every paragraph of it in my next. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Lord Kinsale gone into England.—Desires to know the King's pleasure concerning the Chaplains of the Army.—Believes that further changes are intended in the Army.—Thinks the King would not approve of the underhand proceedings of some in this matter.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, August 31, 1686.

Since my last, which was of the 26th, I have received your Lordship's of the 21st instant; and by the packet yesterday, came the commission for Mr. Matthew Ford, and some other commissions, which are disposed of as they are directed. I have given my Lord Kinsale leave to go into England, before your Lordship's letter came; and he went with my Lord Tyrconnel, upon his assuring me of urgent occasions, which required his going over.

I would beg to know the King's pleasure concerning the Chaplains of his army here. The regiments are at present all supplied by men put in by the several Colonels, who always use to put in their Chaplains: the day before my Lord Tyrconnel went hence, he sent directions to the Commissary-general of the musters to admit three Roman Catholic priests, one to be Chaplain to the regiment of Guards, and the others to two other regiments. I would be

* See this letter at page 563, *ante*.

glad to know the King's pleasure, whether those, who are already in, are to be superseded.

I have some reason to believe, that it is designed to make further changes amongst the officers of the army here, though it has not been thought fit to acquaint me therewith; which perhaps is a new practice, for some officers to meet and agree whom they will endeavour to have removed, and the general of the army no way consulted with: and I cannot believe the King will approve of that method of proceeding; which must certainly render his Chief Governor very little in the opinion of those who are to obey him. I still beg leave to say, that if the King pleaseth to hear my opinion concerning any of his officers, it shall be given him with great faithfulness; and his Majesty will not be the less informed thereby, and will still command what he thinks fit to have done.

I shall give your Lordship no further trouble at present, but to acquaint you that I am going to make a little progress into Munster for twelve or fourteen days; whereby I shall be able to give a better account of those parts, when I have visited them myself. I am with very great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Is glad the King was satisfied with the Report of the last quarter's Revenue.—Hopes that he may not be disappointed in his expectation of a better state of things.—The way to promote it pointed out.—Impediments to Commercial prosperity.—Sir William Talbot's affair.—Is happy the King thinks he does his duty.—Solicits implicit confidence.—Lord Longford, embarrassed intricacy of his affairs.—Is told by an intimate of Lord Tyrconnel's that he will strive to have him recalled; and that the King will have half the Army natives, and half English.

Chapel Izod, September 4, 1686.

In my last, marked 59, I acknowledged the receipt of your's of the 23d past; which I am now to answer, and find I have not much to reply, most of it being upon what I had written to you upon an unpleasant subject; and upon which I have no mind to say any more, nor, if it were possible, to think any more. I am very glad the King was satisfied with what I wrote upon the Midsummer quarter's revenue: I shall be very glad, if his Majesty be not disappointed in his expectation, that in a little time men will come into their wits again, and trade will recover. I am sure nothing shall be wanting on my part to encourage them; and I fancy this little ramble I am going to

take into the country will put a little life into them; and there is no doubt all the jealousies would quickly disperse, if the King would make a public declaration of what he would have; that is, how the army is to be modelled, what numbers of natives, and what of English are to be in it; for I must still say, people have a great mind to be quiet, and are as much disposed to duty and obedience as is possible; but if the whole army are to be Irish, which the new officers give publicly out, men's minds will not be so soon settled, as they would otherwise, and they will rather withdraw than be in continual apprehension of the insolence of the natives; and nothing but time, and experience that high words and threatenings can do no harm, and that irregular actions shall be punished, can allay their apprehensions and compose their minds. And this is the reason so many have put off their manufactures, and discharged their spinners and carders, who are now begging, that they may look on and see how the world goes. As for Irishmen coming to trade here in the room of the English, I would be glad to see it. I have been told, about four months since, by a considerable man, that there were fourscore Irish merchants beyond sea, who would come all over, and bring (one with another) 20,000*l.* apiece with them, and settle in several places of this kingdom, now they may have liberty like other men, and that I should have a list of them; but I could never since have a sight of the list, nor is one of the men yet come over: for liberty and privileges like other men, the Government was always so ready to encourage trade, that trading men, Irish, have always enjoyed the same freedom and security with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, except the holding of offices, which they were not capable of till now; nor are they suffered to have those advantages in other foreign countries. But alas! whoever considers the trade of this kingdom, will tell you that five parts of six of it are carried on by commission: many men have made good estates by that way of dealing; but few merchants, who trade upon their own accounts, think it worth their while to be here. Who does not know, that merchants will always follow their interest? And they will not leave countries, where they are settled in their trade and thrive by it, nor bring their stocks into a country (though their own) where they have no reason to think they can employ them to so much advantage; except the men have a mind to give over trade, and lay out their money upon land in their own country; which, I doubt, they will not be forward to do, where possessions are perpetually under question. But besides, it is known by their correspondents here, that several of the Irish merchants beyond sea, even

those who are esteemed the most considerable, will not come hither. But I shall be very glad to be deceived herein, and by my consent any man, though a Jew, who will bring money and live obediently to the laws, shall be welcome, and have all the encouragement and protection the government can give him. As to Sir William Talbot's affair, I shall say nothing at present; but expect what your next letter will say further to me upon that subject: you will by the next receive another letter to you at the Treasury, with my thoughts upon the management of that estate under Sir William's care. I am as happy as I need to be, if the King thinks I do my duty towards the allaying of jealousies, and the pacifying men's minds: I am sure I will continue to do all I can therein, and to make men secure they have no cause to be afraid. Let the success be what it will, I will do my duty: pray God others may do so too. I only say, (which must be the burden of my song) why should not the Chief Governor be trusted with what measures the King has taken? Certainly the concealing them from him is a new way of doing business. I am very glad the King is satisfied that he is well served by the commissioners; really they do serve him very well; but I know my Lord Tyrconnel will do them all the mischief he can. As to my Lord Longford's particular affair, I have discoursed with him, and he is very sensible of Mr. Halsall's wanting his money; which he is doing all he can to supply him with. He told me a long story of matters between him and Mr. Daniel Arthur, of whose dealings he very much complains; but for his justification, and that it might appear he did not put off Mr. Halsall with delays, he desired I would discourse with Sir Joshua Allen, who is Mr. Arthur's correspondent and agent, and is a man of as clear a reputation upon all accounts, as any man in this kingdom, and is as wise a man as you shall meet with of his profession; which, to gratify my Lord, and to serve Mr. Halsall, for whom I have and ought to have an esteem, I did. Sir Joshua Allen told me, my Lord Longford was very much involved with Mr. Arthur; that Mr. Arthur had a tie upon the whole estate, and that my Lord could not raise a shilling without Mr. Arthur joined with him; that Mr. Arthur had desired my Lord Longford to do several things, as to levy fines, &c. and to let him (Sir Joshua Allen, as trustee for Mr. Arthur,) into the possession of the buildings here, that he might receive the profits thereof, whereby to be paid his interest; and that then he, Mr. Arthur, would pay Mr. Halsall all his debt; that about two years since, Lord Longford did all that Mr. Arthur desired, but that Mr. Halsall is not yet paid off, though it were upon that

condition. Sir Joshua Allen further told me, that he did, at the request of my Lord Longford, some months since send to Mr. Arthur, that there was a considerable purchaser (who was in truth Sir Robert Colvill) in treaty with my Lord Longford to buy those buildings here, which would yield more than would satisfy Mr. Arthur and Mr. Halsall too; that he had very lately received Mr. Arthur's consent to join in any conveyance to a purchaser as should be requisite; and that, as soon as the buildings were sold, Mr. Halsall should have his money: but he said (for he would always deal clearly) that he feared purchasers were not so forward now to lay out money as they were some months since; for he found those who had money would not part with it, though upon ancient titles, and though they loved to make the advantage of it. To conclude, he told me in these words, "My Lord, I have had long dealings with Daniel Arthur for some hundred thousands of pounds, and we never differed in accounts; but I must say he has not dealt with my Lord Longford as he ought to have done." Sir Joshua Allen further said, "though Mr. Halsall was the best judge when he had need of his money, yet he knew he was safe, and did receive his interest, and therefore it was hoped he might be prevailed upon to have a little the more patience." In a word, Sir Joshua Allen promised to do all he can to promote the sale of these buildings; and my Lord Longford, in the presence of Sir Joshua Allen, has vowed to me that he will be content to lose 1000*l.* in the purchase, to raise the money for Mr. Halsall, and that he will do any thing that shall be proposed to him; for which Sir Joshua Allen likewise undertakes: for my part, I believe him. Having thus told you the truth of the case, you know best what to say to Mr. Halsall, and how to prevail with him not to incense the King against this poor Lord, who intends well, and for whom Sir Joshua Allen hopes to find one or more purchasers between this and the term; and the forbearing can, as he said, do Mr. Halsall no prejudice, as matters stand. I must not end this letter without telling you one particular: I was told yesterday by a friend of mine, that a Roman Catholic (a great intimate of my Lord Tyrconnel's) informed him that Lord Tyrconnel's great business now was to push to have me recalled, and to be made Lord Lieutenant himself; and that nothing else would satisfy him, and some of the priests. This, he says, Lord Tyrconnel himself owned to him; and that Lord Tyrconnel likewise told him the King would have half the army to be natives, and the other half English. If that be the matter, good God! why should not the Chief Governor be trusted with it, and why should it not be orderly done? which would make

it well digested, and not fright people out of their wits. This Roman Catholic told my friend, he did not bid him tell me this, but he was willing I should know what was working; and to my own knowledge, many of his own countrymen would be troubled to see him in that station; but that as the King pleaseth. I tell you this story only that you may know it: what use to make of it, you best know; I have no objection to the King's knowing it. If it be resolved of, I do not think you or I can change the resolution; but if it were yet to be a secret, it may not be amiss the King should see it is not so. My comfort is, I shall not be recalled for having done any ill thing; and I will always serve the King as well as I can, and as long as I live. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXVI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Stores at Chester.—Citadel of Galway.—Improvement of the fortification proposed.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Sept. 4, 1686.

My Lord Tyrconnel went for England on the 26th of the last month: he resolved to stay a day or two at Chester, to view the stores there, which are designed for this kingdom, some of which I have sent for; the list whereof I send your Lordship here enclosed, and I have sent Mr. Robinson to Chester to take charge of them. I have lately had a letter from the Earl of Clanricard, when he went to take possession of his government of Galway, in which he tells me, the Mayor and Corporation of that town had petitioned him for the opening a passage through the east citadel into the town; that he had referred the petition to several of the town, and officers of the army, who are quartered there, and who have reported their opinions thereupon to his Lordship; copies of all which I here send to you. My Lord Clanricard urgeth much the conveniency of opening this gate, and tells me the town shall be obliged to make up the walls about the citadel, and to make gates and repair the drawbridges, without any expense to the King; and he assures me, it will be a great strengthening to the place. Though it be very fit to hear the advice of a governor of a town, especially of such an one as my Lord Clanricard, yet I think your Lordship should have an account of all these matters relating to the fortifications; and therefore I will tell you the truth of the matter of fact. This gate which is desired to be opened, was the usual way from the country

into the citadel, and so into the town: there were then no fortifications. When the English got this town from the Irish in the late rebellion, the usurpers walled up this gate, and made another by-passage out of the country into the town without the citadel: so that there is now no way into the citadel but through the town; whereas formerly there was one likewise out of the country. The intention of Cromwell was to make the place the more safe against the natives, and, in order to that, he caused some little works to be made about the citadel: now, if this gate be opened, the passage must be through the horn-work. Your Lordship may see all this very plainly in your draft of Galway; and I observe in that, if the King goes on with his design in making those fortifications which are there marked, it is not intended to have any way into the citadel, but from the town, and none from the country. I beg your Lordship to let me have your opinion in this particular. I am,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARENDON. C. P. S.

CCXVII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO MR. BLATHWAIT.

Muster Rolls, and other particulars of the Army in Ireland.—Mr. William Trumbull.—Death of Sir W. Stapleton.—Mr. Stede.—Duke of Albemarle's Voyage to the West Indies.—Col. Molesworth Governor of Jamaica.

SIR, Dublin Castle, Sept. 4, 1686.

On the 31st past I received yours of the 21st. I herewith send you the copy of the last muster-rolls, which you had had sooner, but that we have had so much to do for all clerks, (though there had been twice as many as there are,) by reason of those wonderful alterations which have been made in our army here; and which, I must say, would have been done in a better method in England than has been observed with us. This army is now above half natives of the country; but if the King like it so, it is all well. I have some other things for you, which are transcribing; and you will now speedily have them. You will oblige me in sending me an account how the army in England is quartered this winter, and what rules are made for the attendance of officers with their troops. I hear from William Trumbull, that he has his letters of revocation; but I wonder extremely he should have a mind to go into Turkey, and cannot believe yet he will go. I am very sorry for the

death of Sir William Stapleton: he was one of the best Governors the King had in any of his Plantations; and I doubt his successor will come short of him. I am very glad Mr. Stede gives so good satisfaction: I hope nobody is appointed to supersede him. I have not heard any thing of late of the Duke of Albemarle's speedy voyage into the West Indies; and so long, I take it for granted, Colonel Molesworth is safe in the government of Jamaica; which, I am sure, will be for the good of that island, and for the King's interest there. I hope the King was well pleased with his progress into the West. I am with great truth, Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXVIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Payment of Stipends to the Roman Catholic Bishops out of the Revenues of the vacant Bishoprics. Troubled at the conduct of his sister, whom he has placed in retirement in the North of Ireland.—Dissatisfaction of the Queen at his want of attention to some great Lady.—Abandons all thoughts of improving the Castle.—What he aims at is the King's service, and to give information of the true state of things.—To-morrow Lord Burlington embarks for England, and he proceeds on his journey.

Chapel Izod, Sept. 6, 1686.

I omitted to answer the last paragraph of your last letter concerning the Roman Catholic bishops. At the same time I received the King's letter for the payment of the money he designs to those bishops; which, within an hour after I had it, I communicated to the Roman Catholic primate, who was very well pleased; and the next day I ordered Mr. Price to pay the money to him. I think your letter to me is sufficient, and that I shall not need any further directions. I will be sure to observe the King's commands in having these monies paid out of the revenues of the vacant bishopricks, in the manner you direct. Yesterday came in three packets from England; which brought me yours of the 26th and 31st past. As to what you say of that matter, which gives me so much trouble, (and I confess, I cannot bring my mind to so philosophical a temper as a wise man should do,) I will only give you this account at present, that upon what this unfortunate woman's*

* This alludes to his sister, Mrs. Keightley, with whom he appears to have had a great deal of trouble; what was the nature of her indiscretions does not appear, but there is reason to believe that she was addicted to drinking.

husband said to her before he went away, and what he has since written to her, that it would be convenient for her to retire upon many accounts, and that it would please him better than any thing she could do: she told me a fortnight since, that she was offered a retreat at one Mr. Lesly's house; which I agreed to. They are two brothers, clergymen, who live together, and have very good women for their wives. They are very worthy men, and of good esteem in their calling: her husband knows them well. Thither she went on this day was a se'nnight. It is a private place in the North, sixty Irish miles from hence; that is, as far as from London to Bristol. There she may stay, as long as I will, and we will be thinking of another retreat: in the mean time she is out of view.

As to what you tell me of the Queen's being extremely unsatisfied with me, I have given my sister a perfect account of that whole matter of fact; and I think, when it is considered, I shall not be blamed: I need therefore say no more to you upon it; only this, that nothing in this world could be a greater mortification to me, than her Majesty's displeasure. All the prospect I have of happiness is from her favour; and when the Queen knows the truth, she will not find I have given this lady more countenance than to others of her quality whom I do not know: and I did not believe her Majesty would have had me taken so much notice of her, as to have used her worse than other people. If I have erred, I am sure I did it ignorantly, and I will submit to any penance her Majesty shall impose; which, without the other mortifications I daily have, would be too heavy a load. You know I was never inclined to court fine great ladies, when it was in fashion; and I am not now like to fall into that track at my going out of the world.

I am abundantly satisfied with what you say to me about building at the Castle, and am so perfectly of your mind, that how short soever my stay may be here, I will value myself (though my Lord Tyrconnel laughs at me for it) for having never proposed any thing of expense to the King, which may but look like a conveniency to myself, or which is not of advantage to his service. And so I have done with your first letter.

I have nothing to reply to yours of the 31st, but to thank you for the endeavours you intend to use, that what Mr. Nangle proposeth may be transmitted hither. I am sure all I aim at is, that the King may be truly informed of the state of things, and the true characters of persons here; and I think it is evident I can have no other end but the King's service: and if I have made one partial representation, or done any thing that looks like par-

tiality since my being here, I would be very glad to be told the particular instance. My Lord Burlington hopes to embark this evening. To-morrow morning I begin my progress: you shall hear from me from several places in it. God Almighty keep you and all yours.

CCXIX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Orders and Proceedings for recruiting the Guards, given without his concurrence.—He countermands them. — Encloses the Lieutenant-colonel's order, and makes this report that he may not be misrepresented.

Kilkenny, Sept. 9, 1686.

On Sunday the 5th, when I came to Dublin in the morning, I was told Captain Arthur was gone the day before into Connaught to raise men for recruiting the regiment of Guards; which upon enquiry I found to be true. It would at another time have been thought strange, that such a thing should have been attempted and done without order of the Chief Governor; and I am sure I ought not to suffer it, whilst I have the honour to hold the King's sword. The Lieutenant-colonel told me, he was gone by my Lord Tyrconnel's order. I asked whether my Lord Tyrconnel had ordered that I should know nothing of it? to which he knew not what to say: and I not being satisfied with the Lieutenant-colonel's answer, who loves to command and not to obey, I sent a messenger with an order to Captain Arthur to return, who overtook him; and he came back and found me on Tuesday morning at Sir Arthur Jones's, twelve miles from Dublin, where I was newly arrived, having that morning begun my progress. I asked him how he came to go into Connaught, or anywhere else to raise men, without my order? He told me, he was commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel. I asked him for his order, which he produced; whereof here is a copy.* I commanded him

* "Dublin, September 3, 1686.

"Pursuant to an order from my Lord Tyrconnel dated the 26th day of August, 1686, for the recruiting of his Majesty's regiment of Guards in Dublin, wherein he orders and empowers me to send such officers, and into such countries, as I shall think fit: therefore this is to order you to go into Connaught, or such other countries or towns as you shall judge best, for the raising of such recruits to the number of one hundred and fifty or two hundred men: for which this shall be your warrant.

"William Dorrington."

"To Captain Thomas Arthur, Captain in his Majesty's Regiment of Guards in Dublin."

to go to Dublin, and not to stir from his company till my return; and I have sent an order to the Lieutenant-Colonel not to send any of the officers into the country to raise men, without my further orders. I find it is necessary to give you or some friend an account of all that passes; for I understand, others make what representations they please; and if they were all true, I did not care: and I give you this trouble that you may be informed in this particular, when you find it necessary to take notice of it. My Lord Tyrconnel had orders from me (by the King's command) to put out and put in what men he thought fit; which was never done before, nor I believe would have been done to any one but me: but the King commanded, and I obeyed immediately, and never offered to interpose in the execution of those orders, notwithstanding (as I may say) the extravagances that were committed. But even by those orders, I am sure, if there had been occasion of sending into the countries to raise any numbers of men, he ought not to have done it without my orders; much less to have left his orders behind him for the doing it; for the order mentioned in the enclosed to be given by my Lord Tyrconnel (which has not been yet produced to me) was dated the 26th of August, which was the day he left Dublin. And that very day he was with me, and said nothing to me of it; so that I know no use of this method of proceeding, but on purpose to affront me; which I am sure is more a contempt upon the King's authority, than a prejudice to me. Though I will never do any thing in anger or peevishly, yet I must not, on the other hand, bear all the slights which some people have a mind to put upon me; and I could not show a less resentment of this particular, than in sending for Captain Arthur back again, and doing as I have done: and yet the regiment shall be recruited, and with such men too as were designed. Many other observations may be made upon the enclosed order, which you will know how to do better than I: only it may not be amiss to tell you, that Captain Arthur upon his own account has no more interest in Connaught than I have. I am come thus far on my progress: to-morrow I leave this place, and my wife in it, till my return. God keep you and all yours.

CCXX.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

In favour of Captain Edward Fitz-Gerald.

MY LORD, Kilkenny, September 9, 1686.

I told your Lordship in my last, that I intended to make a short progress into Munster; in which I am thus far advanced, and doubt not at my return to give the King a good account of that whole province. I here met with Captain Edward Fitz-Gerald, for whom I have several times solicited your Lordship; he being in that list, which your Lordship gave me (by the King's command) to be first provided for. It is a great mortification to the gentleman, after his long, faithful, and constant services, and severe sufferings, to find himself quite forgotten, when so many of his countrymen are provided for: he resolves to make another journey into England to cast himself at his Majesty's feet; and I cannot refuse to give him this opportunity to present himself to your Lordship, humbly begging you to appear in his favour to the King, who cannot be kind to an honester man; who has the repute of all who know him, to be as good a horse officer as any the King has. Your Lordship will forgive my earnest solicitation for him, when you consider, that I have no end in it but the King's service, and that I may not be thought unmindful of those whom his Majesty commanded me to put him in mind of: and I would be very unwilling, he should fare worse than others, by having been put into my hands. I am with very great respect,

My Lord, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXXI.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING.

Recommends Captain Fitz-Gerald.—Has not recommended hitherto any but old servants, and chiefly Catholics.—Trusts the King will not believe him partial.

SIR, Kilkenny, September 9, 1686.

I am now in a little progress towards Munster, where I purpose (God willing) to visit all your Majesty's considerable ports; and doubt not, at my return, but I shall give your Majesty a good account of that province. I here

met with Captain Edward Fitz-Gerald, whom your Majesty commanded me to bring over with me, and to take care of him: his name is in that list of persons whom your Majesty intended in the first place to provide for; and I have several times put my Lord President in mind of him, though he hath hitherto been so unfortunate as not to have tasted of your Majesty's bounty, among all the alterations which have lately been made. This honest gentleman resolves to make another journey into England to throw himself at your Majesty's feet. I can say nothing more on his behalf than what your Majesty knows already, that he hath been constantly in the service of the crown, (ever since the first breaking out of the rebellion) both here and in England; of which he carries the marks about him. I beg your Majesty's pardon for this importunity; which I doubt not you will grant, when you consider that it is in the behalf of a gentleman of so good merit, and whom your Majesty yourself was pleased to put into my hands; and that I can have no end in soliciting for him but your service: nor have I presumed to recommend any to your Majesty's favour since I came hither, but those who have always served you; and I think they have been all Roman Catholics. And I hope your Majesty will not believe me partial (though some men without ground are pleased to say so) without examining the particulars for which I am thought to be so; and whenever that is instanced, I will be content to be judged by whomsoever shall be appointed to examine it. God preserve your Majesty; which is the constant prayer of, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXXII.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Has laid before the King the Proclamation for the Acts of Settlement, who objects to its being then issued. His Majesty is not disposed to issue another Commission of Grace.

MY LORD, Windsor, September 11, 1686.

Since my last, I have your Excellency's of the 7th, 14th, 21st, 26th, and 31st of the last month; in answer to which, I am to acquaint you, that Sir Arthur Gore's letter, and the commission for Mr. Barnwell, recommended by you, are despatched and sent away; that I have laid before the King the Proclamation you sent about the Acts of Settlement which was issued in the late Earl of Essex's government; and also the account you give of the consultations in pursuance of his Majesty's directions, which I signified to you in mine of

the 14th of June: upon which his Majesty commands me to tell you, that he does not think it fit such a Proclamation should be issued now, and that as to the other matter, he is not come to any resolution yet therein. In the mean time, I may tell your Excellency, that I do not find his Majesty disposed to issue another Commission of Grace, which he thinks would not answer the ends proposed; and consequently not be for his service. In my next, your Excellency will receive the King's pleasure concerning the chaplains of the three regiments, which you mention in yours of the 31st past. I am,

My Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

CCXXIII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

His reception at Waterford.—Has been inspecting the fortifications.—Lord Tyrone has visited him, but not one other Catholic.—Lord Galmoy.—Abundantly pleased with what he has seen, and thinks his journey will be useful to the King's service.

Waterford, September 12, 1686. 10 at night, Sunday.

I love to give you as frequent an account of myself, and as often as I can; and therefore, though I have no public affairs to entertain you with, I write this to let you know, that, as I intended, I left Kilkenny on Friday, and came that afternoon hither; where I was received with as much demonstration of duty and loyalty to the King, as it was possible for men to make, if his Majesty himself had been here. Yesterday I went down the river (a very noble one, not inferior to the Thames) to Duncannon Fort; and having taken a view of it, and looked upon the Block-house at Passage, and dined with Sir John Ivory, I came back again hither by water in the evening. After my return to Dublin, I will send you the observations I shall make upon the forts here which I shall see. My Lord of Tyrone came to me yesterday morning, and has continued with me all the time of my being here; he lives about eight miles from hence; but not one other of the Roman Catholic gentlemen have been with me: and in this city not one of the Roman Catholic inhabitants (and here are some pretty considerable merchants) hath taken notice of me. It is they make the distinction, and not I, as is very plain; for I am sure I am alike civil and obliging to them all, without making any difference between men of different religions. My Lord Galmoy carried the sword before me, when I came into this city: he came with me, and has stayed with me. I shall

give you a further account of these matters in the rest of my progress: hitherto I have great reason to be abundantly pleased with what I have seen, and I doubt not but I shall make my journey useful to the King's service; which is the only design in my undertaking it. To-morrow I go hence to Lismore; and from Cork you shall have a further account from me. God Almighty keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

CCXXIV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Observations on the state of Waterford, its fortifications, &c.

MY LORD, Waterford, September 12, 1686.

Though your Lordship cannot expect I should have any business to trouble you with from hence, yet I think it fit to give your Lordship an account that I am come thus far on my progress. I went yesterday down the river to Duncannon fort, and took a view of the Block-house at Passage; of the condition of which places, and of the rest of the forts which I shall see, I will give your Lordship a particular account at my return to Dublin. The river is very large and beautiful; ships of the burden of 800 tons come frequently to the quay of this city. The trade here at present is pretty brisk, though it is said to have been decaying these nine or ten years past; which can be imputed to nothing but the natural shifting of trade, which happens all the world over: and I am sure it is very much increased in other ports of this kingdom since the time mentioned. I find the people, both here and where I have been, as full of duty and loyalty to the King and his government as it is possible to express; and hope I shall find them so in other parts. I leave this place to-morrow; on Wednesday I shall be at Cork, from whence I shall give your Lordship an account of all that occurs. I am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful and most humble servant,

CLARENDON, C. P. S.

CCXXV.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Progress of his Journey.—Lismore, Lord Burlington's.—Youghall.—Castle-Martyr, Mr. H. Boyle's.—Bandon, settled by the Earl of Cork.—Kinsale, its harbour.—Is satisfied that his letter to the Queen should not be delivered.—What Lord Tyrconnel says about their being all agreed what measures to propose to the King not true.—His view of the state of things, and what would be the best course to pursue.—Some people more intent on their own interests than those of the King.—His conduct in regard to the Catholics; is visited by them.—Aims at uniting all classes, but the natives very averse to the English.

Cork, Sunday, September 19, 1686.

My last to you was on this day sennight from Waterford: the next morning I left that town, and arrived at night at Lismore; where my Lord Burlington had given such orders, that we were as well entertained, (and my retinue was then grown pretty large) as if his Lordship had been there himself. On Tuesday, after a very good breakfast and destroying some of my Lord's salmon, I left Lismore, and came that night to Youghall soon enough to see the harbour, and to make some observations upon matters there; which I shall give account of, and which will be for the King's service. On Wednesday morning, after I had viewed five companies of my Lord Mountjoy's regiment (which are there quartered), and seen them exercise, I left Youghall. I dined at Castle-Martyr, Mr. H. Boyle's; and in the evening I got to this town, where I lodged that night. On Thursday morning I went to Bandon, where I dined: it is a very pretty town, and well seated upon a fine river; it is an English plantation, made and settled by the old Earl of Cork. That afternoon I went to Kinsale, where I lodged. Friday, after I had visited both the forts, and taken a view of the harbour (which is very well worth the seeing), I left Kinsale, and returned hither again that night. Yesterday I viewed the Major-general's regiment, which is all quartered here: I saw them exercise, which they performed as well as is possible for such new men. Just before I left Kinsale I received three packets from England, with yours of the 7th instant, and several from the Treasury Chamber; to which I hope you do not expect answers till my return. I am fully satisfied that you do not deliver my letter to the Queen: pray tell me if you would have me write another to her, and to what effect. If any thing were to be wondered at which some people do, I might wonder that my Lord Tyrconnel should say, that he thought we were all agreed in what to

offer to the King: if that had been so, it should have been transmitted to his Majesty, and signed by every one of us. If I saw those minutes you mention, which were signed by some of the company, and if I were at Dublin with my papers, I could write more fully; but this I will say at the present, and (if I can trust my memory at this distance from my papers) you will find, in the account I gave my Lord President of that last consultation, that I say it was believed a Parliament would give considerably, if possessions might be confirmed; but if the money to be raised were to be distributed to satisfy such as ought to have been reprised with lands of equal value, worth, and purchase, that it was believed money would not be given for that end. The act says, that such persons (therein mentioned) shall be restored to their estates, or to a certain proportion of them, (therein expressed) when the persons then in possession shall be first reprised with lands of equal value, worth, and purchase. The persons then in possession did not settle themselves, nor begin to plant, till the time allotted to the Commissioners of the Court of Claims was expired; but had there been sufficient, the time of the commission being expired, no authority but those Commissioners (who were then at an end) could grant reprisals; no not the King himself, without a new Act of Parliament. This being the case, and no prospect of another Parliament, the persons then and now in possession fell to planting and improving, which is now nineteen years since. And now, after so many settlements, deaths, and alienations as have been, to alter these proprieties would be looked upon as so great a breach upon the acts, as would fright all men who are concerned in the settlements, as well as those who at the beginning ought to have been reprised, if the stock had not failed. The shaking of possessions and titles, founded upon Acts of Parliament is so nice, that men concerned fancy there will be no end; and they think every branch may be as well invaded as the possessions: and the whole drift of the acts (which seem now to be questioned) was to preserve and quiet the possessors. And an Act of Parliament (when the King thinks it seasonable to call a Parliament) to confirm possessions (if it be odious to mention a commission) would, no question, procure a great sum of money; out of which those might be gratified who ought to be provided for. And this is not only the opinion of myself, and the others who did not sign the minutes which my Lord Tyrconnel shows; but it is the opinion of very many honest Irish Catholics: and believe me, it will appear (which I would say to the King himself, if I were now speaking to him,) that the design of some, who brag of the power they

have, is not so much to find a way to provide for those who want, as to unsettle all; whereby they hope to get opportunities of making their own fortunes. Whatever my Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Nangle propose, it is still but the opinion of two men; or, at most, what is aimed at by one side: and there is no doubt but the King will, early or late, hear and examine the concerns of the other interests, there being the welfare of a whole great kingdom at stake, in the prosperity of which the King himself is infinitely concerned; and he will find that some people carry on other interests more than his. In mine from Waterford I told you, that very few of the Roman Catholics had then appeared among the multitude of those who met me in the country: I can still say, that hitherto (though I have been met with by thousands since I left Kilkenny) there have not appeared ten Roman Catholics, and some of those have even owned to me, that they are out of countenance to see their countrymen so backward; which has been so much taken notice of in this town, that some have spoken of it to the Major-general, who seemed uneasy at it, and thereupon asked me if I would give the Roman Catholic bishop of this place leave to come to me. I told him that bishop used to visit me at Dublin; that he knew he might come to me when he pleased; that I made no distinction of persons or nations; and if any one thought I did, I would take it for a great favour to be told so: and this evening that bishop was with me. The Major-general likewise asked me, if I would give some Roman Catholic merchants leave to come to me. I made him the same answer as to the other, but with this further, that I wondered those gentlemen did not appear with the rest of their society, especially now being freemen of the city: to which he made no reply, but this evening brought four merchants to me, when their bishop came. The best way to serve the King I take to be uniting all people, that they may all join together in promoting the trade, and other public affairs of the kingdom; and I am sure I am not backward in my endeavours therein: but I must needs say, by what I have hitherto observed, I find the natives will scarce hold any communication with the English, and will hardly treat them with common civility. At my return, when I have finished my progress, you shall know what other observations I have made. To-morrow I leave this place: you shall hear again from me from Limerick. God keep you, and my sister, and all yours.

[*This Correspondence is resumed at the commencement of Vol. II.*]

APPENDIX.

I.

DIARY OF THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE,

OF THE PARTICULAR OCCURRENCES DURING HIS EMBASSY TO JOHN SOBIESKI, KING OF POLAND, IN 1676.

[The following Diary was not discovered in time to place it at the commencement of the present volume, where it ought to have stood. It affords a curious picture of the diplomacy of the time, when ceremony and squabbles for precedence seem to have been among the most important functions of an Ambassador.]

Mr. Hyde was accompanied by the eminently witty and distinguished Dr. South, in the quality of chaplain; and he has left some account of their journey in a letter to Dr. Pococke, which has been printed in the memoirs of his life. The first part of this Diary is wanting, and it may not therefore be amiss to lay before the reader some particulars from Dr. South's narrative:—"The Ambassador set sail from Portsmouth in the Tyger man-of-war, on the 11th of June. After staying some time in the Sound to despatch messages, with compliments to the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, they cast anchor before Dantzic on the 11th of August, where being received under the discharge of artillery on the ramparts, he was the next day conducted to an audience of the Queen of Poland, (who made a journey thither while the King her husband was in the field,) wherein he paid her Majesty the usual devoirs in the name of his royal master, and presented the infant princess her daughter with a very rich jewel, and a cross of diamonds of very great value. He afterwards, with a very magnificent retinue, set forward from Poland, and was received by the King, in his camp near Leopol, in Russia, with demonstrations of respect and kindness suitable to his character and person; where his Majesty did him the honour of sending some of his chief officers to show him the army and their way of encamping. The peace with the Turks and Tartars being happily concluded, to the advantage of Poland, (Mr. Hyde having had no small share in the management,) the King returned in November to Zolkien, a town in Russia, his own patrimony, adorned and defended by a castle, and intermixed with several delightful gardens, &c.; and the Ambassador had his public audience in the most solemn manner, delivering his master's compliments in a Latin speech, (furnished by Dr. South,) the Polish monarch replying in the same language extemporarily, for he had Latin *ad unguem*, one of his predecessors having been shamed into the making it a fashionable accomplishment in an interview with a King of Sweden. From thence Mr. Hyde proceeded to the Imperial Court, to

condole with the Emperor Leopold on the death of the Empress; but, on his arrival at Vienna, finding the Emperor married again, he passed into Holland, and found there a commission appointing him one of the Ambassadors Mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen. The circumstances which arose in this mission are recorded in the following Diary, which, though unfortunately mutilated, still contains much that is curious and interesting. The reader will be amused with one passage, in which the Ambassador attributes the ill-temper of his chaplain (Dr. South) to his having left him behind him without a cook to cater for him!

All previous to the page numbered 85 *in the MS. of this portion of the Diary is lost:— and it commences thus:—*

I sent to him in the morning to thank him for his favour last night, to welcome him to town, and to let him know I was very sorry I had not my equipage in order to wait upon him; to which he sent me back answer, that he would not fail to come to me. About ten o'clock the Stolnick came to me, and said he would have come oftener but for fear of troubling me: in the mean time he was afraid I was but melancholy here, that I had nothing to divert me, and that if I would care to go any where he would go with me to show me, or if I would go see any of the ladies. I accepted of the last, and so we agreed to meet in the afternoon at four o'clock. After this I had prayers, and after dinner the English Ambassador sent me more news: in one gazette *à la main* there was said that the King of England was perfectly recovered: it was the first and the only time I had heard of his having not been well, I had been so well used by all my friends and acquaintance in England. At four o'clock I went to the Stolnick, and from thence we went to the Great Chamberlain's lady: the man was at home too, and they both met me at the gate, but I took care it should be known the visit was not to him. The house was very handsome, and well furnished within; it looks over the Vistula, upon a very pleasant country; the outside is ugly, and only a timber building. The lady of the house is a German born, but speaks French perfectly, is a woman of good sense; *et connoist son monde* very well, and by her discoursing of books, and the authors, both in poetry and prose, in the Polonian language, she put me a little in mind of my Lady Scroop; to which her age, and her knowing every thing in the court and in the town, contributed more. I stayed there so long, that it was too late to go any where else, and so I went from thence home.

On Monday, the $\frac{4}{14}$ *September,*

Was a great holiday here, Holyrood Day, and so strictly kept, that I could not meet with any body in order to my business for going out of town; the man of whom I was to receive money was not to be spoken with, and a coachmaker of whom I was buying a coach the day before, which was Sunday, without any scruple, this day would not speak a word about it; so I was afraid it might be as inconvenient to the better sort of people to be disturbed; which made me stay at home all day without much divertisement. Dr. South was in some measure returned to his good-humour again, and if it improves, I shall hope I have done him good with the discourse I had with him. At night he told me this was his birth-

day, and that he was complete forty-two. We drank his health, and put him into a very good temper and pleasantness. Mr. Shaw told me he had been abroad at a meeting of several of the gentlemen of Poland, who were assembled in this town, as he told me, in order to another assembly that was to be in the same place about six weeks hence, which was to be in order to a general Diet; and that these provincial assemblies did always precede in this manner to the general one: he said they had been in great heats about the choosing of their chairman, and that it was a very tumultuous assembly, and that they had been so long about it, that their business was to be adjourned till to-morrow. And of this very meeting, Dr. South, who had been likewise informing himself of the occasion of it, gave me this other account:—that it was a meeting of the gentlemen of the province of Mazovia, in order to send some persons of their choosing to attend at Lublin, at a court of judicature that was to be kept there, for the trial of extraordinary causes, and particularly relating to the gentlemen of Poland. Thus hard it is for a man to be truly informed of any thing, how near soever one is oneself to it; but I confess in this country it is harder than in any other place in the world, which, whether it proceeds from the ignorance of those that pretend to be able to inform one, or from their great habit of lying designedly, it is hard to judge, since they are so very guilty of both. Upon this occasion I cannot forget, that the first visit the Stolnick made me, he told me he expected an express from the court every hour, and that when he came he would impart his news to me. The next morning, which was last Wednesday, he sent me word his messenger was come, and that the news was, that the Turks had put in succour into Kaminieck, expecting the King of Poland might have besieged it, and had sent to the Palatine of Russia for propositions of peace. This was Wednesday morning, and at night the usual post comes in, which had come away much about the time of his express; and a gentleman of Poland, from whom I was to receive money, coming to see me, showed me a letter he had received that post from the court too, with intelligence so contrary to the other, that one would have thought the Palatine of Russia should have sent for the peace, and not the Turks; for he said that the Turks had in six days repaired a bridge over the Niester, which the Poles had broken down, and that they were come over so strong that the Poles retired before them, and that instead of apprehending any siege before Kaminieck, they, the Turks, were advanced many leagues on this side of it, and were about to besiege a town called Jaslowitz, belonging to the Poles, within eighteen leagues of Leopol; and that this had caused so great terror, that all the country people were warned by the shot of great guns, the usual signal, it seems, to remove themselves and all they had out of the villages into strong towns; and afterwards I found this in more mouths than the other, and I believe the truer, and yet the Stolnick is a man more likely to have the right intelligence, but perhaps not so likely to tell it. This night I gave order for every thing to be in readiness for my further journey against Thursday, hoping that either tomorrow, by the return of my express, it being his 9th day, and so his last, or on Wednesday at farthest, by the arrival of the post, I may have such news as may direct me what to do; and I would begone the first minute after I hear what I am to do, being sufficiently weary of this attendance, in so very an undiverting place, and having at the present very fine weather, which at this time of the year is a jewel not to be lost.

Tuesday, September the $\frac{5}{15}$th.

I sent in the morning to the Stolnick, that I desired to come to wait upon him, and to know his hour; he sent me word, at three o'clock in the afternoon. About ten the Referendarius came to me, having sent just a minute before: he excused his having been three or four days in town before he came hither, but that he had so much business with the gentlemen of the country, which he said always ended in drinking. He asked me about my intentions of going to the Court: I told him I expected an answer to my letter every hour, and that I hoped I should go away on Thursday: he told me that perhaps it would not be very safe for me to venture, if this news of the Tartars being come so far into the country were true; that he for his part was to go upon business, but he would stay till there were more security; but he thought if the King did appoint me to go up to him, he would send guards to attend me, and that without that it was not advisable. I told him that I had sent to beg to know what place his Majesty would give me audience in; and according as the answer came, I was to govern myself. I spoke to him afterwards about the money I was to receive of his correspondent here, who had made some difficulty about the payment; and he told me it should be set right. He was very civil, and told me he was at home here, and would be glad if he could do me any service, and would fain have invited me to dinner, but I excused it, for fear of ending with him as his countrymen had done; and so he took his leave. In the afternoon I went to the Stolnick, and we went afterwards together to the Palace as they call it: it is a house that King John Casimir built, and gave it in his will to the Duke of Anguien: but this present King and Queen live in it when they are in town, and it is said they will buy it. It is but a little house, not above ten or twelve rooms of a floor, in one compact pile, but they are pretty well adorned with painting and gilding, but it is not great enough for a Court: it stands almost in the middle of a pretty large garden, and according to the manner of this country, fine, of the contrivance of King Casimir's Queen, who took delight in it, and died here. As we walked, he entertained me of some of the customs of Poland, and particularly that the King hath the disposal of all manner of offices and benefices very freely and absolutely; but he must dispose of them, he may not keep them vacant, and when he hath disposed them, he can never displace any body; the government will not suffer him to keep any of them vacant, for fear of enriching himself too much, (and yet he doth not always give them away without some gratification;) and hath not thought fit to let him have the displacing of any body, for fear that should make them depend too much upon him. His revenue, as he is King, is about twenty millions of gilders, and no more; but that is only, as you would say, for his privy purse; for his household, his guards, and all manner of expenses are defrayed by the Commonwealth, according to an establishment which the Treasurer of the Kingdom hath the ordering of, and never gives an account to the King; neither can the King order him to pay or not to pay. Out of the garden is a private way to the Chamberlain's house, where I was on Sunday; which made him entertain me again of his office, which is very great in the Court, and by his description of it is like that of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, but there is but one. He told me, this King had not yet had time to

put his Court in much order, having been so continually taken up at the war; and by the account I have of his Majesty's very sudden and private motions, I cannot expect it ever can be. This gentleman confirmed to me what I had heard from one or two more, that very often when he is to go a journey, he will not declare in the morning where he will dine, nor then where he will lie; and very often, having been in his coach an hour and towards one way, he will on a sudden turn about and go a direct contrary; and he told me the Queen is of the same humour. They are both so lately come to this high dignity, that they are wanton with it, and know not how to show their greatness more, than in thus tormenting those that are to wait upon them, and disappointing every body's expectations of them. This Chamberlain lately married his daughter to the great Marshal of the Crown, whose name is Lubomirski, son to the great Lubomirski, who made so much disturbance here; this King and he were then great friends, and the kindness continues to the children. After we had done walking, I carried the Stolnick home, and then came home myself. A little after, he sent me his Italian letter, from the same hand he had one last week from Vienna; it was come from thence hither in eight days. I was glad to find that there is one way, by which a man may be from this place in so good a part of the world in eight days. There was little news in it, and but an excuse there was none, by reason of the Emperor and all the Ministers being gone out of town to Città Nuova, to meet the Emperor's sister, that had been Queen here, so that all expresses from the army had gone by without imparting any thing. But by ordinary letters it was said, that Philipsbourg held out still, and it was thought would defend itself to the very last, though there was little hopes of its being to be relieved; that the Imperialists had lost a great many very brave, great, and worthy men before it: but by this letter and many others that speak of Maestricht, I should expect to hear that siege will be raised by the French, because Monsieur Humieres and Monsieur Schomberg march with that intention; and that they cannot be hindered from coming, as Monsieur de Luxembourg was at Philipsbourg; so that the Prince of Orange hath nothing to do but to venture a general assault before they come, or a battle when they are come: in either of which I am apt to believe the Prince of Orange may have the worse. By this Italian letter, I find the Stolnick's name to be Wielopolschi.

On Wednesday, the $\frac{6}{16}$th.

In the morning, about nine o'clock, the Stolnick came to see me; and as we had agreed over night, we went out together to the Castle, as they call it, where the Kings did formerly live, and where the Parliament sits when they are assembled: where I saw the room where the Senators sit, and where the other part of the Diet are brought when the King comes first to them, for otherwise I understand they sit in distinct rooms. And from thence I went through the King's and Queen's apartments, which consist of a guard chamber, and three or four other rooms lying within one another, and each pretty well gilt and painted on the roofs, but nothing great or fine; this hath a prospect too upon the Vistula, and over a very fine large country, but no garden, only a terrace walk, which was very bleak and cold this day. The rest of the house is large and scambling and

irregular as any King's in Christendom; but I suppose it serves for the officers as well as in other places. We went from hence to the great church of the town, which is not a cathedral, but a kind of collegiate, and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Posna; and from thence to the Jesuits; but neither of them are worth the pains: and so back again to my house. He told me, as we were together, that some of Monsieur de Bethune's people were come last night, and that they said the Queen and he and the Marquess, came from Dantzic on Monday was sennight, and that they were to stop some time at Meve, and that they believed they might be here within two or three days; he told me that another gentleman, come to town last night from Dantzic, said that the news there was, that the siege of Maestricht was raised before the French army came up, and that amongst the besiegers the fault was laid upon the Spaniards: I suppose the Spaniards will do as much for the Prince of Orange. If Monsieur de Luxembourg can do as much for Philipsbourg, by the diversion he was about to make by besieging Fribourg, the confederates will have made a fine campaign. From this we passed to other discourses, and particularly concerning religion, and amongst other things, he told me there was a law passed in the Diet here, since the abdication of King John Casimir, that no Papist might change his religion, under forfeiture of all his estate and goods whatsoever; and that he himself wondered very much how that law had passed, since none can be passed if any man will oppose it, and that there were above twenty Nuntios, as they call them here, that is to say, members, that were then present, of the Protestant religion. After this, going to other discourses, he told me that Monsieur de Bethune was to lie at his house, and when he came, he hoped I would come there to receive him, if I made no difficulty of meeting with Monsieur de Bethune, as he supposed I did not. I find the world hath taken it pretty well for granted, that the King of France is the greatest man in the world, and that all princes yield to him, or else that this gentleman doth not very well understand these punctilios; however, I answered that I made no difficulty of meeting him, because I would have them think the difficulty should be as great on the other side as on mine, though I do not intend to be there, and do heartily hope I may be gone out of this town before any of them come, though I begin to doubt they will not give my express a sudden despatch from the Court. When he was gone, the Great Chamberlain, whose lady I had been to see, sent to know when I would be seen, and I appointed him at three o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour he came; the conversation was all by an interpreter, for he and I could not understand one word of one another's languages. At night I received two letters from Abbot Brunetti, one by the post, and the other by my express, both to the same purpose; that though that King had a great desire to receive me upon many accounts, yet being obliged, or expecting it at least every day, to march against the Turks, who were very far advanced into this country, he would by no means let me make so uncertain a journey in regard of finding him, and dangerous to myself, and had therefore commanded him, the Abbot, to send me word to stay still here at Warsaw, till he should send me further orders what to do: upon which I have nothing to do but provide more patience and warm clothes, since I am like to be here in the cold weather.

On Thursday, September the $\frac{7}{17}$th.

In the morning, I sent Mr. Shaw to receive more money, which he brought me; having provided it against that day, in hopes that I might have been going forward on my way: and being walking in my garden, they brought me word there was one to speak to me from the Resident of Muscovy. I sent for him to me, and his message was, that the Resident desired to know when he might come to see me. I had never sent to this minister, because I would not invite him to come to see me, by reason of the difficulties I knew there used to be between Envoys and Ambassadors about the hand; but I answered, that if he pleased to do me that favour, I was ready at any time he would to receive it; but I thought fit to advertise him of one thing, which I thought he could not be ignorant of, in relation to his reception, that I could not give him the right hand in my house, which was a general rule from Ambassadors to all Envoys; and therefore I hoped he would not take it ill. The man that came could not understand me; but I took the best care I could by an interpreter, to make him apprehend it; and to that end repeated it two or three times: so I thought I should hear no more of him; but within a quarter of an hour, he was himself at my door, took no notice of my message, but yielded the hand without disputing it, and so we sat down; and he told me, that being very sensible of the good understanding that was between our two masters, he came to continue the good correspondence, to bid me welcome to town, and so more of these usual civilities. He is a brave, portly man; and when he was gone, his Secretary came to mine, to know my titles, which I sent: and afterwards, without asking for them, he brought his master's. This afternoon, the Treasurer and his lady came to town, and sent to me as soon as they arrived, and in the evening Monsieur de Bethune did the like; and so,

On Friday, September the 8th,

After I had written and sent away my letters for England, I sent Mr. Shaw to Monsieur de Bethune to make him my compliment, and to his lady; and to know at what hour I might see them; and whether it would not be more convenient to them, after their journey, to-morrow than to-day; and they sent me word, that either to-day or to-morrow, which I pleased; and without appointing an hour. I had bid Mr. Shaw make the same compliment to the Treasurer and his lady, though in strictness I ought not to have visited him till he had been with me; but I thought, being he had paid me that civility once at Dantzic, the point was enough yielded. Mr. Shaw found him not at home, nor his lady, but met him at Monsieur de Bethune's, and made him the compliment; and he took it as he should, for he said he would come to see me first. I had bid Mr. Shaw go last of all to the Stolnick and borrow his coach, that I might make all these illustrious visits; and Mr. Shaw, by not punctually telling me the answer from the Stolnick, had like to have brought me into an inconvenience; for the Stolnick asked at what time I would have it, and the other answering three o'clock, he made answer, it shall come when it is time; and Mr. Shaw brought me

word only that he had desired it at three o'clock, and that I should have it. So having but half the message, and having stayed from three till past four, I thought it was time to go, because I had two visits to make, and it is not safe being late abroad in this place; and so went in my hackney-coach: and a little before I came to the Ambassador's house, I overtook the Pope's Nuntio stopping to speak to the Treasurer, who met him. I apprehended he was going to Monsieur de Bethune, and so I bade my coach drive apace, and went in before him, and alighted; but finding not Monsieur de Bethune at the door to receive me, and some of his gentlemen telling me he begged my pardon, he had given this hour to the Nuntio, I asked for my lady, and made no business. After the Nuntio was gone, he came into us, and we were without any constraint one to another. I made him my complaint as decently as I could, for being detained still here; and told him that it was very unlucky, that being not to be here long enough to make an equipage, I should yet stay as if I were; and having no manner of business, but to make a compliment, I could not be admitted to make it, or else to be gone without making it; which I took the liberty to tell him I looked upon as more decent than to stay here a month or two, only to make excuses at last for not coming a month or two sooner. He found I was dissatisfied, and I believe thought I had reason, so he told me, "Have but patience till to-morrow: I am to go a league off to meet the Queen, and I believe there will come an express this night from the King to her; and if he brings any news for you, you shall know it; and however, it shall go hard but something shall be done to hasten your journey; and I will be with you to-morrow, and give you an account;" and so we parted. And in the mean time that I had been within here, I had sent Mr. Massam, not to the Treasurer, but to his lady, to know if I might come to wait upon her, and he having brought me word I might, I went straight thither, where the Treasurer met me at the door, and carried me in to his lady, and stayed there too. I had not been long set, but they brought word the Nuntio was come there too; and the Treasurer went out to meet him, and brought him into the room where my lady and I was, I know not whether by chance or how. So I was embarrassed again; but every body stood up some time, and when the Treasurer spoke to us to sit down, I came away, and so I hope did no harm in this ceremony: it may be the Treasurer was not aware of the circumstances, the King my master is in different from all other princes, as to the Pope: for they dispute not the place with him, as Holy Father; but the King, who owns him not as such, doth not yield more to him than to other princes: thus have I been haunted twice by the Pope this day. I expect what Monsieur de Bethune will bring me to-morrow from the Queen.

On Saturday, the $\frac{9}{19}$*th.*

I received a letter in the morning from Monsieur de Bethune, telling me that he had not failed to think of expedients for me, since I had spoke yesterday to him, in order to the shortening of my stay here; and that he would come to me in the afternoon and tell me more: in the mean time I might give order for my things and servants to be in readiness to depart. At three o'clock he came, but with him the Treasurer and the Stolnick; so we spoke not a word of my journey, but fell discoursing of several

things, and amongst the rest, of the Bishops here, what great men they were; what vast revenues and privileges; and above all the rest, the Bishop of Varmelan, who they reckoned hath above 30,000*l.* sterling a year, and hath power of coining money, and all the privileges of a prince. From hence they fell of talking how the bishops had lost their privileges and revenues in England: I told them they had lost some of their revenues, but retained still very great ones; and all their dignities. And from thence they fell to talk of the several religions in England; and the Treasurer told me he had been of my religion, and that he had changed upon the pure motives of conscience, and upon a clear understanding that he was in the wrong, and particularly that one thing had confirmed him. Having heard many conferences on both sides, he had proposed these two heads to several of our Church, as he called it, to have their opinions of, to wit, concerning predestination, and the eucharist; and that having heard several of them discourse severally upon them, he had got them at last to put their opinions in writing and sign them, and that, looking afterwards over them with great attentiveness, he found no two of them of a mind, which made him conclude they were none in the right. I told him I wished he could understand English, that I might give him a book, (I meant Chillingworth,) where he would see a man of our Church, of great learning and piety, of no interest nor passion, to have changed three times, and giving the reasons every time for so doing. He told me he could understand English, and I told him if he would read the book, I would for his soul's sake send it him when I came into England. Monsieur de Bethune commended my little bed; and did as good as beg some of the English printed Norwich stuffs, which are of several colours: which, if I live to come into England, I will send him some of. After some other discourses not so serious as the first, they rose up to go away; and then Monsieur de Bethune took me aside, and told me he would not say any thing to me before the Treasurer, but that which he was to tell me was, that the Queen would go away to-morrow towards the King, who was not yet gone to the army, and that he himself intended to go on Monday, and advised me to go on Tuesday; that if I would, I should go on Monday, *qu'il me donneroit la route;* he thought it not convenient we should go together, and he thought it was more for my advantage if he went first; that he would certainly make it more easy for me to come to the King; but I should do what I would. I told him I would stay a day or two longer, and let him go if he pleased. Then he told me the Queen was in town, and lay at a convent; and that he had made her a compliment from me, that I thought not fit to trouble her as she passed, which was the reason I had not been to wait upon her; but that the Nuntio had been there, and that he thought I should do well to go, or at least to send to make the compliment of going if the Queen would give me leave. I asked him to whom I was to send, and he bid me send to-morrow morning to him. I find he and his wife have the sole government of her, from all other the ministers; and so we joined with the rest of the company again, and the Treasurer told me he hoped he should enjoy my company some time here, and making offers of service and civility. I told him I hoped I might go to the King too, since I heard the Queen would go, and Monsieur de Bethune; and he whispered me, "I do not believe they will go: the Queen says so, and Monsieur de Bethune hath a mind to it; but

if they do, I believe they will have orders, before they are gone two days' journey, to stop." I see the great men are of different minds, and a little time will show who understands the affairs best. As they were all going out, the Treasurer turned back, and said aloud, "Well, I shall never forget this alcove!" Every body was desirous to know for what, thinking it had been another thing that had made him so mindful of the alcove. "This was the Archbishop of Guesne's house; and here," said he, "did we meet constantly, and contrive all our business against the last King, Michael; here and at my house," said he, "it was all done." Which he said, I suppose, now, before Monsieur de Bethune, to make his court to the present King; but I should think that neither the contrivance at first was very honest, nor that owning it since very prudent. When they were gone, I sent to have made my visit to the Moscovite Resident, thinking I had taken state enough upon me since the time he had been here: my servant that I sent, brought me word that they were all undressed in the house, and that he stayed some time before he could be admitted, which made him think the Resident was so too; and that when he did speak to him, he made an excuse and wished it might rather be to-morrow. A little after this, without sending before, or any ceremony, Monsieur de Marseilles came, whom, according to strictness, I should have gone first to. He told me that he would not live with ceremony with such a man as I was, and especially since our masters were so good friends; and that though he had but a very little time to stay in town, he would not go through it without seeing me. After this he told me all the news of the relief of Maestricht; of the mutiny and disorder that had been at Venice in the choosing of a new Duke; of the Dutch ships being gone away from Sicily in discontent; and in fine, something of Rome too, to show me that he had correspondence all over the world: and after this we parted with all the compliments in the world, and assurances of friendship. And I must lay in for some more patience; the stock I had provided being spent upon the hopes Monsieur de Bethune had given me in his letter, that he had something to say to me that would shorten my stay here: which when it amounted to nothing new from the Court, and that the matter he told me was contested between him and the Treasurer, (though he knew not so much, as I did, and was yet more confirmed in it because they both spoke to me apart, and were jealous of one another,) I conclude hath nothing of certainty in it, but that both they and I may be still here some time.

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[Here the Manuscript is imperfect.]

* * * strong enough, they said, against any Tartars, and great guns in it too for offence as well as defence, but the way to it was too narrow either for waggons or coaches to get at it; so that if we went thither, we ran the hazard of abandoning all our equipage, which was not advisable. So we got up all on horseback, to view where it might be a proper place to encamp with our waggons and coaches round about us; which was judged to be the best defence we could make. It was by this time quite dark; but riding about, and discoursing of the danger we were probably in (and I confess, being still of opinion it was not so great, nor could be so sudden as they discoursed, of which they convinced me by

assuring me that the Tartars would make twenty-five or thirty of those leagues in a night, of which we could not make above nine in fourteen or sixteen hours; and that their manner was to come with three or four horses to every man, on which they rode by turns continually, without resting, and the others were taught and accustomed to follow without being led, we came at last to a place which was encompassed round with a little bank and a ditch, and a pale on the top of it, in which there was a Polish gentleman's house, and two or three barns not covered, and a good large court, where all the coaches and waggons might be very well received: into which we entered, and having viewed it, we judged it the best place to quarter in; and accordingly sent for all our people to come to it, who had till then remained at the house where we were first. In the house in this place, were two or three rooms, the best of which was made so hot with the stoves that I could not so much as stay one minute in it; and declared I could not lie there whatever became of me, and was resolved rather to have stayed in my coach. I think Monsieur de Bethune had a mind to have the best room here too, which was the hot one; and immediately made his bed be put up in it, and asked if I would not put up mine. I told him he might see I could not so much as enter into it for the heat; and he himself, in the night, was fain to rise and go out of it for the same reason: at last I did set up mine in another room in the same house. Before we went to bed, the Stragesneck had sent out troopers towards Leopol and Zulkiew, to bring intelligence towards the morning, and so we went to our rest. About one of the clock

On Friday the $\frac{22}{2}$ *of October,*

When I was in the soundest sleep that I think I was ever in my life, Mr. Boyd, a Scotch merchant that came with me from Lublin, came into my chamber, to tell me the Stragesneck had sent to me that we must immediately get ready; for there was a fresh alarm, and the guns were now heard afresh; and that the signal usually was one gun, if there were only an apprehension, and two if the Tartars were actually near, but if more, that they were in great numbers: all which signals were just now heard. We got up and ready, and got all the carriages and coaches in the same posture; but then, finding none of the watches that were sent out returned, and not knowing whither to go, nor being well able to stir before day, after a new consultation with the Stragesneck, we thought it best to let every thing remain in the posture they were, all the horses ready in the waggons; and we ourselves went again to sleep upon the benches and our coaches, till day-break. At that time hearing no more, we judged it was best to go on our nearest way to Leopol, which was the only very secure place we could promise ourselves: we had four long leagues to get to it, so that we were to go in the best order we could, and take care to keep close together. We put ourselves under the government of the Stragesneck, who had another company of Dragoons, besides those Monsieur de Bethune had from the Stolnick, so that one of those troops marched in the van, the coaches and the goods in the middle, and the other troops in the rear, which was all that was to be done. We went two long leagues through the greatest and thickest wood of beeches and some oaks that ever I saw, and when we got through it, we made a halt to see all our people again together,

and then we had two leagues more to go through an open and plain country, which was so much the worse for us. But at this time two of the messengers, sent out last night, returned, and brought news, that the occasion of the shooting was, besides the general notice to the country people, an apprehension that the Tartars did that night design to have fallen upon the camp that is near the town; not that with the King: and that they, the messengers, had been as far as Leopol, and that all was very safe that way. We still continued our march in the same order and care, and it pleased God to bring us very safe to the town about one o'clock at noon. Within half a league of it I took leave of the French Ambassador, upon pretence that one of my own waggons, that was heavy laden, was not come up; and besides, that I must send into town for a house, which I could not do before, because of the strict order that had been given that nobody should scatter from the rest; but the truth was, that I was not willing to enter into the town with him, which was a public place, for fear of something that might fall out, which might turn to my prejudice; and I hope that hitherto in this journey nothing hath: and so we parted upon the plain field. And I stopped there almost half an hour, and sent one into town for a house. And in the mean time all the French train was got in, so that we were as if we never had been together; and I came into town by myself, with my own attendants, and have reason to thank God for escaping all these dangers, which were really greater than I apprehended them; for by the time I was well in my lodging, I was credibly informed, that the Tartars had been within half a league of the town, and had taken away all the cattle, which I had taken notice of at that distance as I came along, and the poor people and children that were with them: the people of the town wondering how the French Ambassador and I had possibly got in, because they knew all the passages into the town were almost beset by the Tartars, and that they were grown so familiar in the country, that they went up and down scattered in little troops of twenty and thirty men, whereby they did the more mischief, because the country did not in that manner know them from others; so that if they, the Tartars, came in into places where they apprehended no resistance, they could do the same mischief as if they were in greater numbers; but if by chance, they met, or saw at a distance, numbers stronger than themselves, they were secure from them, because they were not suspected for such till they could send notice to stronger parties, which were never far off, to come and join with them. Well, I am here in a very ill house, but I endeavour to get a better, and to have patience till I can. Within an hour after I was in my house, there fell the greatest rain I ever saw: we had had, all our journey, except this morning, the finest and warmest weather that ever I knew at this time of the year, and made it without any ill accident, or the loss of any the least thing that belonged to any body, and through a great length of more very fine country, though in some places not so open nor so plain as before. I sent in the evening to Monsieur de Bethune, to know how he did after his journey, and to make an excuse for not going to see him, upon the ill weather and my own weariness, and to ask him what news there was of the King of Poland: he sent me the same excuses for not coming to me, and that this King had had another battle on Tuesday last, wherein he had a considerable advantage, but that the Turks were so superior in numbers, that they could not yet tell what would become of

the business, nor certainly where the King was. At last I got a good supper, and the Doctor and I rejoiced for the perils we had escaped, with which I got him again into pretty good-humour, which I was told he had been a little discomposed in. This day I likewise had time to write one word into England to my wife, to let her know I was well arrived here.

On Saturday the $\frac{21}{2}$ *of October,*

I sent for my coach to have gone to see the French Ambassador; but before I could get it, he sent to me to borrow it of me, to make a visit in town, because his own was broken; and before I could send it, he sent again to me, that it was not needful, for he had got his own mended, and desired I would stay at home till he came to me, which he did not long after, and brought with him the Palatine of Culmen. After the first compliments were over, which were very great with the Palatine, the Ambassador told me first in French, the condition of this King's affairs; that his army was so small that it was almost impossible for him to escape from the Turks, though they had been twice beaten by him; that they were getting hereabouts, and everywhere else, what succours they could to carry to him; that there were in the camp about this town two thousand, and no more, who would be ready to go towards him on Monday; but that their misery was so great, that they wanted horses to draw their cannon, and some of their baggage; and that the officers and generals here used to press all horses whatsoever upon these occasions, but that they would not meddle with any of mine without my leave. But he said it would be a great service to the King, and some ease to me, to pay off those I had hired, and leave them to be so pressed. And after this discourse he told the Palatine what he had said to me; and the Palatine renewed the same request, as a very great service to the present affairs of the King. He told me that I could not make use of them myself, for it was not possible for me to stir from hence, by reason of the danger; and by the time I could, they would be back again with me, or more, or others were to be had. The truth is, the rogues had made me pay so dear for the hire of them, and had used me so ill upon the road in several occasions, that I was glad to be revenged of them; and so I made the compliment to the Palatine, that though I had, or might have, great use of them myself, I would spare some of them for the King's service; but all of them I could not possibly be without. He took it very kindly, and entertained me some time of the great danger the King was in; of the danger these troops here would be in, in getting to him; but that they intended to march, as it were, all the way in a castle, by drawing all their carriages and waggons still about them, which is a sufficient defence against the Tartars; and by that means they hoped, still making their waggons march on all sides of them, to get to the place where the King was. After this he congratulated my great escape, for that he had certain intelligence the Tartars had been in that very village where we lay on Thursday night, not long after our going out of it; and had marched likewise some time after us, and had killed a poor woman in the very place where we had stood a moment to drink a little wine after we came out of the wood; by which he believed they had had notice, by some means or other, of our passing. All which the French Ambassador confirmed to me:

whether he was certainly informed of it, or whether to magnify our escape, and to have the greater occasion to discourse of it, I know not. The Palatine told me of a stratagem, as he called it, he and some other of the governors here had made use of last night, since the arrival of us, the Ambassadors, in writing Latin letters to the King, with hopes they might fall into the enemies' hands, giving him notice that we two were arrived here, with commissions to advance the peace; "Which," said he, "if they should be intercepted, may perhaps contribute towards it, by making the Turks think that if two such Kings have concerned themselves in it, they ought to have the more regard in hastening and perfecting it." The stratagem I thought was extraordinary; but I forgave him for making use of my name and my commission without my leave, which he asked then of me; and then he added, that if it should contribute to it, and that the peace were signed to-morrow, there would be no stirring in all this country till the Turks and Tartars were quite retired out of it, for no peace could hinder them from making their courses as long as they stayed, and that they would the rather make them immediately after the peace, because the poor people would think themselves in security, and they should have the greater advantages of them. By this account I begin to look upon myself as besieged in this place: time will show. He added, that he hoped in eight or ten days time, the business would be over, either by a peace, or the retreat of the enemy, who cannot stay much longer in the field; and after this they took their leave of me. In the afternoon I sent to the French Ambassador, that I desired to return him his visit, and would have gone immediately, but that he sent to desire to be excused till six o'clock at night, having then a great many letters to write; and I went out myself to look for a better lodging, but found it not: I was told, that when the Palatine of Culmen was gone to the army, I might have his, and that it was a good one. In the evening, at six o'clock, I went to Monsieur de Bethune, and found him a-bed; he made excuses for being so, after he had given me that hour, but that he was extreme weary, and hoped that ceremonies were not to be insisted on between him and me, and that in truth he had laid aside the character of Ambassador, and had been to see several of the Palatines first, (which is against the rule of Ambassadors,) because he had business with them, and was resolved to go to the army, not as Ambassador neither, in which quality, perhaps, he should not find it easy for him to be there; but as having the honour to be related to the King, and as one that had served in the war here formerly. He then showed me the draught of the King's camp, and that of the Turks, and the manner of the last battle on Michael's Day. I thought him very melancholy, and in disorder; and the truth is, according to the description and the draught of what he showed me, the King seems to me to be, as it were, besieged by the Turks and Tartars; and that he hath but one way in the world, and that with difficulty too, to retreat to this town, which, perhaps, itself were not very secure, if the season of the year were not so far advanced. I told him, as a compliment that I intended to make to the King, that I wished I were in an equipage fit to attend his Majesty in the field; but that having never designed that journey, I could not so speedily be prepared to go with that dignity that was fit for me; and that though we had made the journey, when we were alone, in that manner we had done, I thought we could not continue it when we should

come to the Court; and he told me I was in the right: it would by no means be decent for me to go as Ambassador, upon a thousand accounts; as that it was not fit to engage the King my master in the quarrel, and many others to that and other purposes; and that I should but embarrass the King, and that he spoke to me as he would do to his brother, and with the same concern that I should do what was fit for me: and the truth is, without a vast expense of horses, both for saddle and carriages, and great store of provisions and tents and victuals, it were impossible to be there: and with all that, though I should be very inconveniently myself, I might be more so to the King, in the ill condition his affairs are now in. I took my leave of Monsieur de Bethune, with all the usual assurances of eternal friendship between us.

On Sunday morning, the 24th September (4th October)

I sent to the Palatine of Culmen that I desired to go to see him, and he desired I would give him a quarter of an hour's time to dress himself; at which time I went. He is a wonderfully civil and well-bred man, and after many compliments, which I wished over, because they were all in Latin on both sides, and I had no interpreter, he confessed to me the ill condition he apprehended the King to be in; from whom they had not heard now in three or four days' time, though they suppose him not to be above nine leagues from hence. It is a wonderful thing, the strange disorder and chance in which every thing here is done; and that their King should be so exposed within so small a distance of a principal town, where so many people of their best men of quality are, and so little to be known of him; and on the other side, that there should be so many troops about the town, and in the country round about, and should not make more haste to carry the succour to the King, who is certainly in very great need of it. On Saturday, when this gentleman had been with me, he told me positively he would be gone on Monday, and now he said he believed it would be Tuesday; and I believe it will not be so soon, for there is no vigour nor affection in the business, but rather a desire to weaken and eclipse the King's glory. He told me amongst other things, of a saying, which he said he should never forget, of the great Khan of the Tartars, who was about three or four years ago in the field, when this King was in the Ukraine, where he had considerable advantages of them, and stayed in the field almost all the winter; which is a season of the year they are not so well able to support as the Poles are, and in which the fields were almost covered with the bones of dead horses and men; and in every occasion the King had considerable advantages, and had made the business so familiar to him, that he very usually went a hunting, sometimes with no more than five or six or ten people; and if they met with Tartars to the number of forty or fifty, they were never afraid of them: on the contrary, the Tartars had an apprehension of the others; upon which this was the saying of the Khan, which was so memorable with my Palatine,—"I know," says he, "that this Sobieski (for then he was Mareschal) doth not value the Tartars; and that in contempt of them, he goes hunting with ten or twelve people only with him; and I know too that that small number will beat a hundred of ours, but we shall grow too hard for him at last in numbers, and he will not be able alone to beat five hundred." "And this," said the Palatine, "is now come to be the case: they are so superior in numbers, that though the King

hath this year within a week's time had two considerable engagements with them, wherein two or three thousand of the Tartars have remained upon the place; and but, it may be, as many, or not so many hundred of the Poles; yet that small loss," he said, "was more considerable to them than the great one to the Tartars; and that they knew this so well, that they stick upon him, and think to overwhelm him with multitudes, which in time it is most probable they will do; and that never any conqueror was in a worse condition. And in the mean time, there they leave him, and are even afraid to march with those troops they have here to his relief." I asked him about a Tartar Ambassador that I heard was in town, and what he did here; and he told me, he had heard but yesterday that there was such a one in town, but knew not how long he had been here, nor how he came hither, nor what he pretended to do here. Is not this a fine government, that receives within a walled town an enemy's Ambassador, that is almost at their gates with a hundred thousand men, only, for aught I see, to be a spy for his master; and to deliver up the place to them, when he can take his opportunity for it? I did not stay very long here, because he had a great many people staying to speak with him; and at parting I made him the compliment that I wished I could go along with him to wait upon the King, which I would do if I were in equipage for it: and he told me it would be a great honour, but a very inconvenient one; and that he hoped they should be all here within ten days or a fortnight. I came directly home and had prayers; and afterwards Monsieur de Guinegan, and Monsieur de Fourval came to see me; and after that, out of my window I saw a great procession in memory of a victory gained against the Turks on this day about thirty years ago. After dinner I went up to the top of a high steeple, from whence one cannot see far because of the high hills that are round about it; but the situation of the place was to be seen, which is a little round town, anciently I believe well built, and of stone, but grown to great decay, and the worse streets that ever were seen, wherein coaches can very hardly go, and for that reason every body goes on foot about the town. That which makes the greatest show are the monasteries, of which there are pretty store, the cathedral of the Archbishop of the province of Russia, the Greek cathedral, who have a bishop here, and the Armenian church. When I came down from this tower, I intended to have gone to the great cathedral, but they were preaching in it, and I was afraid to disturb them; and from thence I went to the Jesuits, which is very fine and grave, and well adorned as most churches I have seen in any country, and much better than any I have met with in this: and from hence I went home, and so finished this day.

On Monday the $\frac{25}{5}$

I spent the morning in writing out the state of my journey from Lublin hither with Monsieur de Bethune, more at large than I had described it on the day that it happened, with all the circumstances and the inducements to it, intending to have sent a copy of it to Mr. Secretary Williamson; but after I had done it, I thought it would be best to keep it by me in order to my justification,* in case I should ever have need of it. The weather

* This letter will be found at the close of this Diary.

begins to grow cold, and I am laying out for furs to preserve me against it, for I know not how long I may stay here; but I am satisfied that I am as far as I can go, and so cannot lie under the reproach of mispending my time, and loitering while I am at the King's charge. As soon as I had dined, the Palatine of Culmen sent that he might come and see me again; and immediately after came, with great civility, to acknowledge the visit I had made him, and to take his leave, being going to the camp, I mean that about the town; for he told me that he did not believe they should march yet from thence, but however he would go as forward as he could, and endeavour to hasten them. He told me there was a man come to town, that said he came last Friday from the camp, but because he brought no letters they did not believe him, nor give great credit to what he said; but he reported that for two days after the last engagement, which was on Tuesday last, there had been a total cessation from all acts of hostility, and that even the Poles and Turks had met one another at their lines, and had talked and discoursed together. He stayed not long, being to go away this night; and afterwards I went to see Monsieur de Bethune, without sending before, to continue the familiarity between us. I found him writing, as he said, to this King, from whom he had not heard neither since his arrival here, and in disorder enough, and full of complaints of the backwardness of all the officers in going to assist the King; and particularly of Prince Radzivil, who had married the King's sister, and should therefore be more concerned for him: for whom all the rest had stayed here this eight or ten days, expecting a considerable increase of forces that he was to bring with him from Lithuania, of which he is Under-general; and now they heard he was gone to his own house in that country, where perhaps he might be feasting another fortnight. And then he added more complaints of the Palatine of Siradia, who hath the command of this army about the town, who made more delays than was needful, and found every day new difficulties to hinder the march; "But," said he, "this man I have seen upon his knees to this King, when he was but Marshal, for having falsely accused him to have attempted against the last King Michael; and I believe he bears that business in his mind still, and would be glad that an affront or misfortune might happen to the King:" and the truth is, the whole country of Poland, especially that which they call the Greater Poland, is so divided and so ill affected to the King, that they are not much concerned whether the Turks or he have the better. I asked whether he held his design of going himself to the army; he told me most certainly that he would not go alone; but whenever this little body marched he would go with them, and that he was sure his presence here had hastened them. I asked him whether it were not possible it might have the contrary effect, and whether he had never heard that the great men here did not desire his presence in the army? (I, for my part, had heard it pretty often, and from considerable hands, and I had a mind *de faire l'entendu*, and to enter into politics with him.) He told me that might very well be, but he knew what he had to do: having the leave of this King, and the command of his own, to do what he did, he did not care what the nobles here thought of it; and I told him he need not, for their sakes, but only in consideration of this King, to whom perhaps the disaffection of the great ones, upon this or any other account, would not be very serviceable. To which he replied, that the most disaffected of them all, when they were near the

King, were very submissive, and made no disturbance, which, I thought, made rather against him than for him; but I had done, and stayed not long because of his letters. After this I went into the Cathedral Church, which is no very stately building to look to, nor a great one; but on the inside it is one of the finest, for the bigness, that ever I saw, extremely gravely adorned, and rich; very fine organs, and some fine monuments, which more curious people would have observed more, and have given a better account of them. And from hence I went to the Greek Church, which is likewise an archbishopric, as some there told me; they are here united, as they call them, to the Romanists, and the others, which are not so, they call Schismaticks; these own the supremacy of the Pope. Their church is but small, but very neat, and adorned with several pictures, both of our Lady and other saints, but no images, which makes them have the cross and our Saviour pictured upon it, but not carved. They have two altars, on each side, one, in the body of their church, and at the upper end a kind of a screen, as one may call it, of wood, that divides the church from their high altar, which division goes up quite to the top of the church; and it is very finely painted in the broadest part of it, with the pictures of our Saviour just in the middle, and the Twelve Apostles on either hand, and above and below them many other saints: in the middle of all, at the top, a great cross, with our Saviour painted flat upon it; and in this partition there are three doors, one in the middle, of brass, through which you may look upon the altar; the other two are close and less. By one of the little ones, one of the priests led me to see their altar, (but through that in the middle it is not lawful for any to enter but the priests or the King, though the others lead to the same place,) which is not very magnificent; but in the manner of the Romanists, the Eucharist stands at the top of it in a chalice, but not transparent, as it is usually with the others. I was very desirous to be present at their devotion, and asked leave to do it, to which they consented very willingly, and told me that to-morrow was a holiday with them, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, and that if I should be there at eight o'clock, I should see all their ceremony. Thus I finished this day, and at least hitherto, am better pleased than at Warsaw.

On Tuesday the $\frac{26}{6}$ *October*

At eight o'clock in the morning I went to the Greek Church, and found them just ready to begin their service, which was most of it singing: there were two priests in copes, one seemed to be superior to the other, and attended more at the altar, before which the door was set wide open in the time of the service; and from the choir they answered with singing, which, to my understanding, was not ill. They begin all their devotions with many repeated crossings of themselves from head to foot. At the right side of the door that entered upon the altar, there was a little desk with a picture upon it of Saint John, because this was a festival for Saint John; upon another festival it is the picture of another Saint; which every body that came into the church, came and crossed themselves before, and then kissed, with their mouths and foreheads. About three times in the whole service all the congregation kneeled, and struck their breasts, as the Romanists do at the elevation, though here was no such thing; but there was a small pro-

cession of the Sacrament, and I think in both kinds, for something was carried up on high by both the priests, one behind the other, but of this I must inform myself; and at that time there was crowding who could get nearest the priests, to kiss their copes or surplice, or anything they had about them, as they passed by. When the service was done, the priest came forth into the middle of the church, with a boy carrying a dish full of bread cut in small pieces; and standing still there, the whole congregation, one after another, came up to him to receive some of that bread, which he with his hand put into one of theirs, and at the same time they kissed his, and passed on to Saint John's picture, and kissed that, and returned to their places, holding the bread in their hands. After all the men had done this, the priest went down to the lower end of the church to the women, who sit apart, and there distributed in like manner to them. I could not then learn what the meaning of this ceremony was. After this I walked to the Armenian Church, which is likewise an archbishoprick: it is a smaller building than the other, and here are images and crucifixes with figures upon them; they were not at their service, so I cannot yet give any account of it, but they told me they differ but very little from the Romanists, but say their office in their own language; and here also the men and the women sit apart, and as it were in two churches, but the door is open between both, when they are at service. From hence I went home, and was pleased I had spent so much time, which I fear will grow tedious to me in this place. In the afternoon Monsieur de Bethune came to see me, and with him the Palatine of Culmen, and two brothers they call Les Sapiats, a great family in this country, and the Count de Maligny; they told me they came to invite me to see the camp, and Monsieur de Bethune told me we should walk thither, but desired my coach might come to bring us back. Here I was again in the briars, but I thought still that he was as much to look to it as I, and so we went without much ceremony, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other on the right hand. As we were going, Monsieur Zamoiscye, who is another very great man here, sent to let me know there was a troop of Hussars come into the camp, and to desire me to come out to see them; and so we went on as we were going, and at the head of the camp the Palatine of Siradia, who is General of this little army, came to me, and made his excuse for not having been to see me, that he had such extraordinary business; but that he would not fail to do it to-morrow. Then he gave orders for the Hussars to march by us: all the rest of the army is foot, and not extraordinary, but this troop is the finest thing that ever was seen; they were about eighty horse, admirably mounted, and most of them with embroidered housings on their horses; they usually have back and breast and head-piece: but these had only head-pieces, that is pots, and on their bodies as it were a net of steel, which preserves them against the arrows. Every one carries a long spear, and at the end of it a long red and white flag with a swallow tail, and when they charge, they run full speed with these spears couched, so that nothing can stand before them. I never saw a more beautiful sight. We went afterwards into the General's tent, where I went in first, and afterwards came Monsieur de Bethune; I stayed at the upper end of the table, and he at the other end over against me, so I hope I lost nothing here; and here we drank our Kings' health, and so took leave; and we returned back again on horseback into the town. This troop

was the best sight I have seen since I came into Poland. As we came back, Monsieur de Bethune told me how he had been endeavouring to persuade the General to march to-morrow, and that he had got this Samoyice and Culmen to declare, if he would not, they would without him, which I believe they dare not do, and that the other knows as much. I overheard him in the tent endeavouring to persuade that Palatine to allow of his going to the King, and how he would lay aside the character of Ambassador, and go as a private man, to wait upon them: all this I believe will not prevail, but I said no more, and took leave of him at the gate of the town, and came home.

On Wednesday, the $\frac{27}{7}$ *October,*

I sent Mr. Ricard to the two Sapiats, who had been with me yesterday, to know when I might return them their visit; and they both sent to be excused, for that they were both going to a Council of War, that was to be held concerning the marching of the troops towards the King. After this I went to see the Bernardines' Church, which is a little out of the town, and is fortified by itself, and is a great strength to the town, and defended itself best of any part of the town when it was last besieged by the Turks; and from thence I went to the Dominicans: they are both very fine churches; one would wonder to see such in this town. In the latter of them is Father Howard's picture, in his cardinal's clothes; if he hath already sent his picture to all the cloisters of his order in Christendom, he hath made haste. After this, and when I was at dinner, they brought me word Monsieur de Bethune was in my chamber; I went to him, and found him the most melancholy man alive; he came to take his leave of me, being to go this night, as he said, to the camp near the town, and from thence to-morrow, if it were possible, to the King: but he thought they should never be able to do it. He told me there was a man come to town, that said he came from the King's camp on Monday, where the King was almost perfectly surrounded by the enemy, but was as yet in no want of provisions; but that the enemy's cannon played extremely upon them, so that it was thought the King would try whether he could not beat them from that post: and if not, he knew not what the King could do, but endeavour to get back to this town, or consent to a dishonourable peace, which he said he knew the King would sooner die than do. Poor Monsieur de Bethune was ready to cry all the time he spoke to me. I am afraid it is not altogether out of love to the King, but a little to the Queen's *beau-frère,* that makes him so much concerned. About three o'clock the two Sapiats came to me again, thinking the other, yesterday, had not a formal visit enough: they are young men, both very civil, and have travelled. The younger was in England about three or four years ago, and they are in great esteem here with the King. About five o'clock, thinking Monsieur de Bethune might go as he said he intended, I went to him without ceremony, to take leave of him, which we did almost in tears, for I endeavoured to be as good-natured as he. He made great professions of his esteem and affection for me, and I returned his compliments as well as I could; but he told me he feared he should not yet get the Palatine of Siradia away, though he would certainly go to the camp, and remain there with them in hopes to hasten them.

On Thursday Morning, October the $\frac{29}{9}$

I sent betimes to the Postmaster for the Dantzig letters, and withal to desire he would bring hither Abbot Brunetti's packet, wherein I was sure I should have all my letters that I cared for, and let it be opened in his presence, and seal it up again when I had taken out my letters. I took this confidence not so much out of haste to have my letters two days sooner, though that were enough wished by me, as because the passage to the camp where he was, was so uncertain, that I run the hazard of losing them quite; and the Postmaster was so civil as to grant me my request, by which means I received my English letters of the 28th of August that style, which was as fresh as it was possible for any to come, and had the satisfaction to hear my wife and children and all my friends were well, God Almighty be thanked for it! and preserve them so, and send us well again together. About eight o'clock, Monsieur de Bethune sent me word they had received letters from the King in the night; that the news was pretty good; and that he would come anon to tell me the particulars; and about noon, to make him and his *beau-frère* the compliment, I went to him to shew my haste to know the particulars; which he took as I intended it. But the matter was only this, that he had commanded the army about this town not to march towards him till farther order, by which they collected he was not in so great difficulties as they apprehended before. And so it seemed to me their joy proceeded that they were not so near the danger themselves, as they thought the night before; however it was, Monsieur de Bethune was quite changed and very gay, and in new fine clothes, and told me he should not go now these two or three days. I doubt there is not so much occasion for their mirth. All this afternoon I spent in writing to my friends in England, to have them in a readiness to send to-morrow by the post.

On Friday Morning, October the $\frac{30}{10}$

I heard in the morning that Prince Radzivil was come into the camp, who is Under-general of Lithuania, and had brought some more troops of the Hussars with him, and forces of horse and foot to the number of two thousand; which very much strengthened our small army. And a little after this the great guns went off at the Castle, and I was told the Tartars were come close about the town, and there was immediately a proclamation made about the streets, that whoever had horses should go out to meet them. After I had finished my letters, I had prayers this day to solemnize St. Michael; having never yet been able to prevail with Dr. South to say the prayers according to the day of the month here; and after dinner, I went to see the two Sapiats, and came directly home; and at night, when it was dark, Monsieur de Bethune came to see me, without sending beforehand, and the Count de Maligny. He told me, he had been out in the morning upon the alarm of the Tartars, but they had seen nothing. The Sapiats had told me that there was a proverb in this country concerning the Tartars, that if they appeared early in the morning, it was a sign they had farther to go, and if at night, that they were but a few, and had no mind to be seen, but if at noon, then it was to be expected they

would do something. Monsieur de Bethune added that the camp here was now pretty strong, that they might be reckoned four or five thousand men, but that they intended to stay still here till further orders from the King; and in two or three days they would be two or three thousand more. He told me that Odeschalci was made Pope, and by his manner of speaking of him, I guess the French are not well pleased with it; no more than with the news of the Moscovites being to make war with the Swedes, which he said they would think of twice, if the peace were made here with the Turks: and after some more of this kind of discourse, he went away, and was in much better humour than I had seen him, though there hath been no more news of the King since Wednesday night.

On Saturday, September the 30th, (October the 10th.)

I sent to have visited Monsieur de Maligny, but he excused himself upon the ill lodging he was in; and presently after, a Father Theatine, who had been once before with me, a Frenchman, came to me, to invite me to go walk in a garden: it was a very fine morning, and I went with him. He entertained me at first of his own order, of which there were but four in this country: that he was the superior; that they were sent hither to instruct the Armenians in the Roman faith; that he had an allowance from the Pope to that purpose of six hundred crowns a year, for himself and the other three fathers, and seven or eight scholars, which are Armenian priests that he instructs; and did as good as beg of me to contribute something of charity to them, which he said at the same time it was not lawful for them to ask: however, I understood him. From hence it was natural to ask him some points of the Armenian faith, and he told me that even these here, whom he calls united to the Roman, believe the same thing of the Eucharist, but receive it differently, that is to say, the bread dipped in the wine, but the Greeks, he told me, receive it quite distinctly, and they do not say their mass in Latin. The small pieces of bread I had seen distributed in the Greek church, he told me was blessed bread, not consecrated, which it seems it is the fashion to distribute in like manner in other countries. After this he told me how the King was censured for going with so small an army against the Turks; but he said again, if the King had not gone in person, the army had disbanded, and would not have marched, and that they began to have some jealousy of the King that he had a private understanding with the Turks; and in fine, that it was no choice, but a force upon him to do as he had done. When I came home after this walk, I found the Palatine of Siraden had been to see me. In the afternoon I had nothing to do but to look for another house, being still dissatisfied with my own, but I could not please myself better.

On Sunday the $\frac{1}{11}$ of October,

I intended, early in the morning, to have sent to the Palatine of Siraden, to have returned him his visit; but, before I was got up, the Duke Radzivil sent to see if I were to be visited. This is one of the greatest men in the kingdom; he is Under-chancellor, and Under-general of Lithuania, and brother-in-law to the King. I made what haste I could to be in

a readiness to receive him, and mustered all my family together, to make the greatest show I could; but to no purpose, for all these great men here are not to be equalled by any other countrymen in the world. Before he came, the Palatine of Siraden sent likewise, that having missed me yesterday, he desired to come again. The Duke came first, and with him the Palatine of Culmen again, and one Opulinski, the Starosta of Nomieski: these three sat down in my chamber, all the rest stood, and the discourse was all in Latin, at which I am not very good. But as well as I could, I entertained them of the great friendship and esteem the King, my master, had for the King of Poland, which was the principal reason of my being sent hither; and from this we fell to talk of the King of Poland's present condition, from whom the Duke told me there were letters come last night to this purpose:—that the Turks and his Majesty had raised batteries of great guns against one another, from whence they continually shot into one another's camp, without any great mischief, and that they did not otherwise attack one another; that in the King's camp there was some scarcity of provisions for horses, but not at all for the men; and that the King intended to build a bridge over the Tira, by which he might send and get forage securely; that he had commanded the forces here to remain still till the Cossacks were joined with them, which this Duke told me he hoped would be within three or four days, and then they might be about 7000 men, and might venture to go to the King, though they had certain advice that the Tartars, with above 20,000, lay in the way to hinder them. After this Duke was gone, came the other Palatine, with another mighty numerous train on foot; the other had come on horseback: he entertained me almost to the same purpose, and with the same news; and just as he was going from me, in the outward room, we met the French Ambassador, who came without ceremony to see me, and with him the Stragesneck. The Ambassador would have stopped the Palatine to ask him what news; and the Palatine very shortly told him there was news, but the Palatine of Culmen could tell it better than he, and turned away in some anger. By this and many other little accidents, I see the great men here care not for the French. I left Monsieur de Bethune to wait upon the Palatine down, and when I came back again, he asked me what news the Palatine had told me, which I told him; and I suppose that angered him the more. If Monsieur de Bethune can make any thing of having preferred the Nuntio before me at Warsaw, in receiving him before me, (though I do not think he doth, because we did not live with any ceremony one to another,) I was even with him now, by leaving him alone to wait upon the Palatine. He told me he was to dine to-day with the Duke Radzivil, and that he went with fear of drinking, and had done all he could to put it off. He stayed not long with me, and after he was gone I went to prayers. And now I have had all the great men of this place to see me, which they have done first, though some at Warsaw made difficulty of it: to-morrow I must endeavour to return them. My interpreter told me that Duke Radzivil had not yet been to see the French Ambassador, and that one of the servants of the Duke had told him so, which I do not believe; because then Monsieur de Bethune could not have been invited to dinner there. It were well to have it so, but those are things I think are not to be enquired into, nor to be in-

sisted on. In the afternoon I went to take the air, and had a very great escape, in crossing a bridge over the ditch of the town, a by-bridge, where there was no sentinel, that was made on purpose to topple over as soon as ever one sets one's foot upon it; and by great good fortune I was a little before the rest of my company, so that nobody was upon the bridge but myself; and finding it begin to fail under me, I leaned forward, and with much ado, being not very heavy, and stepping forward, I recovered it again, and brought it down. If there had been any body upon the bridge with me, it must have come over, and I should have had a very great fall, into a dry ditch, and very deep. God be thanked for this deliverance! and make me mindful of it.

On Monday the $\frac{9}{19}$ *of October,*

I intended to have returned my visit to the Prince and the Palatine, but they were both gone out, so I must defer it till to-morrow; for in the afternoon I will not willingly fall into their company. After dinner I went to see Monsieur de Bethune, and made him a proposition which was come into my head, which I thought had some probability in it to hasten my despatch here; which I have a great mind to compass almost any way: and it was that I, who am a subject of the King of Great Britain, in peace with the Turks and Tartars, and especially in good correspondence with the first, might send to this Tartar Ambassador here for a pass to be procured from their Prince for the English Ambassador to go to the King of Poland; and I told Monsieur de Bethune, that this could do no disservice, as I thought, to this King; that it might possibly do him good; and if there were any intelligence, or any thing that they here would have him know, I might be a means of conveying it. He told me, that this was a thing had been already in his thoughts to have done for himself, his master also being in very good correspondence with the Porte; but that, for this Tartar here, nobody knew whether he were an Ambassador or no; and if he were, and would undertake it, they were so faithless a people, that there was no measure to be taken by any thing they should say or do; that if any thing of that kind were to be done, it must be with the Turks, who, if they gave their word, were to be depended on; but the difficulty would be, how to get any messenger or letter so far, because of the Tartars. I told him that I thought the proposition might at least be made to this Tartar here, and if he would hearken to it, though but seemingly, we might ask him for one of his own retinue to be the carrier of our letter, and we should see, by the answer he brought, whether he had delivered them or no, and afterwards take farther measures. He told me, that there was one thing more to be considered, whether or no this King would like it, and whether, instead of doing him service, it might not be looked on by the enemy as the last resort the King had to fly to, and might make them be the more insolent in all their demands. To that I said, I thought the messenger might first be sent to the King, with letters acquainting him with this design; and if his Majesty approved of it, he might go on, and if not, the letters might be taken from him, and there was an end. He told me, that he had written a letter himself to the General of the Turks, much to this purpose; that he desired they would receive his mediation to advance the treaty of peace, but that

afterwards he had not sent it, for the same reason of being prejudicial to the King; and he added, that this could never be done without acquainting these gentlemen here with it, (he meant the great officers,) who immediately would consult upon it, and if they found it were really a good thing for the King, they would find some means or other to stop it; and that they were in such jealousies that any prince in Christendom should enter into their affairs, that they would rather totally obstruct it than admit them. I told him again, that related more to him and his master, than mine; and that it was possible they would not have that jealousy of me. He at last consented that I might speak of it to Prince Radzivil, "who," said he, "if any of them be, ought to be looked upon as the most in the King's interests; and you may tell him," said he, "that you and I have been discoursing it together, and that as we are servants of two Kings that are in strict friendship, and as two very good friends ourselves, we would proceed jointly in this affair." I told him again, that I did desire, if he pleased, to make the proposition of myself, which would certainly give them less of jealousy, and according as I saw they approved it, I might let him into it if they would; and so at last he approved it might be so, and that I should discourse of it to the Prince and the Palatine of Culmen, but by no means to him of Siraden. I asked him, if it came to a council, and it should be known by the Palatine of Siraden that I had discoursed it to the other two, and not to him, whether he might not oppose it for that very reason? At last he consented I should speak to them all; but he would not trust me without giving me their characters, that I might know how to treat them; and that I have gotten by the bargain at least, if it were to any purpose, what he, the French Ambassador, thinks of them. "The Prince of Radzivil," said he, "is the chief in command, but he is not a very able man, and much guided by the Palatine of Culmen, who is cunning, crafty, and of very long experience, is in with all parties, and if the King should prevail, would appear to have been the forwardest to have gone to his relief, but, on the other side, was fearful to hazard his person, being in expectation of being made Chancellor of the Crown the next vacancy, which he looked upon to be a better thing than hazarding his person in the field. That for the Palatine of Siraden, he was certainly irreconcilable to the King, having accused him, as I think I have mentioned before, for which he was brought upon his knees to ask pardon, which would never go down with him: that he is of a very great family, but of no great matter himself; considerable only for his riches and family, and with those that were not affected to the King; that he was much influenced here by the Pisare Plonie, which they call the Field-writer, a very rich man, and powerful, cunning, and dexterous, and a very great enemy of the King's: so that, upon the whole matter, he advised me to speak more fully to the two first, and only superficially to the last, that he might not take it ill that I had concealed it from him." And upon this negotiation I am to go to-morrow, to propose to Prince Radzivil in the first place, and afterwards to Culmen, that if they think it may be of any service to the King's affairs, I offer myself to send a messenger, by the means of this Tartar that is here, to the General of the Turks' army, to desire a safe conduct to go to the King of Poland, as being sent thither by the King my master; and that when I am

there, if this King shall judge that the interest the King my master hath with the Porte may be useful to him, and that I am capable of managing it for him, I offer myself to go between them.

On Tuesday the $\frac{3}{13}$ October

I went early in the morning to Prince Radzivil, and after the first compliments, I desired that I might have a secret audience; wherein I told him, that being come Ambassador from a King who had a very great esteem for the King of Poland, and desirous to contract a firm friendship with him, and finding this King, to my appearance, in a very ill condition, I was very weary of finding myself an unprofitable servant; and having revolved much with myself, I was come to make him this proposition:—that I would send to the General of the Turks for a pass to go to the King of Poland, and acquaint him at the same time that I had something to offer, that perhaps might serve towards the establishing the peace, and confirming it, if he thought it might be serviceable to this King; and that I came to discourse to him of it, in the first place, as a man whose rank made him be preferred, as well as his relation and near interest with the King; and that having acquainted him with my thoughts, I left it to him to consider whether it might be of any advantage or no. He answered me at first with a great sense of the offer, and that he would write it to the King; but till his pleasure were known, nothing of this kind must be undertaken, for fear it might turn to his prejudice instead of his advantage: in the mean time, he thought the proposition itself very good, and advised me to speak of it to the other Palatines, and Monsieur de Bethune. I endeavoured to go to the Palatine of Sirad, but he was not at home, and so I went not to the other. After dinner Monsieur de Bethune came to me, impatient to know what I had done; and I told him. He told me he expected not that the Prince Radzivil would say any thing else, being a man incapable of resolving by himself; but that it was well it was gone so far, and that he would tell it to more, and so let them think of it: in the mean time he had written this day to the King, and had sent him word of the proposition I had made to him yesterday, and desired his Majesty to consider whether it might be of any use to him that the King my master's name should be made use of, and if he did, that I was ready to employ it; and that he too, with the authority of his master, would join in it, if his Majesty thought it advisable,—"and of this letter," said he, "I may expect an answer on Sunday." So I am, methinks, pretty far in business, without any authority for it; but I am not in pain for that, for I will be ready to do as a friend of this King's, but do not intend to pretend authority that I have not. God send a good to it!

On Wednesday the $\frac{4}{14}$ October

I went in the morning to the Palatine of Sirad, and after the compliments, I made him the discourse I had intended him yesterday, if he had been at home; but a little more superficially than to the Prince. But he entered more into it than the other, but desired he might ask me whether I had any particular instruction in this case of the treaty; and

I told him I had none as to this treaty, because it was impossible to have an instruction two months ago for a thing that was not then foreseen; but I had instructions in general to make all offers of service, and do all the good offices I could to this King, which I took to be authority enough for what I proposed. He was satisfied, and made me great acknowledgments, and said he was sure I should have the thanks, both of the King and Commonwealth, for so great affection; and that he would discourse with Prince Radzivil of it, and the Palatine of Culmen; and then we should together take some resolution. When I came home, Monsieur de Bethune sent to me to desire me to expect his coming to me; which he did in a quarter of an hour, and told me that Prince Radzivil and the Palatine of Culmen had been just then with him, to acquaint him with what I had proposed yesterday; and that they were both so well satisfied with it, that they had desired him to come to me, and to bring me drafts of letters to the King, the Prince of the Tartars, and the General of the Turks, which they desired I would send by one of my trumpets; to whom they would join an interpreter, that should bring him with security to the camp. To this Monsieur de Bethune added that he would write three such other letters, to be sent by the same trumpet, because he had none here; and what a glorious thing it would be to our masters to be mediators in such a peace. I thought this was too quick, but however, having made a fair offer at first, I was not to seem backward, and so I told him, for those letters he had brought me, I must take time to consider them, but I would, if I did not like them, write others, to such purpose as I thought I could write, and send them to him to see if he liked them; which I did in the afternoon, and went myself with them to him; and he approved of them perfectly: upon which I gave them to Dr. South to turn into Latin; and the rest of this day and of

Thursday the $\frac{5}{15}$ *October*

Was spent in finishing these letters, of which I say no more, because I keep the copies of the letters by me, which will make the business plain; only Monsieur de Bethune and I had quite like to have fallen out about my putting the title of France to those of the King; but I will say no more of it, because he was out of countenance for it afterwards, and asked me pardon, and desired I would not remember it. And this day in the evening Monsieur de Bethune came to my house, and from thence we despatched Mr. Christmas, a Scotchman, that could speak Polish, to the Tartar, and a man that carried a white flag upon a pole, in token of peace; God send them a good journey, and a safe return! for I should be very sorry the trumpeter should come to any harm upon no more warrantable an errand. This morning I received letters out of England from my wife, of the 4th of September, and from others of the 8th, wherein, God be thanked! I heard all was well. My little girl had been sick, but they said she was well again. Two hours after I thought our messengers were gone to the camp, after it was quite dark, they came in to me again, and told me they had been kept till that minute at Prince Radzivil's for a pass, and they thought now it was better to stay till to-morrow, which I directed them to do, but to lie out of the gates, that they might be gone very early. I took away from Mr. Christmas a

letter that the Palatine of Culmen had given him, containing news and intelligence to the King of what they did here, and in what readiness the army was to march to join with the King; which might have hanged them all.

On Friday in the morning, Oct. $\frac{6}{16}$

I answered my letters out of England; and besides, wrote to Mr. Secretary Williamson, giving him an account of the despatch I had made to the camp, and likewise to the King himself, to ask his Majesty's pardon for having so far exceeded my instructions: in which I hope I have done no harm. And about noon I received a compliment from the Palatine of Culmen, telling me that he had received just then letters from the King, dated the 8th instant, wherein he had commanded him to let me know the trouble he had for my having made so dangerous a journey, but that he was glad I was well here, where he hoped to see me ere long; and I wished it at least as much. He added, that the King sent them word that he was in a pretty good condition, although surrounded by the enemy; having as yet no want of provisions, save only forage for the horses; that the enemy's cannon played into his camp, and did some prejudice, and the more because they had greater guns than his Majesty, and could reach his camp, when his cannon could not reach theirs. That he directed them here to stay for all the forces they were in any expectation of; and then to march to him as soon as they could, but forbade them to come weak. That the Turks still asked but the same conditions for peace they did at first; which was to have the Ukraine and Podolia, which the King thought too dishonourable to grant: and that at last, after these letters were sealed, there had been a small encounter between some parts of the armies, wherein the Poles had a considerable advantage, and had brought many prisoners into the King's camp; that they had pursued the enemy so far as to see several of their tents taking down, and some of their great batteries drawn off. One would think by this they were marching.

On Saturday, the $\frac{7}{17}$ *October,*

I had nothing to do but to go to the Jews' synagogue, where I heard the strangest singing that in my life I ever met with; and from thence I went sauntering to the Dominicans again, where I saw in their cloister the picture of this present Grand Signior's brother, who is a Dominican: the Prior came to me, and carried me about the whole cloisters, into their refectory, cells, library, private choir, which was not new to me, but was to Doctor South: to whom I was willing to give all divertisement; and besides, it spent the time. From hence we went to the Town Magazine, which we could not get into for reasons of state, they said, without sending to the Provost, and making a great deal of do; but the true reason, I believe, is, that there is nothing in it: and from hence to the King's Magazine, which was very ill stored too, but for that they had this excuse, that all was taken out for present use. After this I came home, and stayed at home the remainder of this day, wishing well to my poor trumpeter.

On Sunday, the $\frac{8}{18}$ October,

Before I was up, the Postmaster came to my bedside, and brought me letters from Abbot Brunetti, and told me withal, that the peace was concluded with the Turks; and immediately after, there came one to me from Monsieur de Bethune, with the same news, and that there was a man come express from the King, to carry the news of it to the Queen. I looked in my own letters, which were of the 15th, that said indeed there was a cessation of arms, and that they believed the peace would be concluded the next day. Within an hour, Monsieur de Bethune came into my chamber, booted to go into the camp here, to know the particulars of Prince Radzivil, for he had no letters himself; I showed him mine, and he told me, when he knew more from them, he would let me know it. He was wonderfully exalted with this alteration, and applauded his good fortune in having written as he had done by the trumpeter, which he said could not but be well taken, both here, and by our masters; and that perhaps he might yet come time enough to have our offers accepted, and that we might both sign the treaties, which he said would be very glorious for our masters and ourselves; and he had a particular satisfaction, which he could not conceal, that it was his good fortune to be here, and to have had his hand in this thing, when Monsieur de Marseilles was so far off, whom it concerned more, as being still in possession of being Ambassador of France. He asked me for one of my servants, that might go express for him into France, to carry the news of the peace as soon as he knew the particulars, because my master was in peace with all the world; and so my servants might go freer than his; or else that I would give a pass to one of his, that might go as mine. To all this *empressement,* (the like of which is not to be seen in any body but a Frenchman, who is more intent upon his own fortune than any other countryman, and who thinks or hopes that every little circumstance contributes to it,) I answered I would serve him either way, which he pleased; and so he took leave of me to go to Prince Radzivil, from whom I had a message presently after, to acquaint me with letters he had received this morning from the King, that they were treating of peace, which was all that he said. From Monsieur de Bethune I heard no more this day, and

On Monday, the $\frac{9}{19}$ Oct.

He sent me word that the King had written that they were treating; and that the Turks were to have all Podolia that was contained within the river Stry, and of the Ukraine, what was possessed by Doroshenko; that the rest was not yet concluded, but that he hoped it would be speedily, and that there was a cessation of arms. This day while I was at dinner, Monsieur de Bethune sent me word he was afraid my trumpeter had miscarried; and within a moment more, they brought me word that the interpreter's man was come back wounded and half dead, and gave this account:—that about three leagues off this town, on Friday about noon, as they were riding all together, they saw two Tartars, towards whom the Interpreter rode on by himself; but they turned back and rode into a wood, from whence they immediately returned with forty or fifty more, to

whom likewise the Interpreter rode on by himself, and cried to them that they were friends, and that they were sent to the Prince of the Tartars. They rushed on upon the poor fellow, and hurt him with their darts, while others rode on to the rest. This man that was returned, thought to have ridden away; but they quickly overtook him, and brought him back to the rest. The first thing they did, they fell of stripping them and robbing them, and then they returned, the greatest part of them, (leaving a guard about the poor men) into the wood, and stayed a good while, as he supposes consulting what they were to do, and came towards them several times: but returned again without coming on directly to them. At last, after two hours spent in this manner, they came all up together, made an end first of the Interpreter, whom they had wounded before; tore the letters all to pieces; then fell upon poor Mr. Christmas and the Scotchman; and last of all upon this man, whom they thought they had left dead likewise: but he, lying still till the night, rose up, and looked upon the rest whether they were all dead or no; and finding them all so, except the Scotchman, who had yet some life, but could not speak, made a shift to crawl away, and by degrees, from Saturday till Monday noon, got hither and made this sad relation. I do not remember to have ever been more sensibly troubled in my life: all the reflections coming in a moment into my mind, of having exposed a very honest man to so unfortunate an end, without more justifiable authority, and without having more strictly weighed all the dangers and hazards he underwent, and of having by my hearkening too much, and letting myself be guided by the importunities of the French Ambassador, (who I had reason to think, though he be not an old man, had more experience than I, having been in other employments, and particularly in this country,) made myself the occasion of losing the life of a fellow-subject and a fellow-servant, and made a desolate family; the wife a widow, and the children fatherless. Monsieur de Bethune came to me in the evening, to condole for the loss, and seemed to be much affected, but I doubt it will not stick so long by him; and I do protest, the trouble of having lost so honest a man out of my company, did as yet prevent the consideration of my own concern, how I might suffer in England, either with my friends or the Court, for the folly or rashness of such an act, which consideration perhaps will have its time too, as well as effect: but for that, and the loss itself, this line out of Horace coming into my mind—

" Levius fit patientia, quicquid corrigere est nefas,"

doth hold up my mind from being perfectly overwhelmed.

On Tuesday the $\frac{10}{20}$ *October,*

Before it was quite day, I had another message from Monsieur de Bethune, with a letter from Abbot Brunetti, inviting him from the King to come to the camp, to see that of the Turks and his own; and an intimation, that if the English Ambassador would come, he thought it would do well: and though I had no great reason to be counselled any more by Monsieur de Bethune, yet, being desirous to see what perhaps was never

to be seen again, while I was so very near it, I was again persuaded by him that it would be a compliment to the King if I went, but that I must go absolutely *incognito*, for several reasons that were very obvious, which I might do, having yet had no audience from him; whereupon I took a very sudden resolution, that I would go as a friend of his, and not in any manner pretending to any rank or place, or ceremony whatsoever. I gave immediate orders for what was absolutely necessary to carry with me, and would not invite any of my people to go with me, because of the last ill accident, for, though the peace was now concluded, the Tartars used still to be in the country several days after, and there might be an apprehension on some of their minds, and I was very unwilling to invite any more to their destruction. I went myself into Dr. South's chamber, and I told him of my own intention, but that I invited nobody, nor required anybody to go with me, and that I left it to his own choice; but that he must not be long in considering, for I had no time to spare. He told me he would think a little of it, and come to me; and in the mean time, I wrote two letters into England, to give an account of my misfortune in the sad loss I had, and of my intended voyage to the camp, in the quality of a private man, and sent Monsieur de Bethune a pass, which he desired of me to send an express into France. About ten o'clock we were going from Leopol; I took with me my coach and one waggon; and of my servants, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Massam, Brown and Parsons, and went myself on horseback, with Monsieur de Bethune upon his horse, and appointed my coach and waggon to keep with Monsieur de Bethune's, and follow them, and pretended to nothing under heaven of rank. We marched thus with Prince Radzivil and the rest of the Palatines, and about five hundred horse, and the baggage that must of necessity attend such an army; and came at night to a fine fair field by a pond's side, where we very fairly encamped. We had had a very fine day, and had gone through an admirable country; but so desert, that in all that way we had not seen, I think, one house.

On Wednesday, the $\frac{11}{21}$ *October,*

We were marching again by two o'clock in the morning in the same manner as before, by the help of the moon, and though they said we had but four or five leagues to go, we got not to the King's camp till noon, who had removed the day before a league nearer us than where he lay encamped near the Turks. The King had sent out the Chevalier Lubomirski to compliment me upon the way, but Monsieur de Bethune sending to the King that I came as a private man, and desired not to be taken notice of, that went for nothing; and when I came into the King's tent, as I did in the dirty equipage I was, just as I alighted from my horse, I told him that being as near as Leopol, I was very desirous to come to make my compliment to him, upon the dangers he had escaped, and the glorious peace he had made, and to see one of the places where he had done wonders; for which he thanked me; and not a word of the King nor Ambassador. A little after being gone out for air, for I never felt a hotter day in August, Abbot Brunetti came to me, and told me the King had a mind to have us all dine with him; and that though he knew, that as Ambassadors, Monsieur de Bethune and I could not meet, yet being I would be looked

on here as none, he thought we might; and that he came to propose this expedient:—that I should let one or two of the Senators sit above me, which would put the thing out of all manner of consequence. I was a little cold at stomach upon this overture; but finding that I had been with the King already as no Ambassador; that I had made no mention of the King, nor of the christening; that I had come the journey as none, by letting all my equipage come immediately after the French Ambassador's; I thought it was not good to be uneasy to the King here, and the more that I yielded in every thing, it made me still the more a private man, which I was to be absolutely, or not at all: and so I told the Abbot that the King was master, that I came not to create him difficulties, and that he should order it as he pleased; with which they were infinitely satisfied. And I think it was better than desiring to be excused, and have dined apart, which would have looked as if I took myself to have something of an Ambassador, and would have made Monsieur de Bethune have valued the marching before me on the road; and if I were nothing but a private man, the senators were to sit before me: these were my considerations; and to be short, so it was, both Monsieur de Bethune, Prince Radzivil, and the Count de Maligny sat before me, and two or three other Palatines after me. After dinner I went, in company of all those that came together in the morning, and the Palatine of Russia, who is Under-general, to see the camp the King had been in, which was above a league off. It is a great piece of ground for so small an army, but they said the King had made it so purposely, that he might have room to draw them up in battle within the trenches, and to take up the ground to a more advantageous plan, that the Turks might the less be able to encompass him. He had the river Niester behind him, and behind that a very steep hill full of wood, and the river running in that place like a half moon: his camp was drawn accordingly, and had need of fortification only on one side, and at the two corners which closed upon the river. Here we saw several dead horses, the men I suppose had been buried, and the ground as bare and of the colour of boards, and the trees themselves as bare as that; they had a ditch and trench round this part of their camp, with several batteries at convenient distances; and without the line some square works, not half-moons nor horn-works, which were filled with men, for a better defence of the line. Without this was the camp of the Turks, and their approaches and batteries, which they had begun at first a great way off, but were advanced, as in a siege, to a very small distance, I believe very near within musket shot, and did intend without doubt to have taken the King either by famine or storm (whatsoever it was that happened that called them away so suddenly); and I think they might have done either. Near these batteries they had usually about twenty or thirty thousand men; but their camp was at a vast distance, out of all manner of reach, in a large plain, as great as one's eye could reach, and they had no need to apprehend the coming out of the King's forces upon this body, which was the thing they wished and tempted him to, for the Tartars were at a convenient distance, perpetually on horseback, that if any such attempt had been made, had come down with two hundred thousand horse, and cut between them and their own camp, and had destroyed them. I need not say any more of this place, because I am to have a very exact map of every part of it; but I am very glad I saw it, being within so few leagues of it, that I might have something

to talk of, for being so long here for nothing; and I think there was no way of doing it in the company I did it, but the way I took, and there was no other way of getting thither but in that company; and whatever dignity or ceremony I parted with, I suppose can never be drawn into precedent; and being still very doubtful of trusting myself, I went *de bonne foi* to the sense of the thing, and to the credit of those to whom I was sent, who had no reason to betray me to do a thing that was unfit for me. By the time we got back it was quite dark, and I was sufficiently tired; having been on horseback from two in the morning till five or six at night; and so going just to the King for a moment, to let him know I had seen all, I went immediately to bed in a tent that was prepared for Monsieur de Bethune and me, the finest thing that ever I saw; and slept soundly. It rained all night.

On Thursday, the $\frac{12}{22}$ *October.*

I had a mind not to continue longer in that figure, having seen all that was to be, and heard the several musics of the camp, and amongst the rest that of the Janisaries, which is very odd and pleasant; and so I told Monsieur de Bethune, who lay in the same room, my intentions of going away. He told me that the King intended not to stir till to-morrow, and that it was designed I should go at the same time back to Leopol, while his Majesty went to Jaworow; and that the Palatine of Russia was to go with me to have the care of me. I told him I had rather go more privately, as more suitable to the figure I made here, and desired to go this morning if I might, with some small number of guards, for fear of any accident; and he told me, he thought if I had rather do so I might. Upon which I sent to Abbot Brunetti, and made him acquainted with my mind, that I could not but be troublesome to the King in the manner I was here: that I was so to myself, and therefore the sooner I eased both, I thought it the better, and I desired only a small convoy, and would be gone presently. He returned to me immediately and told me all was granted, I believe with great joy; but that the King had ordered me a breakfast at the Treasurer's of the Court, having too much business to entertain me himself. In short, it was twelve o'clock, I think, when I got away, and having travelled this night about two leagues, lay in a barn, with my guard about me; it rained all day, and the ways were already much spoiled. I had begged both Monsieur de Bethune and Abbot Brunetti to think of me in all their triumphs: that I had expected a long time, and had nothing to negociate wherein I was to expect favour or time to succeed in, but having nothing but a poor compliment to make, I begged I might be speedily despatched, which they both promised me; and that as soon as the King should be come to Jaworow, I should be sent for. In the mean time I must attend at Leopol, seven leagues from thence.

On Friday the $\frac{13}{23}$ *of October,*

I was marching at two o'clock in the morning. It had snowed in the night and was very cold, and continued still to snow apace, but the moonlight helped us. The ways were so very bad, and the leagues so long, that we were from this hour till four in the afternoon getting to Leopol. God be thanked, we are returned thither again, after so

troublesome a journey. Dr. South, I had forgot to say, upon the choice I gave him, of going or not going, had chosen the latter, upon the pretence of apprehending the inconveniences of the journey, which he said he had not a constitution to bear. I had left several others of my family behind too, with some money, but with credit more, with a merchant's man to whom I had bills; so that there could be no apprehension of want: but when I returned to Leopol, I found a visible alteration in the Doctor's temper, whether it were that he was troubled he had not gone the journey, when he saw us all come back alive, which perhaps he was afraid of; or whether he was dissatisfied the cook was not left behind to dress his victuals, or that another at least was not got, which I had not time to give order for; or whatever the hidden cause was,—feeding upon his own ill-natured spleen for four days together, or, as Horace says, *an minuerit in patrios cineres, certè furit.* And first, though he looked out of the window and saw me come in, I was above an hour in the house before he came down to me, and I sent at last for him; he came, but in much disorder, making short questions, and sometimes as short answers, of all which I endeavoured to take as little notice as it was possible; but treated him with all the gentleness possible; made him excuses for not providing a cook, but that I hoped he knew the difficulty of getting such a creature in this country; to which he answered well enough: but there was gall and bitterness round about, and I could not sweeten it, and took no more pains. Quickly after supper he left me, and I went to bed; my people telling me, that both his man as well as he were mightily out of humour; and that when they were ever left alone, his man did usually heat him with some jealousy or tittle-tattle.

[To be added to the particulars of Wednesday the $\frac{4}{14}$ of October; which, though they are written after, because it was necessary to set down all the particulars more than I thought at first, since it had so unfortunate an end; yet, I protest upon my faith, are not added to be accommodated to the business as it hath fallen out, but as they are exactly true.]

On Saturday the $\frac{14}{24}$ *of October.*

And therefore, to begin with Wednesday before noon:—as soon as ever Monsieur de Bethune was gone, I sent for both the trumpeters, and told them that I thought I should have occasion to send to the camp, and asked them, whether either of them, or both of them, would be willing to go; and they both seemed as ready as ever I saw any people to go upon any errand (for Monsieur de Bethune would have had the other to be sent with his letters apart, thinking it more dignity; but when I told him they were both in one livery, and must pass for the King of England's servants, he was convinced that one might do the business). However, I proposed it to them both, in these words, that Monsieur de Bethune and I should have occasion to send to the camp; and that if they had rather both go than one, one should go charged with his letters, and the other with mine; but I thought that one might do the business of both and left it to them to choose, and which had rather have the employment, for I did believe it would have been an employment of profit and advantage, and was not willing myself to decide which should have it, being, in truth, very well satisfied with them both. And they were some time contending

with themselves for it; but Mr. Thomson at last said he would go, and the other seemed rather to submit, than pleased with it. And after this I went to dinner, and Mr. Thomson came in once to me and whispered me in the ear, to desire I would be informed, whether in this country it were usual to send trumpeters to the enemy's quarters, which I promised him I would do. I should have said too, that when Monsieur de Bethune was with me this morning, and pressed the business in such haste, I had made use of his own argument, that it might be prejudicial to this King, and whether it were not better to stay till Sunday, when he expected an answer to his letter from the camp; to which he answered, "What will you have us do? it is a thing the Palatines here desire of us—you and me, and which we cannot refuse, without being in some measure wanting to the King." And I remember he said something to me by way of hint only, as if it would be so acceptable a service to the King my master, in order to the general peace in Europe, that I might pass for disaffected to that work if I brought any obstacles to this; and spoke in a manner that I did not really know whether he might not, and whether he intended not to have done me ill-offices upon it, if I had been backward; and I do confess the apprehension of that did spur me on to the thing, without weighing as much as I should have done all the circumstances of a thing wherein the life of a man was concerned. After dinner I told Dr. South what the French Ambassador had desired, both as to the writing part and sending part: to the writing part, I confess, he made many objections, and would have persuaded me not to have meddled in it; but of that I did not think him a competent judge; and besides, I was sure I would write nothing that should do hurt, as I do still think and hope I have not: but to the other part, of sending a trumpeter, neither he then, nor afterwards, nor any servant in my family that I heard of, ever made any scruple, or had doubt of what fell out afterwards. When I went in the afternoon with my letters to Monsieur de Bethune, I asked him what Mr. Thomson had desired, and did insinuate to him an apprehension of my own, that I ought to be very careful of exposing a servant of the King with his livery, even to any disgrace; for I did apprehend he might be beaten, or robbed, or made a slave: but of his life, God knows I thought it as secure as in Leopol. To which Monsieur de Bethune told me, "It is a very usual and ordinary thing: and to let you see how little I, or any of my family, apprehend any danger in it, here are two or three of my servants, my secretary amongst the rest, that desire to have the employment; but for the solemnity of the King, I think a trumpeter should be sent; and Prince Radzivil will send an interpreter with him, a servant of the King's, that hath gone several times on these errands, than which nothing can be more secure;" and did again oppose the sending a Tartar, for the same reasons he had used before, and added, "We send upon an occasion that cannot but be glorious to our masters; we do it at the instance of the principal men here, and are directed by them in the manner of doing it: and what can people do more?" And upon this I returned satisfied; and this night Mr. Thomson fell very ill, which was the occasion afterwards that poor Mr. Christmas was sent. This is as particular an account as I can give of this whole business, and all the circumstances of it; but since it hath had so unfortunate an end, I do hear several of this country blame the proceeding; and that it was his silver trumpet and fine coat that made him be so used: to which I can only say, that it is very usual amongst men to judge by the consequences,

which is not constantly a right way; and that a trumpeter, I think, was to go like a trumpeter.

On Saturday the $\frac{14}{24}$ *Oct.*

I was putting my little affairs in order again, and disposing towards my journey to the Court; had gratified my guards; and on the sudden the Doctor comes into my chamber in great heat, "Pray, my Lord, where is the note I have given for the money I have received of Mr. Shaw? I called for Mr. Shaw to * * * * * * * * * * * *

From hence I went to my Lady Berkeley, and took my leave of her, and my Lord; and last of all at my Lord Jenkins*, whom I desired I might not trouble any more to-morrow; and designing to be gone very early: and when I came home, I sent fifty ducats to be distributed amongst his servants.

On Monday, the $\frac{1}{11}$ *Jan.,*

By seven o'clock in the morning, my Lord Jenkins was with me, and would needs have me go over to his house, which I did; where he had provided a breakfast, of which I could not eat; and after some time spent in compliments and thanks for his great entertainment, took my leave of him. He would have brought me to the other side of the Waal,† where my calaish and waggons stayed for me; but I prevailed with him to let me trouble him no further. I had covertly taken notice to him of the report of his being like to succeed to a very great place, which he did not seem to be a stranger to; but acknowledged his own unworthiness; and took the compliment I made him upon it not ill. At last I got away in his coach, just down to the river side, and there I walked over the ice on foot, where the carriages were gone over before; and there was a highway beaten, and ruts, as in any road in the country. Mr. Chudleigh, Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. Bows, Mr. Morley, Mr. Dolben, and more of my Lord's gentlemen and servants, would needs accompany me above a league on my way. About two hours from hence, I passed over the Rhine, in the same manner that I had done over the Waal, and from thence passed through Rhenen and Amerongen; and at last, by nine o'clock at night, I got to Utrecht, where they had told me at Nimeguen I could not get but in two days. This was one of the coldest days I had felt in the whole journey; but very bright and clear, and through a fine country, if it had not been covered with snow: many marks of the French hands were to be seen in every town and village.

On Tuesday, the $\frac{2}{12}$ *Jan.,*

I got up betimes in the morning to walk about the town, and went to see the ruins of the great church, of which the choir is yet standing entire, and might be used for divine service, but they do not. At the upper end of all, where the high altar should stand, is a

* Sir Leoline Jenkins, Ambassador and Plenipotentiary for the General Peace at Cologne and Nimeguen, and Secretary of State to King Charles II.

† The Waal, a river near Nimeguen.

monument of Monsieur Van Ghendt, in white marble, lying on a table, and a black stone over his head, with an inscription of his family and employment, and how he was killed by a cannon-ball in a fight against the English and French fleets. From hence I walked about some principal parts of the town, St. John's Church-yard, the Amsterdam's Graft, the New Graft, and at last to the School where I had lived, which I could not directly find of my own memory, but did go well enough to that quarter of the town. I went to the Rector's lodging, and asked to see him: it is the same man who had that place when I was at school. I saw the room we dined in, and the chamber my brother and I lay in, which I remembered; and from thence I went to the schools, and obtained a play day for the boys; and after this came back to the inn, and got away by nine o'clock. This day was not so cold as yesterday. We went now almost all day either by canals, or upon dikes, and through several towns, and almost a continuation of little houses, the whole way to Rotterdam. We passed by Montfort, and through Oudewater, both great towns, and which had been both in the possession of the French; and from thence to Turcoing, where I stopped a little, and saw the great church, which is one of the largest that I think I ever saw, and all the old painted windows, of several stories out of the Bible, and even of Popes and Friars, still standing; and at last by five o'clock at night to Rotterdam; so that, thanks be to God! this long journey by land is finished, and very happily, and without any misfortune, notwithstanding the very bitter season of the year, and the great numbers of soldiers we had to pass through. As soon as I arrived and had got a lodging, having heard the post was just going for England, I wrote one word to my wife, and another to Mr. Secretary Coventry, to inform them where I was; and after that, sent to my merchant to enquire concerning my yacht, who sent me word he had yet received no letters of it, and would himself come to see me to-morrow.

On Wednesday, the $\frac{8}{13}$ *Jan.*,

I sent a page to the Hague, with a letter to my Lord Ambassador Temple, to know when I might with convenience wait on the Prince of Orange, to which I expect an answer this night; and I got a letter sent to the Brill, to give notice of my arrival here, and to desire to have speedy notice as soon as the yacht should come upon the coast. My merchant came then to see me, and I invited him to dinner, and intended in the afternoon to have gone about the town, but the weather so changed, there was no stirring out; it rained, and as it fell froze, so that the streets were extremely slippery: so I had my merchant's company longer than I cared for: and being full of talk, I found he was no very great friend of the Prince of Orange, who he said had given himself up into the hands of the Calvinists and Presbyterians, enemies to this state, and the government of England both in Church and State, with the enemies of which they held a strict correspondence. I learnt afterwards that this man was a great man with De Witt, and was a magistrate of this town in his time, and put out by the Prince of Orange. He told me how the business had gone with De Groot; that he was cleared, but an appeal was brought against him to the High Court, as he called it; and wished the Prince of Orange would rather seek his friendship, and re-

concile himself to him, and make use of him in his service, to which he was very sure he would be very faithful, than endeavour to destroy him. I spoke to him of De Witt, whom I said we looked upon in England as a constant bitter enemy to the King. He said, he was nothing less; that he was his friend; and in several addresses that had been made to him by the Republican parties in England to that purpose, of combining towards the destruction of the King, De Witt had always refused any such propositions; but indeed, he was afraid that the King had a design, by the means of the Prince of Orange, to destroy this Commonwealth, and to alter the nature of the government, which he confessed was now brought to pass, and deplored it very much, being, as he said, against all alterations; and that this was now no more a Commonwealth than he was a maid: this kind of political discourse we held for about two hours. In the evening I had an answer to my letter to my Lord (Ambassador) Temple, which told me the sooner I came to wait on the Prince of Orange the better; because, if the thaw continued, his Highness would presently be gone to Soestdyke: upon which I resolved to do it to-morrow, which I did.

On Thursday, the $\frac{4}{14}$.

I saw the Prince of Orange that evening at five o'clock, and after some general discourses and compliments, he bade me hold the discourse following to his Majesty, which I have written by itself; he received me in his cabinet without ceremony:—

The Prince bade me present his humble duty to the King and the Duke; and tell his Majesty that all the affair of the peace was in his hands. That it was in his hands to order much of the business as he pleased; and that if he might be so happy as to know his Majesty's mind in the case, he would endeavour to serve him all he could, but if his Majesty intended only to bear the part of a formal mediator, it might be perhaps three or four years before the preliminaries should be adjusted.

Which discourse my Lord Ambassador Temple enlarged upon afterwards to me to this purpose. That the French drove all they could to make a separate peace with the States of Holland, and to that purpose courted the Prince of Orange, as the man on whom they thought that whole affair principally depended; and to that end had offered him Maestricht, Burgundy, Limbourg, or what he could name or wish for; and that the Prince, on the other side, would rather have one town more for the Spaniard than all that for himself. That the States and the Prince were in confederacy with the Emperor and the Spaniard in two ways: with the first, to see that he should lose nothing; with the second, not only that he should not lose any thing by this war, but that things should be reduced to the treaty; say the Spaniards, "of the Pyrenees," says Sir William Temple, "to that of Aix la Chapelle:" and that the Prince of Orange was so sensible of the point of honour in the case, not to abandon the Spaniards, who came into his quarrel, though it was indeed for their own sakes, that he would never abandon them, nor suffer the States, as long as he could hinder it, to make a separate treaty. But if the King, as mediator, would give into this point, to make things be restored to the conditions of Aix la Chapelle, and make it his business to bring the French to that or something less, provided that the Spaniards might see they had not been losers by the company of the Prince of Orange, that then it was believed the French

would consent to it, and that a general peace might upon these terms be presently concluded.

Lord Ambassador Temple entertained me much of the scandalous living of Lord Berkeley, that at least, if through his age and distempers he could not bear a part in the business, he should at least in the show and pomp; but that he did neither, and that in truth the employing such a man was a reproach upon the government not to be borne. That at conferences he spoke very little; but when he did think it was necessary to show that he was alive, it was directly prejudicial to the business, and something very indecent to be said: as particularly about the not admitting of the Pope's mediation, which he said the King would not admit of because at this time the humour of the people would not bear it; and this in presence of a great many other Ambassadors.

My Lord Ambassador Temple gave me the first notice of the King's pleasure concerning my being to receive a commission of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen. His Majesty was pleased that I should stop at Nimeguen, and be received there, and looked on as one of the Mediators (for which there was a commission preparing) till I was fully informed of the state of all things there, to be able to give his Majesty ample account of it; and Lord Ambassador Temple's discourse to me upon it was, that he thought the King intended to recall one of those that were there, and to put me in the place; but however, being there was a commission prepared for me, his advice to me was, first to examine my own heart, if I had a mind to the employment; and if I had, though I were past Nimeguen, to lay hold of the commission, and to return back to Nimeguen; or else, which he thought better, to go over into England, and lay hold of it there, and return with the equipage that was fit; or lastly, to stay and see my own letters, and then to write into England that I had received them, but being past Nimeguen before they reached me; that I stayed there at Rotterdam, till I had new orders, whether his Majesty was pleased I should go back to Nimeguen, or pursue my journey for England. After this discourse was over, we parted, and I resolved to return to Rotterdam to-morrow morning, hoping to find letters there that might better inform me what I was to do; and in case I found letters and a commission either come, or coming, and no yacht, to return again to the Hague, and spend my time rather there than at Rotterdam. Accordingly on

Friday, the $\frac{5}{15}$.

I returned to Rotterdam, and arrived there by noon; the ways grown very dirty, but as yet hard at bottom. I received there several letters, both from the secretaries and my own friends, all informing me of the truth of what my Lord Ambassador Temple had told me, and to the same purpose: that the commission was coming, and that this was notice sent before, to hinder me from overshooting the place. This day was post-day for England; and something was to be written there upon the receipt of these letters, which I did to this purpose: that I had overshot the place before I had any notice of this new honour; and that being the case, I thought it more decent to expect my commission any where rather than return to Nimeguen without it; and that I would do so then, and spend the time at the Hague till it should come, and upon the receipt of it I would obey it: except

that notice being gone into England of my being past the place, they might there perhaps change their minds, and appoint me to come home. And having despatched letters to this purpose into England, I resolved to return to-morrow again to the Hague, there to expect any orders that should come to me; and accordingly

On Saturday the $\frac{6}{16}$,

Having received 2000 gilders of my merchant, and settling all my little affairs there, after dinner I returned again to the Hague. I came thither pretty late; and as soon as I arrived, there fell so great a storm of rain, that I thought it not best to send to the Lord Temple that night, but he having heard I was arrived, sent me an excuse about an hour after my arrival, that he could not come this night to me.

On Sunday the $\frac{7}{17}$,

I sent to him in the morning, that he would be pleased to give me an hour when I might go to him; but he sent me word, between ten and eleven o'clock he would be with me, which he was. He told me he had more news concerning me, and that the commission was certainly despatched out of England. He asked me what I would do, and when I would see the Prince of Orange; and I told him I was at his disposal, to do as he would have me. He told me it was usual for all the ministers to make their court to him on these days of Sundays, and that he would do it, and perhaps would stay and dine with him, as he often did upon these occasions. I would have gone with him to have made my court, and not have dined, as I told him; but I think I perceived he was afraid I might dine there too, and he was doubtful whether he could find in his heart to give me place; not willing to do it, and believing that he ought to do it; and God knows I never intended, nor would have taken it: but this apprehension I saw plainly made him advise me not to go then, but to defer my visit till the afternoon, and that he would send me word what hour it should be. I discoursed with him what I had written into England, and he approved it so fully, that he said he should have done just so himself; which was enough for me. He told me he would speak to Monsieur Overkirk, to send me one of the Prince of Orange's coaches; and asked me again to lie in the States' House, that used to be provided for ambassadors. To which I said I would do as he would have me; but that, being I supposed my stay would be very short, I thought it was better to stay where I was, in an inn. When his Excellency was gone, I called for my dinner, and while I was at it they brought me word the express from England to me was without. I sent for him in: it was Mr. Smith, Messenger of the Chamber; he delivered me the King's commission, and a very short letter from Mr. Secretary Williamson, wishing me joy of it.

After dinner I sent to my Lord Ambassador, acquainting him that I had received it, and to know what time he would be seen; and he sent me word that he would be within at five o'clock, and that the Prince of Orange desired to be excused from seeing me this evening; but that he was to dine with him, the Lord Ambassador, to-morrow, and invited me to meet him there.

After this, Monsieur Overkirk sent me a coach; and at five o'clock I went to see

my Lord Ambassador, to whom I told the contents of my commission, which was not renewing of theirs, but a particular one to myself; and upon this we discoursed the matter very fully, what I was to do; and at last we agreed that, according to what I had written into England, I should immediately repair to Nimeguen; but that he thought I might stay to dine with the Prince to-morrow, and go part of my way after dinner; and that I should do well to go wait on the Prince to-morrow about noon, a little before his Highness came out to dinner; and that he would send his secretary, Mr. Meredith, to acquaint me when it would be a good moment. After this he held me in discourse a great long hour, of things most relating to himself, which are never without vanity; but this was most especially full of it, and some stories of his amours, and extraordinary abilities that way, which had once upon a time very nearly killed him. I say this only that I may remember the man with a note. This night I despatched several letters to my friends in Poland; and,

On Monday the $\frac{8}{18}$.

I was most of the morning preparing my despatches for England, to be sent back by Mr. Smith; but seeing I could not finish them before noon, I resolved to stay all the day in town, and to be going very early to-morrow morning. Between eleven and twelve o'clock Monsieur Odyke came to see me, without any ceremony, and carried me with him to the Prince of Orange: we found the Pensionary Fagell with him, but he came out immediately, and I went in, and was left alone with his Highness. I told his Highness first, that I had received orders from the King to stay at Nimeguen with the character of one of his Ambassadors; and he told me he believed there would be little done there; that there must be another campaign first, in which he was afraid that his friends would have the worst; that he was yoked with people, and naming the Spaniards, of whom he was weary enough; that they had used him very ill; that they had failed of their promises in most things, and then the blame was laid upon him; that he was sure if he had done but half so much service to the French they would have rewarded him; but the Spaniards, instead of that, could not allow him good words, nor a civil compliment; and yet, notwithstanding all this, he would not leave them: they had done service to this country, in the beginning of the war, and he was engaged to see they should be no losers; and he would make it good to them if he could. After this and some other discourses, not of this height, I took my leave of him, and he commanded me to meet him at dinner. I went first home, and there received a visit from Monsieur Overkirk and the Marquis de Montpoullian, and from hence I went to the Lord Ambassador, where the Prince came quickly after. I see the Prince is no stranger there, for he was entertained with a single dish at a time, and the business was dull enough; the company was my Lady Gifford, Monsieur Odyke, Monsieur Benthams, the Colonel of the Guards and favourite. After dinner, and the Prince gone, Lord Ambassador and I went to Skeveling, and from thence to a house of Monsieur Bentham's in that way, and pretty enough, where the Prince often retires, and sees no company but whom he brings with him. After this, and bringing my Lord Ambassador home, I went to return my visits to those three had made them me, and

then came home to finish my despatches for England, that I might be gone early to-morrow. In the evening, my Lord Ambassador came again to take his leave. I made him a proposition for my own avoiding of all visits of ceremony, which might embarrass me, as it had done Count Kinski, and going directly to conferences without it, which he approved of, and so we took leave: he made me offers of his house or horses, for which I thanked him, and resolved to make use of my Lord Ambassador Jenkins's, who had used me very well before, and invited me again, as I thought, more earnestly. He had sent me word that he and my Lord Berkeley had given Mr. Smith forty ducatoons, and that usually those messengers were defrayed by the Secretary of State; which the messenger denied, and said, he was furnished by the Secretary only for his journey outwards; and my Lord Ambassador added, that when they were at Cologne, the usual price to such a messenger was twenty-five pounds, and so he left this man to my discretion. I sent for him in at parting, and told him I knew nothing of all this dispute, neither was I now in a condition to gratify him, having been long abroad without receiving any recruits of money; but that he must look upon the forty ducatoons as given him by me, because I was to repay it to the Ambassador; and if he wanted any more to carry him home, he should ask what he wanted, and should have it; upon which he desired to have ten ducatoons more, and I told him, if I returned not speedily home, I would send an order to Jackson to make it up something more. After this, Doctor South had a great discourse with me of his unwillingness to return to Nimeguen, upon the pretence of being out of clothes; but in truth, the bottom was, that he had a mind to be at home. I told him he should have my consent to do what he would; but I thought it not very decent to run away by himself, while it was yet at least very uncertain how little a while I might stay behind: at last I convinced him, but he would spend the time then in seeing Holland, to which I was very free.

On Tuesday the $\frac{9}{19}$.

After having given my packets to Mr. Smith, by seven o'clock in the morning, I was going on my way towards Utrecht. This night it had frozen again very hard, and had spoiled the ways more than if it had not, being by this means become very hard and rough. I went by Leyden, and there I set down Doctor South, with a resolution to spend a fortnight or three weeks in seeing Holland, and then to come to me at Nimeguen. This afternoon the weather changed again, and it grew very wet, and the ways were extremely bad. I had much ado to get this night to Utrecht; in my way I passed through Bodegrave and Worden, and by nine o'clock got to Utrecht: here I learnt I could not go to Nimeguen the same way I had come, and consequently could not make it in one day; and they were doubtful whether I could get at all any farther by land than Arnheim, and that I must go the rest by water. This evening there overtook me upon the road a young gentleman, one Mr. Archer, Major of the English regiment that Mr. Fenwick commanded, and came along with me into the town, where his regiment was quartered; and he sent me two sentinels to attend me: he seems to be a very pretty gentleman, and well bred. I invited him to supper, but he went home to get himself dry, and sent me his excuse.

On Wednesday the $\frac{10}{20}$.

I was going by half an hour after seven, not so early as I intended, but what remedy? It proved a very wet morning, and the ways extreme bad, as this country, which is all sand, could possibly be. I went all the morning through the same country I had gone as I came, Amerongen and Reenen being the chief places; and came by one o'clock to a place called the Grub, where we baited; a place only of two houses, and whence I had four hours to Nimeguen, if I could have gone the direct way, as I came; but the waters were so exceedingly out, there was no passing the river in that place; and if I could have passed it, there had been no going on the other side in that country, so I was to go to Arnhem, and to get thither, if I could, this night. As I went along upon the dike, at a good distance from the river in summer time, the water was come up to the very top of it, and the country so alarmed, that they were all come out, and at work raising the banks, lest the waters should get over them, and have drowned the whole country; and as we went, they still told us the waters grew higher and higher. And in truth they were grown so high that we could not keep the road, but were forced to go so far about, that we could not reach Arnhem, but were fain, after it was quite dark, to lodge in a little place called Rhynecome, where there was only one house or two, just room for us; and here all the cellars were full of water.

On Thursday the $\frac{11}{21}$.

By six o'clock in the morning I was going from this place, and was fain still to leave the highway, and to go a great way about by the tops of hills to get to Arnhem, where I arrived about nine o'clock. Here they told me there was good passing on the other side, when we had passed the river, which was extremely swelled above its banks, and that made it a little the more difficult to get over; but that there was no danger, and that a boat was preparing to carry us all over together, horses, and waggons, and people, which in an hour's time was accordingly prepared. The water was very high, and the wind too, but, God be thanked, we got very well over, and pursued our journey upon another dike by the side of a canal that goes all the way to Nimeguen, which was also very near overflown in some places, and very much raised in others. Here upon the way I met with Mr. Bowes, and my Lord Berkeley's gentleman of the horse, who were come out to meet me, and had provided boats ready to carry me over the second river, which was much broader in this place than the other, and the wind here too pretty high; but it pleased God we got all very well over, and arrived safe at Nimeguen about half an hour after one. My Lord Ambassador Jenkins had sent his coaches to the water side to meet me, and I went directly to his house. He had provided one for me the very next door to his, out of which I am to have a door into his, so that I shall be there when I will, and make use of his rooms of state, and retire back into my own without going into the street. So I am ready to see and hear, and to do what God shall enable me, whom I beseech to give his blessing to the whole undertaking, and to my particular part of it. My Lord Jenkins told me he foresaw there might arise some difficulties concerning the matter of visits, by my arrival;

and that, particularly, the French apprehending that the business of the Swedes' Ambassador and my Lord Berkeley was a contrivance of the Swedes to have cut between some of them, had pretended to have received orders, and were now resolved to give their visits *en corps;* to which Count Kinski had replied, if they would make them *en corps*, they should receive them *en corps;* and that the French had consented to it. "Now," says the Lord Jenkins, "we are in possession of making our visits *en corps*, and receiving them distinctly; and how will you do?" said he to me; "if you receive them *en corps*, as they have resolved now to make all theirs, it will be something less than we are as yet in possession of." I answered him to all this with my proposition to Sir William Temple, and added that he had approved of it; and Lord Jenkins seemed to like it very well, if the others would admit it, which he doubted; but said he would propose it to my Lord Berkeley this afternoon. I added, that I thought nothing was more reasonable, being here without equipage, that I should be here without ceremony; and that I thought that he and my Lord Berkeley ought to acquaint all the ministers with my arrival; but that being to be here a short time, and to be fully informed of all the treaty, that I might be able to give his Majesty satisfaction in every particular, I thought it would be great loss of time to spend any of it in ceremony; and therefore I would enter into their business without sending to acquaint them with my arrival, or receiving or making any visits: he agreed with me it was a very good expedient, if it would be accepted. He told me Count Kinski was still upon his old thought of notifying again in public, which, he said, they the Mediators would not accept of, as to themselves, and that the Count was as positive, that at least he would do it to all the rest. And Lord Ambassador Jenkins proposed another difficulty in my making or receiving visits; which was that of the Brandenbourgh ministers, who having not yet returned the visit made by the Mediators, he thought it not fit that I should notify my arrival to them, till they had first returned their visit due to their first visit to them. And after this he told me there was a conference appointed at half an hour after two, to which the time drew very near, and so we parted. The difficulty in notifying to Count Kinski was that he was still incognito, and so would not receive the notification, nor make the visit, as being so: and then it was not fit for an Ambassador to notify to one that would be incognito, who was to be looked on as a private man. That he would be incognito, but that the Mediators, having made their visit to him, were not to look upon him as so. After this, I showed my Lord Ambassador Jenkins my commission, who read it all over, and desired a transcript might be made of it, to have in readiness to show the other ministers, if they desired it. I cannot but think that both these Ambassadors whom I have already seen, are not extremely pleased with my being joined with them: but to make it the more easy to Lord Jenkins, in one respect at least, which is a great one, the matter of expense, I am lodged in a house distinct from his, which I pay for; and having made him the proposition to have all my people eat upon my account, which I thought was fit for me to offer, he very readily accepted it, which hath given me ease as well as him.

[*Intended to be part of a letter to Mr. Secretary Williamson, but upon second thoughts left alone; however, I thought it fit to keep this account by me.**]

Leopol, October $\frac{1}{11}$, 1676.

I must not conclude this letter without giving you an account of an accident that befel me since I wrote last to you. Being ready to proceed in my journey from Lublin, Monsieur de Bethune came into that town, and alighted at my lodging, and told me he was come purposely into town (which was otherwise a league out of his way,) to look after me, to know what I intended to do, and how I proposed to go on the journey. I told him I was just going forwards in it, and that all my little affairs were ready to have departed that minute, if he had not come in. He answered, that he would not suffer me to go alone; that he was come purposely to divert me from it, and to propose to me, as he had in direction from the Queen, who was coming after us by smaller journeys, either to stay for her Majesty, and to come in her train, or to go now with him, (who had fifty dragoons lent him by the Stolnick of the Crown, who is to be his brother-in-law,) which I pleased; and that one of these two ways was necessary to be taken, because of the incursions of the Tartars, which were very general over all the country where we were going, and made it very necessary to go in great companies. I was not very ready to accept either of these proposals, being scrupulous with myself what might fall out to make disputes of ceremony between us, and made as many excuses to decline both as I could. But when he represented to me the indecency of exposing the character I was honoured with to the insolencies of the Tartars, if I should meet them, and that the indecency was as great in running the hazard of it, without some probable defence, in a country where it was so usual to meet them; and withal did insinuate to me, that with the Queen came Monsieur de Marseilles, who was established Ambassador in this country, and perhaps was a stiffer man in the point of ceremony, and especially coming along in that part of the Court; but with that there should be no manner of difficulty; and that we should go alone as friends, and not as Ambassadors; I could not be long in choosing which was the lesser evil. And though I did still defend myself as long as I could, at last, when he was so positive not to leave me without taking one of these parties, I consented to go with him, thinking that if any ceremony were to be observed, he ought to be as careful of it as I; and that it might look in me like being more afraid than hurt, in the matter of precedency, if I should stand out longer. I thought, therefore, it was better, with a good grace, to accept frankly what he offered so; and, for the beginning of freedom, he sat down in my chamber, and wrote all his letters, which were to go by that day's post, both to Warsaw and Leopol; sent afterwards for several tradesmen he had use of, for necessaries for his journey; and after this, asked me if he had not done his part to banish ceremony. And so we set out together in one coach, and without any ceremony, throughout the whole journey, either between our carriages or ourselves; sometimes lying together in one barn, and sometimes in several, if there happened to be two. We continued three days and a

* This is the Narrative referred to in the preceding Diary.

half together, till we arrived at Leopol; and the last morning did very narrowly escape catching a Tartar, the whole town wondering how we got in. I have thought fit to give this very particular account of an accident that, perhaps, hath not been very usual; and to which, upon calm reflections since I came to town, I know not what to say myself. I can only say, that at the moment I consented within myself to do it, I thought there could be no harm in it; and I hope still, that what was done without consequence cannot give offence. I think there was but one thing more in the world for me to have done, besides the coming in company of one of these French Ambassadors; and that was to have stopped behind all, by myself; which I could have submitted to, if another scruple had not come into my mind, which was stronger than these forementioned ones; and that was, that by delaying any longer my coming hither, I might pass in England for a lazier man in this employment than I had a mind to do, and for one who was not concerned how much time he spent idly, while the expense was at his Majesty's charge. This thought, I confess, had troubled me the fortnight I stayed at Warsaw, which yet was not to be avoided, because it was impossible to be informed there of half a dozen places, it may be seven or eight leagues distance one from another, which it was the most probable to find the King in; but as soon as ever I was informed that this town was the place the King had designed for my reception, I chose to make the best of my way hither, to avoid this reproach last mentioned, though I was directed by Abbot Brunetti not to stir till further order. Upon the whole matter, I do confess I thought much was to be done, to have seen the King before he had gone into the field, that I might not be obliged to have wintered here; and I could not but think myself secure enough of that, when I knew I could be here as soon as Monsieur de Bethune, who had told me at Dantzic that he engaged himself to the King, to be with him before he went into the field; and that I was actually here a long time before a great part of the army was met together, that were appointed to rendezvous here even after I was arrived.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, Leopol, Oct. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1676.

I did not think the employment your Majesty had honoured me with in this country, would have entitled me to the presumption of giving your Majesty this trouble, but having been persuaded by the company I am in here of Monsieur de Bethune and the Generals of the Army about this town, to write three letters, for the service as they think of the King of Poland, for which I have no authority by the Instructions I received from your Majesty,—if I have committed a fault, I choose rather to fly to your Majesty than to any other mediation, who, as you will be the most offended if I have given occasion for it, so have most goodness to forgive an error that was committed with a good intention. I have sent Mr. Secretary Williamson the copies of the letters I wrote, by which your Majesty may be informed of the state of what I apprehend I may have offended in, and shall not need to trouble your Majesty with repeating any of it; but when your Majesty shall see that all that I have done, amounts only to undertake to ask your Majesty a question, your Majesty I hope will not judge that I have pretended to more credit

and authority than your Majesty is pleased to honour me with: to which I beg your Majesty's pardon for adding this one word:—that if it be a thing disagreeable to your Majesty to enter into, your Majesty can have no trouble in denying it; and if otherwise your Majesty shall think, that as you are already the mediator of the differences between all Christian Princes amongst themselves, it may be for the increase of your interest or reputation to become so of those that are amongst some Christian Princes and the Turk, your Majesty will have the opportunity of satisfying two such great ends, by receiving the proposition from one, who acknowledges himself to stand in need of your Majesty's favour for having meddled with what he had not to do, and upon that account humbly beseeches your Majesty to vouchsafe your pardon to

May it please your Majesty, &c.

TO THE GENERAL OF THE TURKS.

I doubt not but your Excellency is informed of the ancient and good friendship between the Ottoman Porte and his Majesty the King of Great Britain; from whom being sent ambassador to the King of Poland and Lithuania, and finding a treaty of peace begun between the Ottoman Porte and the said King of Poland, both of them ancient friends and confederates of the King my master, I have thought fit to advertise your Excellency of my arrival in this town, to let your Excellency know that if your Excellency shall think that the mediation of the King my master may serve to advance the said treaty, and prevent the effusion of more blood amongst nations that are both so dear to him, I offer your Excellency my service to endeavour to obtain it; and having by good fortune met here with the Ambassador of the King of France, (who is in the like ancient confederacy with these two nations) in the same intentions with me, we have sent by the same trumpeter to make the offer of our services together to your Excellency, and at the same time acquaint your Excellency that we have both of us written to the King of Poland by this messenger, making the same offer to his Majesty; and so, hoping your Excellency will receive this offer with the same affection it is made, I recommend myself to your Excellency's favour.

TO THE PRINCE OF THE TARTARS.

Your Highness is not ignorant of the ancient and strict friendship between the Ottoman Porte and his Majesty the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; from whom being sent Ambassador to the King of Poland and Lithuania, and finding a treaty of peace begun between the said Porte and the said King of Poland, being desirous, as Ambassador from a Prince that is in friendship and confederacy with both nations, to contribute to the saving of the effusion of more blood, I thought fit to acquaint your Highness with my arrival here, and to let your Highness know that if you shall think the mediation of the King my master may be useful to so charitable a work, I offer all that my service can contribute to the obtaining it. And having by good fortune met here with the Ambassador of the King of France and Navarre, (who is likewise in ancient alliance

and confederacy with these two nations) and in the same intentions with myself, we have sent the offers of our services to your Highness by the same trumpeter, servant of the King my master; which hoping your Highness will receive in good part, I recommend myself to your Highness's favour.

MR. SKELTON'S DISCOURSE TO ME AT VIENNA.

Character of the two Nuncios at that Court.—The Ordinary Nuncio is very ill-disposed towards the King of England, and has said he would bring himself to the same end his Father had done.—Character of the Court at Vienna, and of the Emperor.

That the Ordinary Nuncio, into whose hands the business of the delivery of P. W. of F. is put by the Pope, is wholly against it, and joins with the Spanish Ambassador to hinder it; that he asked Count Felix of F., nephew to the Prince here in town, whether he were not here to solicit the release of his uncle, and whether he did not write to him, to which when the Count answered no, the Nuncio commended him, and advised him not to concern himself for him; and that the Extraordinary Nuncio had advised this Count Felix, that the other Nuncio was not to be depended on for any good to his uncle, and that the Pope must be solicited to take that affair out of the present Nuncio's management, before any good can be effected for him, because that he always contradicts whatsoever the Nuncio Extraordinary proposes. That this Ordinary Nuncio is very ill-disposed towards the King, finds faults with his actions, and said once he would bring himself to the end his father had done; which were the words Mr. Skelton meant, when he sent word to Mr. Secretary of ill words spoken by this Nuncio, and did not think fit to send them over in writing; which the Venetian Ambassador told Mr. Skelton, and offered, if it might be any service to the King to have it avowed by him, he would do it.

Mr. Skelton desired me, when I came into England, to recommend Mr. Hayward, that is his Ensign and here with him, to the King and the Duke, that he may not have any body put over his head, by reason of his being so long absent; that he is a very pretty man, and spends his time here very advantageously. He further gave me this character of the Court at Vienna, and the Emperor; that he was a man that never came to any resolution by himself; and no minister could obtain any answer from him to any business they addressed him about. That the Spanish Ambassador had no more privilege, nor no other way of addressing to him, or answer from him, but as all others had; and that the ministers were jealous of anybody's coming near him, for fear of giving him informations they would keep from him. That for the ministers, of whom Count Lamberg was the chief, (a man of no parts nor education, a good, toping fellow,) they were most of them very ignorant of all manner of affairs, both foreign and domestic; the Chancellor only, Baron Hocker, very knowing in the affairs of the empire; Montecuculi and Prince Swartzenberg most knowing in the foreign affairs, but not in great credit: and all in factions and jealousies one of another, making their own private fortunes, and neglecting the advancement of the public.

FRAGMENT OF THE DIARY OF THE HON. LAURENCE HYDE, DURING HIS MISSION TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN 1677.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS OWN HAND-WRITING.

[Sir William Temple tells us, that King Charles II. was desirous he should himself have gone on this mission, to endeavour to persuade the Prince of Orange to negotiate a peace for the Confederate Powers. Sir William Temple, however, requested to be excused, on the ground that some of his enemies at Court pretended that he had already biassed the Prince against such a measure, saying that his Majesty would do well to try another hand, and he would the better know the Prince's mind, if his answers were the same to both; if not, he would at least know how ill he had served him. The King said, it was a thing of confidence between the Prince and him, and must be so treated, and he knew nobody he had besides to send. "I told him, if he pleased, I would name one: he bid me; and I said Mr. Hyde was idle ever since his return from Nimeguen; and as he had been entered into the commission of the Mediators there, and stayed with us a fortnight or three weeks, he might pretend to return thither to exercise the same function in my absence, since the commission ran to any two of the number, and might take the Prince of Orange's camp in his way to Nimeguen, perform the King's commands to his Highness, inform himself of his last resolution upon the subject of the peace, and go on to Nimeguen, without giving any jealousy to the Allies. He was sent for accordingly, and despatched away in all points as I had proposed. He found the Prince at the camp, but immovable in the business of the peace, upon the terms his Majesty had thoughts of proceeding; gave account of all that passed in that conference to the King, and went straight away to Nimeguen; and wrote me word of his conversation with the Prince, and that he never saw such firmness in any man." Mr. Hyde's presence at Nimeguen was a great comfort to Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had been left Ambassador there; for though he desired to do well, he was irresolute and timid, "and was often as much embarrassed and perplexed about the little punctilios of visit and ceremony that were left to busy that embassy, as if greater affairs had still attended it:" besides that he lay under the lash of Secretary Williamson, who persecuted him upon an old grudge.

This narrative of the proceedings of Mr. Hyde, being written for the purpose of assisting his own memory, and not for the information of those by whom he was employed, has the greater claim to our attention and credit, and cannot fail to be received as a very curious and interesting picture of the manner in which our foreign negotiations were conducted; and as a valuable supplement to the interesting memoirs of that great statesman and excellent man, Sir William Temple.

September the 1*st*, 1677.

Saturday morning the 1st of September, at two of the clock, I set sail from Deptford. On Sunday by eight o'clock in the morning we were getting into Flushing, but came on

ground twice upon a sand called the Elbow: if it had blown hard, the people said it was a dangerous place. By ten we got in; by three we were in another vessel to go to Antwerp.

On Monday, at three o'clock, we got to Antwerp.

On Tuesday, at three o'clock, we set out to Brussells, and came thither Wednesday morning at five o'clock. I sent immediately to the Prince of Orange, to know when I might wait upon him. On Thursday the 6th, I received his answer to come that day, but I could not get ready; and besides there went so great a quantity of waggons that day, that I should never have got through.

Friday the 7th. I went and arrived at Soignies, where the Prince's camp was, by four o'clock. I stayed there Saturday: and Sunday the 9th, at noon I came away, and got to Brussells that night, after the gates were shut; but they were so civil as to open them.

Monday, the 10*th.*

I stayed at Brussells, and wrote my letters for England, to be sent by Brown.

Tuesday, the 11*th.*

I sent Brown away by six o'clock, by the way of Ghent, and so to Newport; and I came the same day to Antwerp.

Wednesday, the 12*th.*

I stayed at Antwerp, was in doubt which way I should take to get to Nimeguen; bought hangings for Mr. Hervey.

Thursday, the 13*th.*

I agreed with the waggoners, to carry me by the way of Breda and the Bosse.

Friday, the 14*th.*

I wrote in the morning into England, and went away from Antwerp, and lay that night at Breda. I was made to apprehend it would be unsafe travelling by land, but I saw nobody; here I was complimented by the Commander, and the garrison drawn up in arms, and the great guns.

Saturday, the 15*th.*

I lay at the Bosch, where I received the like compliments from the Governor, Colonel Killpatrick.

Sunday, the 16*th.*

By noon I got to Grave, where the Governor came to see me immediately as I alighted; he would needs have me dine with him, and gave me a great feast in a very short time. As I went away I had the same compliments from the garrison. Here I passed the Maes, and in three hours came to Nimeguen. Lord (Ambassador) Jenkins came immediately to see me: we discoursed first of the ceremony I was to perform, and we resolved I should make none, but look upon myself as returned to my old post: but it was necessary for me to see all those that were come upon the place since I had been here, which were two of the Emperor's, and all the Spanish Ambassadors. And we likewise resolved that I should get this business off my hands with all speed, that it might be done before any other Ambassador should come to me, that I might not be in pain which visits to make the first. And Lord Jenkins being

in pain what method I should observe, whether to the first first, or in the method they had arrived here; he thought fit at last to go to Monsieur Beverning about it, and to say that I desired to make them the compliments as my part of the respect due to them from the embassy, but would leave it to them to direct which I should do it to first: and at night he sent me word Monsieur Beverning had undertaken the employment, and would send him word to-morrow.

Monday, the 17th.

I had compliments from all the French Ambassadors, and to know when they might see me: I excused myself upon being post day into England. After this one from Monsieur Hoegh;* I excused myself in like manner, but he being more earnest, I said any time to-morrow, hoping by that time to have done with the Imperialists and Spaniards. At this I had news from Monsieur Beverning, that I might send to them the Imperial and Spanish Ambassadors in their rank; and as I was going to send to the first, there came in a gentleman to me from Monsieur Straetman, who is the last of the Imperialists,† to notify formally his arrival to me. I sent him word that I looked upon all those ceremonies as over, and that I had already given order to my secretary to go and receive an hour from him, not as a visit of ceremony, but only *de particulier à particulier.* When he was gone out, comes one from the Bishop of Gurke,‡ with the same errand; and my answer was the same: but I was in pain afresh which I should now send to first, because the younger of the two had notified me first. So I got Lord Jenkins to do me the favour to go to Monsieur Straetman, and to know directly what it was he expected, and to desire they would agree amongst themselves. Lord Jenkins did it, and sent me word that Monsieur Straetman said it was an accident his servants coming first, and that he yielded to the Bishop of Gurke; so then I sent in that order for their hour, and they appointed at three o'clock. After I had performed both those visits, one after the other, and told them both that it was no visit of ceremony, which I pretended to be already past between them and my colleagues, and had desired them in their return to me, that it should be privately and not in ceremony, which they both promised me; I sent to have an hour of the Spaniards, which they appointed to-morrow between ten and eleven; and excused themselves this afternoon, upon being to be at their meetings, which are every Monday. After this I went to see my Lady Temple, and was not to see any body else, for fear of interfering with my visits of ceremony.

[Here the manuscript is defective.]

* Sir William Temple calls this individual Mr. Heug, he was Count St. Antoine's colleague in the Embassy from Denmark.

† That is, he was one of the Imperial Embassy. The endless disputes about precedence and ceremony were great impediments to the business of this Congress; indeed this was their principal work, or rather amusement, for the essential parts of the treaty were managed in the field.

‡ The Bishop of Gurck was the chief of the Imperial Embassy.

Tuesday the 18th.

I went out early to Lord Jenkins's house, and resolved to pass the morning there, that I might receive no more compliments from any body, till the ceremony with the Spaniards was over. And I sent to Monsieur Hoegh, who I was afraid might expect to see me, that I was forced to go abroad, and should be out the whole morning; and in the afternoon, if it were not inconvenient to him, I would be at his house. He sent me word, that he was in hopes to have seen me yesterday, and was sorry my business would not permit it; but that he would be sure to send in the afternoon, to know when I was within, and would not allow me to come to his first. After this I sent to the Brandenbourg Ambassadors, thinking myself upon the same footing with them as I was with the others, and to tell them, that being returned hither, I was impatient to pay them my part of the civility already paid by the embassy; but they would by no means suffer me, saying, that when I was in town last winter, they had not then paid their respects, upon the account of the difference then between the King and their master, in the matter of ceremony about the two Ambassadors: and so they sent to me for an hour, which I appointed Wednesday morning. At ten o'clock I went and made all the visits to the Spaniards, and from thence, without sending before, to all the French, and Monsieur Hoegh, which in strictness I need not to have done; but because they had all sent to me, and I had excused seeing them, I thought fit to do it. This afternoon I went and did the same thing to Monsieur le Comte de Kinski,* Monsieur Oxenstiern, and Monsieur Beverning.

Wednesday the 19th.

The Brandenbourg Ambassadors came to see me, and after them the Dane; the Dane desired we, the Mediators, would think fit to speak to the Imperialists about the matter of Count Antoine's visits, because the dispute was between us two, to whom he should first notify his arrival. I told him, I thought it was not our business to say any thing of it, either to the Imperialists or any other; we were only to observe what Count Antoine did, and accordingly behave ourselves: but he desired I would speak of it to my colleague. This day Monsieur Colbert, in a particular visit, came to propose an expedient in this visit; and it was, that Count Antoine, without notifying his arrival to the Mediators, should go immediately first to visit them, which he said was more respect to the Mediators, and desired I would write of it into England, to see whether the King would approve of it. He told me, he would be glad that any thing could be found out that might preserve the respect due to the Mediation, and did as good as confess, that they, the French, were sure they should have the next respect paid to them before the Spaniards. This day, at night, I went to Madam Colbert's, the night that the company assembles at her house.

Thursday the 20th.

I wrote into England; received visits from the Imperialists and Spaniards without

* Count Kinski was Plenipotentiary from the Duke of Lorraine, at the Congress of Nimeguen. Sir William Temple says he was a person of great parts, of a sharp and quick apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his conduct, rigid in his opinions, and very punctilious.

ceremony, it being so upon my desire, because they should never pretend they had made more than one visit of ceremony. In the afternoon the Spanish Ambassador had a conference with us at Lord Jenkins's: the subject in our letter. Monsieur Petkum was to see me and the Duke of Lorrain's Envoyé.

Friday the 21st,

The French Ambassador had a conference with us at Lord Jenkins's: the subject in our letter.

Saturday the 22nd.

Monsieur Colbert came to see me again in particular, and told me, it was to thank me for a letter I had sent him from my Lord Arlington, in which he had found I had said a great deal of him to Lord Arlington, for whom he had always had a great respect and esteem; and that Lord Arlington had likewise said so much to him in his letter of me, that he desired to enter into a stricter correspondence with me, and to transact, in all freedom and openness, any thing that should come to his knowledge: that to begin, he would tell me, but it was under secresy, that Monsieur Tamboineau having been this morning with the Nuncio, the Nuncio had told him he was infinitely troubled to see no more appearance of a peace, and that the parties would not come to speak their minds to one another; that he, for his part, had been thinking in his own head, and had made a project, such a one as perhaps the French Ambassador might shortly hear of. This, Monsieur Colbert said, was a little odd, that a Mediator should undertake, of his own head, to make a project of a peace, which was more like an arbitrator, and would certainly make him suspected soon of the parties, to whom he might appear to have erected himself a judge; but if any such thing did come, he should look upon it as a project of the Spaniards; but clothed in that manner, because the Spaniards would not own to have made it: and that he should tell the Nuncio so, if it came to that. He added, that he believed, if it were so, at the same time that the Nuncio should be doing his offices, he expected the Spaniards might desire us to entertain it in the same manner, which I found by his discourse he had a mind to give me caution of; saying, that sure if the Spaniards had any propositions to make, it were very proper for the Mediators to hand them to the parties; but not at all to take them from them, and in our names to propose them as a project of our own, as he suspected the Nuncio might do. He concluded, that if in any manner they would contribute to bring them nearer to a peace, he should be glad; but I found he had a mind to instruct me a little in the office, wherein he thought I was yet but young, and to give me warning that the Spaniards might not surprise me, which he was afraid some others might be inclined to.

[Here again the Manuscript is deficient.]

II.

THE DUKE OF QUEENSBURY TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

[This letter, which was accidentally omitted in its chronological order, contains the Duke of Queensbury's vindication of his own conduct, and his opinion upon the state of affairs in Scotland at the commencement of the year 1686-7.]

MY LORD, Holyrood House, February 9, 1686.

This is to return my humble acknowledgments for the honour of your Lordship's most obliging letter of January 30, which I am resolved, in all points, religiously to observe; and though my enemies miss no opportunity of exposing me even to the hazard of the King's service, yet I design not so much as to complain, or show the least dissatisfaction. Only I hope the King will not take ill that I differ with them in opinion when they propose unreasonable and unjust things; and that, upon such occasions, I represent matter of fact without accusing any body; which, for my own exoneration, as an honest servant, I consider myself obliged to. And though, my Lord, I am sufficiently convinced that the methods taken, and instruments made use of, against me by D. Hamilton, the Chancellor, and my other mortal enemies, both here and there, will speedily prove effectual; yet I am resolved my indiscretion shall not in the least contribute to it: but on the contrary, I hope my carriage, upon all occasions, shall be such as your Lordship will approve, and not be ashamed of. I conclude, if our late tumults have not occasioned change of measures there, the business of our Parliament, and choice of a Commisioner, are by this time quite over; and I heartily wish whatever is resolved, may tend to the good of his Majesty's service, and security of his government. But at the same time I must tell your Lordship that I am afraid the state of this nation is not represented to the King as it ought; else to allow the Parliament to meet at this time would not be thought advisable, there being every where, and among all degrees of people, great dissatisfactions and jealousy, for reasons too obvious. And though I do not much doubt but things will go in the Parliament as the King thinks fit, yet the consequences seem uneasy, and of greater inconvenience than the business designed can prove of use. The fanatics and their friends are made to believe that the favours designed to Roman Catholics will extend to them, which possibly may, upon this occasion, cement them: but if this be true, the King certainly has not a right view of the affair; for the Roman Catholics will only be where they now are, and the fanatics will be in condition to serve in all employments and judicatures, where, possibly, in short time, they may prove more powerful and numerous than both Roman Catholics and others. The King may remember in what condition that party was when he came first here, and they are now as numerous and ill-natured as ever, so what use they will make of his Majesty's favours upon this occasion, is very obvious to us who know them. But for all this, and that such methods will certainly ruin the interest of the established government of the church, yet many of the lords of the clergy I find will go along; to which purpose the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh are to be there very speedily. Earl Moray, I find, has adjusted differences with Lord Melfort, though he still pretends great regard to my interest. My friends here

are still of the same opinion Earl Breadalbane's last letter to your Lordship bore, but all with submission to your Lordship's better judgment.

The occasion of this flying packet, my son will inform your Lordship; and I doubt not the continuance of your Lordship's goodness and protection, which gives me all the security and quiet I now have, and makes me expect your pardon for the frequent troubles I give you about our trifles, which I do for no end but your Lordship's information, and to be made use of as your Lordship shall judge fit. What commands your Lordship honours me with, my son will still get conveyed, and I am with great respect and sincerity,

My Lord, &c.

QUEENSBURY.

III.

MR. FLEETWOOD* TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

On resigning the tutorship of his son.

MY LORD, Eton College, March 19, 1686-7.

It is now well nigh a twelvemonth since I first understood I was to resign up my charge to my acquaintance and friend; but because I had no fair opportunity offered me, nor knew of it immediately from your Lordship, I did not find myself obliged to take any notice of it: and now I do, it is for no other end than to let your Lordship know how well content I am, for my own part, and how entirely satisfied on my Lord's account, to see him fallen into so good hands, and such as I would have put him into before any in the world besides, had it been in my disposal:—and this I say not on the score of friendship, or that I think it will please your Lordship. Upon due reflection on the whole matter, I find it more convenient for me to look back and consider how I have discharged my trust for these four last years past, than think of adding the weight of four more to come in another capacity, for which I find myself qualified with nothing extraordinary, but a good intention. As I find no reason to retract any thing of the character I have all along given your Lordship of him, so I find as little to repeat it here again. One defect is very sensibly discerned in him, which is an utter ignorance of our own history, which I could very well have remedied, if his close application to school business, which (with other avocations and diversions necessary enough for children) took up all his time, would have given me leave: but of this he will have no great reason to repent, since the time past was well filled, and he has so much of that to come before him, which he may employ in reading that with judgment now, which, if read before, could only have wrought upon his fancy; but in this and all other his defects, it is doubtless a great pleasure to remember he is not yet fifteen. On the other hand, for whatever your Lordship shall like or approve in him, I must needs be so just to his masters, and my friends, as freely to own that as much is due to them as to myself. And thus I have done with him, whom I shall follow, wherever he goes, with the kindest and most tender wishes in the world. It might perhaps have been expected, that in all this interim, I should have taken occasion to ask

* Afterwards Bishop of Ely.

to be dismissed; and examples, for aught I know, may have countenanced such a custom: but to me it looked so like a piece of solemn, civil dissimulation, that I resolved to have nothing to do with it; and to venture being absurd, if common discretion could not inform me when it was seasonable to take my leave. Your Lordship, I am confident, looked for no such thing, and as for the saving my credit in the world by any such poor blind, there is no need of it, and I utterly disown it. The relation I have had to your Lordship for four years, hath gotten and established me as much credit as I can want, or answer to; and I shall always make it the most considerable part of my character, that in all that time your Lordship hath not shown any apparent dislike of me; and I do not intend to think you have lately changed your opinion of me, but do believe I am as much in your Lordship's good grace as I ever was; and therefore shall, upon all fair and reasonable occasions, make as constant applications to you, and with as little doubt of success, as if I were actually in your Lordship's service: but this (if I know my own self) will cost your Lordship no great trouble, for my desires and aims have very moderate bounds indeed, and all the reward that I desire for having never given your Lordship the trouble of one line, either in behalf of myself or friend, since I first knew my Lord Hyde, is, that I might not be mistaken, as though it had proceeded from insensibility, or a stupid negligence of affairs. I shall certainly find my account, one day, in this, that I have been trusted by him whose honour is come to such a pitch, that it can hardly bear an access; yet so well founded that it can hardly suffer diminution; whose great example it is now become matter of much glory to imitate; and to whose generous virtue we owe (in great measure) that noble and religious bravery, which is now so frequent that it almost is become fashionable. So that there is nothing left, to one who does not know your Lordship, to wish you, but a mind to bear this glory equally; and to him who knows you, even that is also taken away. But I am fallen upon a subject that will hurry me beyond all bounds, if I do not stop short:—and pray, my Lord, if I have already taken more liberty than well becomes me, impute it partly to my zeal, and partly to the thought that I am now growing looser from your Lordship; and lastly, that I am pleading in my own advantage. What I have else to say is necessary, and will excuse itself. Though our quarter be not quite ended, yet it is customary to pay the full; for the goods and furniture of our chamber, and every thing of that nature, if examples must guide us, we must leave them all; if not, I am to expect orders. For my Lord's books, I am also to seek to what place I must send them: they are such as were designed by me for his reading when a man, and may deserve to be carefully preserved. Some of his French books I will (with your Lordship's good leave) rob him of, but they shall not be many; and such too, as he will find no great want of, unless he apply to ecclesiastical studies. In other things I shall want no rule: but in these I desire your Lordship's orders; and for this excessive letter your Lordship's pardon in abundance. Suffer me at last to conclude, that your Lordship may have had many a more dexterous, able, and officious, but you never had a more sincere, more obedient, or more humble servant, than

W. Fleetwood.

IV.

MEDITATIONS ON THE ANNIVERSARY DAY OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON'S DEATH; CONTAINING OBSERVATIONS ON HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER; AND REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF HIS ENEMIES, FRIENDS, AND RELATIONS, ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS BANISHMENT.

WRITTEN BY HIS SON LAURENCE HYDE, AND LEFT UNFINISHED.*

December 9, 1675.

This is the first anniversary day of my father's death, the 9th of December, 1675; which ought to put me in mind of recollecting myself how I have passed this whole year, the first that I have been left absolutely to my own free choice and direction, without that awe and restraint our parents have, or should have over us. It is true, indeed, I was then of an age ripe enough, if ever, to be trusted to myself, and I had been for seven years before, by my father's banishment and my mother's death, which happened within half a year or less one of the other, almost as much exposed, I may call it, to my own election, when I was so much younger, and more liable to the temptations of a new-got liberty: however, because I am conscious to myself, that during his life I had regard, in some of my actions at least, to the judgment he should make of them, and that I have observed the great alterations in some of his friends and relations, who have not preserved that steadiness and integrity, neither in their lives nor manners, which they appeared with before, it will not be amiss to make some reflections both upon them and myself, whom I have reason to suspect as much as any other body; and particularly upon this day, which I would spend with some reverence to the memory of the best of fathers, and the kindest and wisest friend I ever met with: according to whose counsels I pray God I may regulate my actions, and live and die according to his practice, in imitation of his virtue and honesty towards man, his integrity and duty to the King (though mistaken and rejected by him), and his piety and resignation to God Almighty, in those accidents of his life, which might seem to less good Christians and less prepared minds, a little hard and unequal; and to the best and most prepared, great trials of patience, and victories over great afflictions: for I can give him this testimony upon my own knowledge, having had the good fortune to attend him twice in these seven years of his banishment, (and spent, indeed, only five weeks in both times with him, at which time, wherein he was pleased to discourse with me of several actions of his life, more like a friend, and upon more equal terms, than like a father, and gave me the perusal of several of his writings, wherein his mind might yet be more clearly discerned), that I never saw a man under so great, so undeserved, and so unjust affliction, (I would be understood, with reverence to God Almighty, according to the measure of men's justice, and the appellation

* This interesting paper was not recovered until it was too late to place it in its chronological order. Although only an unfinished fragment, it is too curious a document to deprive the reader of.

by which it is known amongst them,) preserve a mind so undisturbed from any thing from without; so full of duty to the King; and so full of charity even to his enemies; so calm and so vacant to his innocent employments, wholly taken up in writing or reading some good work, (for which that age that shall have the happiness to have them revealed to them, will certainly esteem him,) which must make me conclude, if I had never had any other acquaintance or relation to him, that it was impossible, without the support of a good conscience and the most unspotted innocency, to have resisted so impetuous assaults of fortune. Happy are those men, that even with those divine assistances, have strength enough to struggle with such difficulties, I think; for I am sure all human policy or dissimulation must have shrunk and vanished under such an insupportable load of the foulest calumnies, the blackest and most malicious contrivances to take away a good name and innocency from any man who had not preferred his integrity alone before all the favour and fortune of the world, and to ruin his credit with his master, which he cared not to preserve so much out of vanity or ostentation, or for the providing better and more securely for his family (which is a more justifiable desire of greatness), as out of kindness and affection to a master whom he had long served, and conducted out of some difficulties, and whose easy nature, he knew well enough, would lead him into more, if men of such tempers as he saw were ready to succeed him, should be admitted into the nearest places about him. How fatally that apprehension hath fallen out to be true, is so notorious that I need not pursue this digression to say any thing of it, but will return to my reflections: and first, upon those friends and relations, who appear to me so altered even in their judgments and their moralities, since his removal from us. Upon his first going out of England, how soon did we see most of those Lords, who had so eminently appeared to preserve him from the violence of the proceedings against him, (wherein they did but as well preserve themselves and secure their own birthrights, as do him justice,) turn in a manner his prosecutors, and speak more bitterly of him upon the occasion of his going out of England, which was so unavoidably put upon him, than they who began first the prosecution against him,—upon this pretence, that he had made himself unworthy of their patronage by flying from justice,—when, alas! it was but too evident that they were weary of supporting wronged innocency; that they had a mind to make their peace with the party they had offended; from whence increase of power and places and profits were to be expected; from the other side nothing but the solitary praise of a quiet conscience, which they thought better to stifle, and submit to the conditions of the conqueror. From hence came the bill of banishment: first, a care to lock him fast out, wherein every body, to make amends for his former kindness or respect, at any time expressed towards him, was to bring a closer bar and stronger lock against him; and then followed the security of sinning against one whom they intended never to see more, as if they had no regard to any other eye or ear that might behold their injustice, their flattery, and their obsequiousness to the times; and as if they had been more afraid to be reproached by him for their want of honesty and fidelity, than to be punished by God himself for their treachery and perfidiousness. Of so vast importance is it, to have one man in a nation, for whose probity the greatest part of the rest have

so much awe and reverence as to have a fear of discovering those sins before him, which have since broke out like boils and diseases upon them; and to have one such righteous man, for whose sake God would preserve at least for some time, though not spare a nation.

Then the chamber fellow, and many other companions of his youth, men that laboured to excel in honesty, if not for honesty's sake at least the reward for it, first suffered themselves to be tempted in what they thought but small things, and in votes of little consequence, wherein conscience seemed not highly concerned, to appear capable of being biassed, and turned from their judgments by hope or fear; and by that means gave a pattern or a sample of what they might be brought to with greater rewards: and by degrees sold themselves and their country, to the pride, ambition, and will of a few persons: got into great places by the betraying of their own trusts, and were to preserve them by the treachery of others. Then the Duchess, his daughter, of whose person I do not think but with reverence, and therefore must impute misfortunes as well as crimes to his going away, being seduced by degrees to have an ill opinion of the religion she was born and bred in, and overborne by arguments she could not answer herself, and an unwearied application of those of the Romish Church to gain her, and almost deserted and betrayed by the most stupid negligence, and coolness, carelessness, and unconcernedness of most of our own Church, having nobody to fly to in those nice points, which a pretty good opinion of her own understanding would not suffer her to submit to every ordinary one, and being too far removed from his instruction and advice, for whom, even in the rank God had placed her, I think truly she had all possible reverence and esteem, was prevailed upon to deny her own understanding and the profession she had been so well instructed in; and to give up her judgment to those who had much less than herself in every thing, but in maliciously contriving her ruin, which she did not foresee. But, God be thanked! her death put an end to those farther designs such ill men might have, to bring shame and confusion upon her, at least in this world, which, without too great a breach of charity, one may suspect from such men, who had first contrived and compassed the ruin of her father, and had then no other so secure a way of bringing more mischief upon the heads of the rest of the family, but as by pretending to have changed the nature of the wolf, which they had openly professed upon his account; and so appearing in another more mild clothing of repentance and friendship, under which they designed to act no less ravenous parts. I say, God be thanked that he did take her away, even in that time, before she had fully perfected, at least not openly declared, this sad alteration; for not to speak of the differences it would have made in her own family, and of the more certain and quicker disorders it might have brought in the nation, which, by degrees, have gently since stolen in upon us, I am confident the disturbance within her own breast, (if she had recovered out of that weakness of body and mind, of which they took their advantage into the bargain, with all other circumstances,) would have given her such an eternal perplexity, for having resolved too hastily in a thing which she would still have sometimes doubted she had been in the wrong in, that life was not worth the purchase of so great an uneasiness of the mind. But notwithstanding all this desolation brought upon our own family, and

generally in the nation, I mean in the Parliament and the governing part of the nation, be the removal of so good and so able a guide and conductor, notwithstanding there wery many floods broke out, and several breaches made, or rather only attempted, upon our religion, our liberty, and our laws; yet still, during the time of his banishment, though the watchmen watched but perfunctorily indeed, most commonly asleep, or pretending to be so, there was still some faint representation of a form of government; and when the floods came, and the storms beat, the workmen went out again, and voluntarily placed themselves in the breach, and the repairs were patched up; and the unruly swelling of ambitious or disaffected people was ordinarily brought within the channels again. They had an eye sometimes towards him who had put some of them into their places, and had showed them the work they had to do; they were not sure it was impossible he might come back again, and they were willing to appear to have laboured something in his absence. Nor did that desolation and dismal invasion upon the very essence and form of our Government, of which we have had the sad prospect this last year, break in upon us, till it had pleased God to remove him as far out of the world, as he had done before out of this nation; when all the checks of conscience being removed, as they will quickly be from those who are only eye-servers and pleasers, there appeared a total defection in all sorts of men, ecclesiastical and secular, from their known duty to God, their country, and their friend: and such a friend, who had been so instrumental, under God, and by God's blessing, in restoring them all to their livings, dignities, honours, estates, pleasures, and profits, which they have enjoyed since the King's happy restoration; I say had been so instrumental, if by no other advice or counsel, at least by preserving the King entire in his reputation and credit, which they who have come in since, have but too much sullied and lessened; and by choosing rather to own and take upon himself the faults and miscarriages of other men, than expose his Majesty's sacred name to the indignities which the policy and good-nature of some gentlemen since have loaded it with, to preserve themselves.

And now, that I may not seem to have laid a burden upon other men too heavy for them to bear, which I would not touch with one of my own fingers, I will proceed as impartially as a man can do with himself, in what relates to my own particular: and in the first place, I cannot but accuse myself of being too earnest and overweening in my own thoughts, in persuading him to provide for the security of his person, by going out of England; but this opinion I have now of this affair, would give me much more trouble if I thought my advice had prevailed to bring it to pass. I know very well there were a great many others, wiser and more experienced than myself, that were of the same opinion; and I know too, that it was always against his own judgment, that for a very long time he could not endure to hear of it, nor to leave his innocency suspected by withdrawing of himself; and there was a time, some long time after his impeachment was in the House of Lords, that he stood firm to his own judgment, which I am since convinced was the best, and did expect two or three days together to have been sent for either to the House of Lords, or to have been committed, and he was resolved to have borne either with moderation and courage. Afterwards, indeed, when things grew higher between the two Houses, and

that there was a kind of infatuation upon all his friends, or those that pretended to be so, to combine together to represent to him the necessity of his departure, and that the Duke himself would have it so, as a thing as requisite to his safety and quiet as his own, he yielded to their importunities, and I do not know any man in his circumstances that would have depended upon his own conduct, against the concurrent advice of so many friends, wise and honest as he thought them; who went abroad, and were in the councils, and heard and saw every thing. However, I say, I do now, as I stand now informed, think I was in the wrong for advising his going away, (though it was long before I was of this opinion; and that upon several examinations of myself upon this particular, I have often declared I had never yet repented that advice), and that, if he had remained here, and not have concerned himself in the dispute between the two Houses about him, and had at last been brought to a trial, his innocency would have appeared beyond all pretence or shadow of guilt, to the confusion of his accusers, how strongly soever they had been abetted; and if he had not been brought to it, as I know it was at that time very strongly apprehended he would never be suffered to come to one, but that he should be taken by force out of the House, and clapped up in prison, and there have lain; I cannot but think that such a proceeding as that would have opened the eyes of all the nation concerning him; and that even they who had the worst inclinations for him, who, because they found themselves in some uneasiness did conclude he was the author of all their pain, would have been desirous to have enquired whether an Englishman could have deserved so unheard of and so illegal a treatment; and in a word, that either no man would have dared to put so unprecedented a design into practice, or that it would have done the unjust sufferer more right than prejudice, and even that way have brought him to a clearer and quicker vindication. I have owned here both my opinions; I have been very fond of the first, and am now more pleased with the latter; God knows which would have been the best! But I am nothing near so much in doubt, but that in the next step we made concerning him we all did swerve, and I again very chiefly, from his true interest and our duty to him, by consenting to that act of banishment, which was set on foot by some of his old friends, as well as his worst enemies, who had a mind to be playing tricks in the state, and had not the confidence to begin till they had made the door fast against him, that they might not be disturbed by him; and could never have been passed without the consent, and which is yet worse, the assistance of his children, and best and faithfulest servants. This was the cruelest thing of all; first, because it was solemnly promised that no such thing should be done after his departure; and secondly, because it was not so much as for the service of the King, that an Act in such terms, so derogatory of the prerogative as to deprive his Majesty of the power of pardoning, should pass; by which it sufficiently appears, the frights and terrors of other men were more prevalent than the King's honour or interest, for the procuring so unreasonable a law. And yet into this trap too we fell, and I amongst the rest; not baited, indeed, with any hopes of pleasing any party, or of making myself well at court upon the ruins of my father's fortune, of which I had the good fortune not to be suspected, though I had given occasion enough for the suspicion; but out of a mistaken policy

that this would put an end to all, and after this sacrifice to their fears they would betake themselves to some other more public business, and leave our poor family to the privacy and inconsiderable condition to which they had reduced it. And after all, I am not so much troubled for any real hurt it did, as for the trouble it gave my father in his mind; for without it, it is most apparent the malice of his enemies was so prevalent with the King, that he would never have been permitted to have lived in his own country: but on the other side, to a man who loved his country so entirely, and had endeavoured to serve it so honestly, it could not but be a cruel blow to live so many years under so severe a punishment, and die a banished man from that country, for whose happiness and true prosperity he was, to his last breath, so heartily concerned. And I am afraid I have too much reason to say that that one melancholy reflection, together with the apprehension of the ill condition he apprehended them likely to be in, and the disability he was in, by their fault, of serving them in preventing a ruin, he thought he foresaw so inevitably falling upon them, gave him more trouble of mind, and contributed more to our unhappy loss of him, than all the other misfortunes of his time, or the diseases and infirmities a man of his age seldom is without. To all other misfortunes, I have said already, he bore up with all magnanimity and steadiness; to remove this only, he applied himself with all humble submissions to his Majesty, and with all assurances that he would never make use of the liberty, if it were restored to him, without knowing it would be agreeable to his Majesty's good pleasure and quiet. And after several dutiful, though unsuccessful attempts of this kind, he fell down under, and could not longer support the odious name of the brand of banishment. I have further to accuse myself, that during the time of his banishment * * * *

Cetera desunt.

V.

COPY OF THE SEVENTH ARTICLE OF LORD CLARENDON'S INSTRUCTIONS, WHEN APPOINTED LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

Our intention and pleasure being that no additional charge be made to the present establishment for that our kingdom, but that the surplusage of our revenue be laid up in our Exchequer, there to be disposed of as we shall from time to time direct: you are to take care thereof accordingly. And also that out of the surplusage as much be in the first place laid by as shall suffice for three months pay of our army, to be made use of upon any emergency or extraordinary occasion.

Indorsed, by Lord Clarendon:—"Copy of my Seventh Instruction."

VI.

An Abstract of his Majesty's Revenue of Ireland for One Year, ending at Christmas 1683.

Dr.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Cr.
Customs, &c.	118,500	2	8¼	236,300	6	6	Receiver-general
Butlerage	1,452	0	0	8,409	3	8⅛	Cash in the Collector's hands
French Tonnage	371	0	0				
Inland Excise	68,520	3	6¼	25,050	4	11¼	Arrears in the People's hands
Ale Licences	8,255	15	3¾				
Wine and Strong Water Licences	2,588	2	1⅝	24,634	0	7½	Salaries
Rents	68,610	16	0¾	4,155	19	4	Incidents
Hearth Money	31,041	0	0	1,325	4	6½	Repayments
Casualties	1,614	17	10	393	1	11¼	Portage and Victualling Bills
				630	6	0	Wine Warrants
				55	10	0	Guard Clothes' duty
	300,953	17	6⅝	300,953	17	6⅝	

An Abstract of the Account of the Revenue of Ireland, for the Year ending the 25th December, 1683.

Is Debtor	£.	s.	d.	Is Creditor	£.	s.	d.
To Customs and Impost	118,497	12	8	By Money paid to the Receiver-general	236,979	1	9
To Prizage and Butlerage	1,452	0	0	By Warrants of the Lord Deputy for Wine to Privy Counsellors, and other free Warrants	732	2	3
To French Tonnage	371	5	0	By Cash in Collectors' hands unassigned	9,545	5	3⅜
To Inland Excise	68,379	18	1⅛	Total of Cash aforesaid	247,256	9	3⅝
To Ale Licences	9,101	8	3½	By Arrears not collected at Christmas	23,221	12	1⅞
To Wine and Strong Water Licences	1,921	11	5⅝	Total of Cash and Arrears	270,478	1	5½
To Hearth Money	31,041	0	0	By Salaries	24,633	5	9½
To Quit Rents, &c.	68,535	10	0¼	By Incidencies of management, and extraordinary expenses of lawsuits, and prosecution of several debtors to the King	4,135	6	1¾
To Casual Revenue	1,614	17	10	By repayment to Merchants, Victualling, and Portage Bills, &c.	1,668	10	0
	300,915	3	4¾		300,915	3	4¾

The General Arrear of the whole Revenue before-mentioned, is distributed into these particular Branches, viz:—

	£.	s.	d.
Bonds upon Impost, or Imported Excise	6,545	2	3
Inland Excise	3,744	3	5½
Licences	1,894	2	10½
Hearth Money	2,053	9	6⅜
Quit Rents, &c.	7,353	18	0⅜
Casual Revenue	1,229	13	10
On Potter, Collector of Cavan	401	2	2⅛
	23,221	12	1⅞

An Abstract of the Gross Produce of the Branches of the Revenue of Ireland, for Two Years:— viz. 1683 *and* 1684, *compared together.*

THE YEAR 1683.				THE YEAR 1684.			Increase on each Branch in 1684.			
Branches.	Produce.			Produce.						
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Customs, &c.	120,323	2	6¼	127,053	18	4⅜	6,730	15	10	
Inland Excise	68,510	3	6¼	77,722	1	0⅜	9,211	17	6	
Ale Licences	8,255	13	3¼	9,614	17	11⅛	1,359	4	7⅞	
Wine and Strong Water Licences	2,597	4	7⅝	2,917	2	1½	319	17	5⅞	
Hearth Money	31,041	0	0	31,646	0	0	605	0	0	
Casual Revenue estimated	1,623	6	9	1,670	0	0	46	13	3	
							18,273	8	8⅞	Increase.
Quit Rents	68,681	18	9½	68,194	4	11⅛	487	13	10¼	Decreased by discharges on the Exchequer.
Totals	301,032	9	5⅞	318,818	4	4½	17,785	14	10⅝	

VII.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIST OF THE GENTLEMEN OF HIS BED-CHAMBER, WITH REMARKS ON THEIR CHARACTERS, &c.; DRAWN UP FOR LORD ROCHESTER'S INSTRUCTION.

Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber.

Mr. Hales: A young gentleman, eldest son of his father, who has 1200*l.* per annum: and his uncle, who lives at Kilkenny, a very old man, and to whom he is heir, will leave him at least 800*l.* per annum.

Mr. Rycaut:* Now gone for England, a Roman Catholic.

Gentlemen at Large.

Sir Thomas Fotherly: You know as much of him as I can tell you.

Mr. Arderne, son to Sir John Arderne: He would look very well in the head of a company or to be Lieutenant of horse to begin with.

Mr. Baynham: Nephew to Mr. George Porter, was born to a good estate, but ruined by a mother-in-law: he is a very sober young man, and fit for any business, for he can take pains.

Mr. Stedman: A very honest man, was recommended to my wife by Mr. Secretary Jenkins on his death-bed; he would very well become a Colours in horse or foot.

Mr. Flood: An honest, discreet man, has lived well in the world, and was now content to come with me purely to live; he is a man of business. Sir Charles Cottrell, and Sir Thomas Fits, can give you an account of him. I intend to recommend him to the Commissioners of the Revenue to be a Collector, when there is a vacancy; I am sure they will thank me for him.

Mr. Ivey: Son to our kinsman in Jamaica, a proper young fellow, very civil and orderly, would become a Colours very well.

Mr. Bunce: Grandson to Alderman Bunce, whom you and I knew well: he is young, and may stay till I have provided for some others first.

Monsieur de la Hyde: Recommended to me by the King to be one of my gentlemen; a Roman Catholic. He is of this country. I would be very glad to be well rid of him, though I must not say so.

Mr. Stevens: An honest, sober young fellow, and a pretty scholar. His father is a page of the back-stairs to the Queen Dowager, and has been so from her first landing; he waited on my father in Spain. He is a Roman Catholic. They are very good quiet people. I would be glad to get a Colours for him.

Mr. Portman: A very honest young man; a Colours would do very well for him.

Mr. Rose: Son to him who was my Gentleman of the Horse formerly; he would become a Colours well.

* Sir Paul Rycaut, author of the "History of the Turkish Empire."

GENTLEMEN USHERS.

Mr. Sayers: You know who he is, he is very diligent.

Mr. Welby: A young man, very sober and studious; he has 300*l.* per annum of his own, is fit for any thing, and will come to good, in what condition soever he is put.

Mr. Richards: Waits on my wife's side; is a very orderly young man, and a creditable servant; I would be glad to do something for him in due time.

SEWER.

Mr. Ward: A very honest man; lived twenty years with Lord Bridgewater, and by him recommended to me.

[Those whose religions are not mentioned, are Protestants.]

Indorsed in the hand writing of Lord Clarendon:
—"List of my Gentlemen. To lie by you, to be looked upon as occasion offers."

VIII.

ACCOUNT OF SECRET SERVICE MONEY FOR ONE YEAR, ENDING THE 7TH OF MARCH, 1687-8.

Dates.	Persons.	Sums.
23 March, 1687.	To Henry Guy, Esq.	£5604 16 0
12 April.	To ditto.	1000 0 0
22	To ditto.	7344 7 6
28	To ditto.	1550 0 0
13 May.	To ditto.	2290 0 0
19	To ditto.	1075 11 9
26	To ditto.	3333 14 0
27	To Sir Stephen Fox, in full of 12,000£	6000 0 0
2 June.	To Henry Guy, Esq.	3274 0 0
16	To ditto.	1382 10 0
19	To ditto.	1800 0 0
23	To ditto.	500 0 0
30	To ditto.	3100 0 0
7 July.	To ditto.	1800 0 0
14	To Mr. Aldworth.	3200 0 2
	To Henry Guy, Esq.	2165 0 0
21	To ditto.	1000 0 0
29	To Mr. Aldworth	1710 7 5½
	To Henry Guy, Esq.	1956 0 2
4 Aug.	To ditto.	1288 0 0
12	To ditto.	5000 0 0
16	To ditto.	2050 0 0
12 Sept.	Sir Richard White	1000 0 0
27	To Charles Carteret, Esq.	2106 9 0

Dates.	Persons.	Sums.
13 Oct.	To Henry Guy, Esq.	£6000 0 0
21	To ditto.	2000 0 0
26	To ditto.	2432 2 10
3 Nov.	To ditto.	3553 12 6
8	Earl of Sunderland	3000 0 0
9	To Henry Guy, Esq.	3167 0 0
16	To ditto.	2700 9 0
17	To ditto.	1250 0 0
24	To ditto.	1642 7 8
1 Dec.	To ditto.	1232 18 4
7	To ditto.	2184 2 8¾
16	To ditto.	1124 4 0
21	To ditto.	648 15 0
22	John Dunston, Esq.	100 0 0
31	To Henry Guy, Esq.	1000 0 0
11 Jan. 1687-8.	To ditto.	2000 0 0
18	To ditto.	3923 4 0
23	To the Earl of Middleton	2000 0 0
26	To ditto.	1500 0 0
8 Feb.	To Henry Guy, Esq.	300 0 0
9	To ditto.	1500 16 1
16	To ditto.	1800 0 0
24	To ditto.	2321 10 0
7 March.	To ditto.	500 0 0
13	To ditto.	1315 0 0
		£110,725 18 2¼

Besides what hath been paid to the Privy Purse; which hath been about 40,000*l.*

£110,725	18	2¼
40,000	0	0
150,725	18	2¼

IX.

A PARTICULAR OF THE ARREARS DUE TO THE PERSONS HERE UNDER MENTIONED, WHO HAVE BEEN ALWAYS ACCOUNTED INSTRUMENTAL IN THE LATE KING'S ESCAPE, THOUGH THEIR PATENTS DO NOT ALL OF THEM EXPRESS THAT PARTICULAR SERVICE.

ARREARS DUE TO LADY DAY, 1685;—TO

£.		Years.	£.	s.	d.
1000.	Jane Lane, now Lady Fisher, by Letters Patent during life	¾	750	0	0
500.	Thomas Lane, Esq., the like	5½	2750	0	0
300.	Charles Gifford, Esq., the like	2	600	0	0
200.	Francis Mansell, Esq., the like . . .	1¾	350	0	0
200.	Thomas Whitgrave, the like	2¾	550	0	0
200.	Katherine Gunter, for twenty-one years, from Lady Day 1668.	2½	500	0	0
50.	Joan Hurford, during life	1½	75	0	0
50.	Ellinor Sampson, deceased, and paid in full. . .				
200.	Francis Reynolds, the like	3¼	650	0	0
100.	John Rogers and Anne, his wife, and their heirs male .	¼	25	0	0
30.	Anne Bird, during life	¼	7	10	0
600.	Sir Thomas Wyndham, and his heirs for ever . .	3	1800	0	0
100.	William Ellesden, during pleasure, for his two sons, Anthony and Charles; or until such time as his Majesty should make some other provision for them . . .	6¾	675	0	0
80.	Robert Swan, by Privy Seal; which determined by his late Majesty's death, and is paid to Christmas 1684. . .				
3610.			8732	10	0

MEMORANDUM.—That the late Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, by their warrant, dated July 22, 1684, signified his late Majesty's pleasure to pay the annuity of 1000*l.* per annum to Mrs. Jane Lane, from Lady Day 1683, whose husband, Sir Clement Fisher, was buried the 15th of April, 1683: at which time there was an arrear upon the said pension of 6500*l.* for six years and a half, ended at Lady-day 1683.

It is also alleged, that the Lady Anne Wyndham's pension of 400*l.* per annum, lately surrendered in consideration of the like pension granted by his late Majesty to her two daughters, Rachel and Frances, during their lives, was granted in consideration of her being instrumental in the King's escape. The said Rachel and Frances Wyndham are in arrear 300*l.* for three quarters.

And I am informed Juliana Hext has a pension of 30*l.* per annum, payable at the Custom House, granted to her for the consideration aforesaid. April 10, 1685.

X.

September 29, 1685.

A LIST OF PENSIONS, WHEREUPON SOME PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE SINCE 6 FEB. 1684, OR ARE GRANTED BY HIS PRESENT MAJESTY.

	Per Annum.
Out of Customs.	
William Ellesden and his wife	£.100 0 0
His sons and daughters	200 0 0
Corporation of Dartmouth	40 0 0
Sir William Darcy	400 0 0
Duke of Albemarle	300 0 0
Thomas Doyley	100 0 0
	1140 0 0
Out of Excise.	
Duke of Southampton	3000 0 0
Duke of Grafton	3000 0 0
Duke of Northumberland	3000 0 0
Sir William Killigrew	500 0 0
Earl of Bath, for Duchess of Richmond	1000 0 0
Countess of Portland	1000 0 0
Earl of Berks	300 0 0
	11800 0 0
Out of First Fruits and Tenths.	
John Rogers and wife, &c.	100 0 0
Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton	500 0 0
Her three Sons	850 0 0
Countess of Plymouth	2000 0 0
Countess of Bristol	1000 0 0
Earl of Bedford, and also for said Countess of Bristol	1000 0 0
Lord Brouncker	1000 0 0
Earl of Sunderland	1000 0 0
Nathaniel Hornby, Assignee of the Duchess of Portsmouth	1000 0 0
Earl of Oxford	2000 0 0
Duke of Grafton	1000 0 0
	11450 0 0

OUT OF THE PROFITS OF THE ALIENATION OFFICE.

	Per Annum.
Countess of Plymouth	£.1000 0 0
Mr. Morris	800 0 0
	1800 0 0

OUT OF THE REVENUE OF THE DUTCHY OF CORNWALL.

Earl of Bath	3000 0 0
Sir Peter Killigrew	300 0 0
Lostwithiel Gaol	50 0 0
Major Fincher, a Coldstreamer	80 0 0
Major Johnson, a Coldstreamer	60 0 0
Minister of Lostwithiel	30 0 0
	3520 0 0

OUT OF THE REVENUES IN GENERAL.

Christ's Hospital, for the New Foundation	370 10 0
Sir Hugh Tynt	1000 0 0
Ursula Elliott	60 0 0
Ann Lawson	250 0 0
Lord Willoughby of Parham	200 0 0
Francis Mansell	200 0 0
George Dunstan	1000 0 0
Francis Reynolds	200 0 0
Charles Gifford	300 0 0
Robert Bertie, Esq., for Mrs. Cocke	40 0 0
Mrs. Gunter	200 0 0
Lord Lucas	500 0 0
Ann Bird	30 0 0
Dame Joan Howard	500 0 0
Robert Swann	80 0 0
Dean and Chapter of Westminster, for French Minister	60 0 0
Lieutenant William Armstrong	200 0 0
Lancashire Preachers	200 0 0
Lodowick Bray	40 0 0
Walbrook Parish	7 13 4
Oxford University	13 6 8
Dr. Boucher	40 0 0
Carried over	5491 10 0

	Per Annum.
Brought forward	£. 5491 10 0
Dr. Oxenden	40 0 0
Dr. Brady	40 0 0
Ministers of the Isle of Man	100 0 0
Dr. Luffe	40 0 0
Parish of St. Botolph	7 0 0
	5718 10 0
The Total of these Pensions is	35,428 10 0

OUT OF LETTER OFFICE

Duchess of Cleveland	4700 0 0
Mrs. Gwynn	1500 0 0
	41,628 10 0

THE END OF VOL. I.

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